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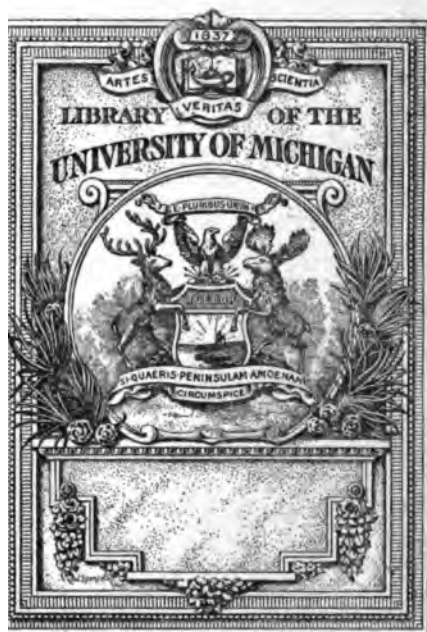
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The Forum

SEPTEMBER, 1897.

A PLEA FOR THE NAVY.

THIS article proposes to give: (1) The present actual and relative naval strength of the United States; and (2) an opinion—by request of the Editor of THE FORUM—as to how much our Navy should be increased.

(1) The task of comparing the fighting efficiency of modern men-of-war is exceedingly difficult. In the days of sailing war-vessels—when types and classes of ships were fixed—the gun was practically the only weapon; and the measure of force was the weight of metal fired in one broadside. There was, of course, a difference in the power of resistance of vessels: frigates were of lighter scantling, and more lightly armed, than line-of-battle ships,—built of thicker timbers and having more power of resistance,—and whatever difference there was in the rapidity of fire of small and large guns was deemed to be amply compensated for by differences in the weights of projectiles.

There were differences too in the speed of ships. But the speed of a fleet is that of the slowest vessel in it; and as progress in those days often depended on the accidents of wind and weather, speed was not then taken into account as it is now, when vessels can go straight, and within a calculable period of time, to any given point. Sailing vessels could keep the sea for an indefinite length of time. Nelson hunted the allied French and Spanish fleets throughout the West Indies, and eventually brought them to bay at Trafalgar. There was no stopping then to coal, and, therefore, no question of endurance to be considered. Nor was there any thought of shell-power or of ram-power or of tor-

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also the average horse-power, average speed, and number of guns in main batteries, with their aggregate muzzle-energy.

As to battle-ships, it will be seen that we have two fewer than Germany, and four fewer than Italy; that the total displacement of our ships of this class is much less than that of Italy, and fairly above that of Germany; and similarly as to horse-power. In the main batteries of our battle-ships the number of guns is 182; in those of Germany, 270; of Italy, 241.

What does not appear in the tables is, that some of the Italian battle-ships carry 15- and 16-inch guns. With the exception of Great Britain, no other nation has guns equal in calibre to these. The British, not to be outdone, built a few guns as large as those in the Italian navy; but experience has seemed to show that they are unnecessarily large, at least for naval purposes. They are unwieldy, and apt to droop, and are believed to be deficient in endurance. The largest guns now being built by England and France are of about 12-inch calibre. After mature deliberation, our Department concluded to arm its latest battle-ships with 13-inch guns. The theory upon which our ships are constructed is, that they are probably to be used near home; and, therefore, with a displacement somewhat less than that of the English, French, and Italian battle-ships, the effort has been to give them more offensive and defensive power, thus making them fully equal in battle to the larger ships of those nations. To secure this increase of armor and armament, with less displacement, it was necessary to sacrifice somewhat of speed and endurance. It will be seen, therefore, that our battle-ships, though of a much later average date of design than those of Italy, have one knot less speed: they have, however, two knots more average speed than those of Germany.

The aggregate muzzle-energy of the guns of our battle-ships largely exceeds that of Germany, and, relatively to displacement, is considerably greater than that of the Italian batteries. This results not from any deficiency in armor,—in which we also excel the Italians,—but from our later and better guns.

Of armored cruisers we have 2 to Germany's 1 and Italy's 5. The average speed of ours is 21.5 knots, against 19 for Germany and 15 for Italy. The muzzle-energy of the batteries of the single German armored cruiser, however, is over 12,000, while the energy of the batteries of our 2 is under 15,000. Germany, in this ship, appears to have sacrificed two knots in speed, to obtain this increase of gun-power.

Compared with the Italian armored cruisers, not only is the speed

of our vessels immensely greater, but the muzzle-energy also is relatively very much higher. Our great superiority in speed over the Italian vessels was secured by increased horse-power; the aggregate horse-power of our 2 vessels being 36,000 against 33,000 for the 5 Italian ships.

We show 20 coast- and harbor-defence vessels, against Germany's 17. These figures are somewhat delusive. Thirteen of these 20 are old iron monitors, all built in 1862. They have been carefully preserved; and, two years ago, most of them were fitted for service. But their engines are poor and of old designs; and their guns are old-fashioned and inferior. Their speed is only 5 or 6 knots; and, consequently, they bring down the average speed of our coast-defence vessels, as a class, to 10 knots.

We have fewer gun-boats and cruising vessels than either Germany or Italy; but ours average considerably larger than those of either of these nations, and are vastly superior to either in total horse-power, in average speed, and in number and muzzle-energy of guns.

Clearly in cruising vessels and gun-boats, our rank is decidedly over that of either Italy or Germany.

Besides the ships taken into account in the tables given, we have, like other naval Powers, vessels serving in the merchant marine that can be called or taken into service in the time of war. The "New York," the "Paris," the "St. Louis," the "St. Paul," and other ships carrying mail to foreign countries are now in the pay of our Government, and can be called in at short notice. These we denominate our Auxiliary Navy. Other ships, not under pay,—coastwise-going vessels, pleasure-yachts, etc.,—such of them as could be made useful in war, we speak of as our Reserves. Swift merchant vessels,—those that could overtake most of the ships afloat and get away when necessary from vessels of superior strength,—properly manned and armed, would be very useful in war. The Navy Department keeps itself thoroughly informed as to the military values of all the ships that fly the American flag, or belong to American citizens; and it has been making strenuous efforts for some years past, with some success, to get money to provide outfits for such ships. Much, however, remains to be done in this direction. We should have guns, ammunition, and torpedoes for all available vessels.

If we but had, as other nations have, a full supply of arms and ammunition for all possible reserve ships, we could, in case of war, safely call our Reserve Navy superior to that of any other country,

except Great Britain. Should we come to war with the latter Power, both parties would seek to possess the great lakes; and unless the British should be able to send ships through the St. Lawrence Canal,—which would at once be a question,—the battles would be fought out between merchant-vessels. We have on the lakes only one naval ship, the “Michigan,” which is old and of low grade; and the British have merely its estimated equivalent. By treaty arrangement long subsisting, neither country can increase its naval force in those waters. There is now and then a demand in certain quarters for the annulment of this agreement. The writer would say, “Let it stand!” It tends to keep the peace; or rather, its abrogation, and the arming on the lakes that would follow, would tend to a breach of the peace. Furthermore, the arrangement as it stands is to our interest. A careful study of the situation shows that, if only we had, as Great Britain certainly has, arms and equipments ready for all available vessels, the advantage would be overwhelmingly with us on every lake, excepting Lake Ontario,—as to which there may be reason for doubt.

If we should know that we were always to be at peace with all the naval Powers of the world, it would be quite easy to say how large our Navy should be. We should, in that case, want only such cruising vessels and gun-boats as would be needed to look after our interests in countries where revolutions are frequent, and local laws and the rights of foreigners are not always regarded. But the millennium is not yet; so some comparisons of naval strength have been deemed necessary.

We may now inquire what interests we have that might possibly need the protection of a navy, and what facilities our conditions, geographical and commercial, would afford to an enemy for an attack by water. We may then form some opinion as to (2) how much the United States Navy should be increased.

The United States have over 3,000 miles of sea-coast, excluding Alaska. We have more population and more wealth in cities by the sea than perhaps all the other nations of the world together. The statistics of our coast-wise commerce are wanting; but our Commissioner of Navigation estimates that we have more water-borne traffic than even the United Kingdom of Great Britain. It is often said that others do our carrying, and that we have but a small merchant marine. Excluding our shipping upon the great lakes and Western rivers, the registered, enrolled, and licensed American vessels, carrying to and from our Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts,—some to foreign and the rest to home ports, and all subject to attack by foreign ships of war,—foot up

a tonnage of 3,104,000 tons ; while, according to the latest available figures, Russia, Germany, and Italy have an aggregate tonnage, coastwise-going ships included, of only 2,768,000 tons. If we now count in our vessels on the great lakes, we have a total American tonnage,—Western-river commerce still excluded—of 4,428,000 tons, which is far more than the total mercantile marine of Russia, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Spain ; and excluding Great Britain and the United States, these five nations are, as we have seen, the greatest naval Powers of the world. A naval war, therefore, would be a serious matter for our country, and particularly because, the United States having refused long ago, at the Paris Conference, to consent to the abolition of privateering, the right to issue letters-of-marque and reprisal to private vessels to prey on an enemy's commerce still exists as against us in favor of all the other Powers of the world. What would become of our foreign carrying trade and our vast coast-wise traffic, if an enemy should commission a lot of swift vessels to hover along our coasts from Machias to Galveston, or from San Diego to Puget Sound ?

As to our cities by the sea, it should be remembered that they are now, for the most part, in no better condition to be defended against attacks by water than they were during the Civil War ; and that the harbor defences of that day were not equal to the ships and guns then brought against them. The war-ships and guns of to-day are infinitely better than those of 1861-5.

It thus appears : First, that we have more property on shore assailable from the water than any other nation ; second, that we have more property (commerce) afloat and assailable by navies than any other nation ; and third, that, excepting Great Britain, we have more merchant ships afloat on the ocean (great lakes included) than the five greatest naval Powers of the world combined.

Taking these conclusions as postulates, and considering them in connection with the tables we have examined, it seems to follow that our navy should be further increased, unless the opponents of such increase can establish the single proposition that we are never to have any more wars with naval Powers. They cannot admit the possibility of war, and contend that we can prepare for it when in sight. Many nations act unwisely : but none would be so Quixotic as to give us notice and wait until we had prepared for a contest ; and a modern naval war would be over in less time than it takes to build a single gun-boat.

The whole argument against an increase of the Navy must there-

fore rest upon the impossibility of war; and it is usually put thus: No nation would dare to attack us, the United States of America; and if we shall, as we mean to do, cultivate peace and honest commerce with all the peoples of the earth, we shall never have cause to initiate war.

This reasoning assumes, among other things, that all nations are wise and prudent. If we should concede—what cannot be established—that the rulers of nations are always prudent, and that individually they always estimate wisely their own relative military strength, it must nevertheless be admitted that public sentiment, which, after all, dominates now and then even kings and emperors, is not always so wise as it should be.

It is not a great many years since the people of Portugal were demanding a declaration of war against Great Britain; and it was for a time doubtful whether the King could resist the clamor. It was public sentiment in France that brought on the Franco-German war. The French Emperor was loath to begin hostilities; but the campaigns of Napoleon I over the Rhine were in the air. Napoleon III issued his proclamation; and in a few weeks he was a prisoner of war at Sedan. King George of Greece certainly knew—from the standpoint of prudence and wisdom, which we are assuming for rulers—that Greece could not whip Turkey. Perhaps he hoped for the intervention that never came, or came too late. But, however that was, the spirit of Salamis and Thermopylæ dominated the Greeks; and, desperate as were the chances of war, the chances that the King's crown could survive a revolution were more desperate still. War was declared; and we know the result.

To come nearer home. No one can affirm with certainty, what is to be the outcome of the Cuban revolution. There is much evidence to show: That the Spanish populace are as thoroughly determined not to give up Cuba as were the Greeks recently to succor their fellow-Christians in Crete; that to acknowledge its inability to overcome the rebellion unaided would endanger the present dynasty; and that, as a last resort, the Spanish government, to save itself, would declare war against us, preferring to lose the island—if at all—only after a brave struggle with the hated Americans. In Spain too, as in Greece, there would be the hope of intervention.

If the Franco-German and the Greco-Turkish war—instances which might be indefinitely multiplied—show the power of the people even in monarchical countries, what shall we say of the influence of public sentiment in our own country; and who shall aver that we

can always count on conservatism in our future councils of state? That we are sensitive, high-spirited, and warlike, goes without saying; and it would be an interesting task to show, from past history, that our people, more than any other, are controlled by sentiment. One instance however will suffice. Where was the conservatism or prudence of the Anti-Slavery party or the Secessionists—those who created the conditions that led to our Civil War? It was non-existent on either side. The characteristics that brought on and carried on that great struggle still exist. The pride of our people in themselves, North and South, was intensified by that conflict. It is not declamation, but the plain statement of a patent fact, to say that the people, North and South, now that they are thoroughly united under homogeneous institutions, feel a common pride in the courage displayed on both sides in the Civil War, and that an opportunity to make common cause against a public enemy would meet a widespread welcome.

Public sentiment in America never was so united; nor was it ever prouder or more sensitive than it is to-day. A spark can kindle a conflagration among us at any moment. Look at the unanimity with which Congress and the people sustained President Cleveland's Venezuela Message; and at the utterances of the people, the press, and the United States Senate on the Cuban question. The House too, no doubt, would have adopted the resolution recognizing the belligerent rights of the Cubans, if it had been able to reach a vote. On the Cuban question, administrations—upon which so much of responsibility rests—have so far been, and are likely hereafter to be, more conservative than Congress. But who is there to affirm that Presidents will always resist the demands made upon them for warlike measures. President Madison naturally hesitated in 1812 to declare war against Great Britain. The odds were fearful; but the war party compelled him, just as it compelled Napoleon III in 1870, King George of Greece in 1897, and as it might compel Spain in the near future, to a declaration of war.

And here—it may be as well to answer the argument that a larger navy would only be a greater inducement to war. "Jingoism" is not a matter of calculation, but of sentiment. Warlike Congressmen, as the "Congressional Record" shows, are not necessarily friends of an increased Navy. And so of our people. Prudence with them is undoubtedly "a rascally virtue." Adverting again to our Civil War, it was only a woful minority on either side that stopped to count the cost when that great struggle was approaching. So it certainly would be if a foreign nation should give us cause for war. Pre-

paredness on our part will simply suggest to other nations that they must not give us cause of offence.

It is further to be considered that in the always varying relations of states, and of their citizens and subjects toward one another, new questions of dispute are constantly arising. In case of a naval war between two or more great naval Powers, difficulties as well as opportunities for us will almost certainly come. We have trade relations with all the world. We furnish many articles which are absolutely contraband of war; and others, as coal and provisions, which are sometimes contraband and sometimes not. A blockade may be sometimes effective and justify confiscation of vessel and cargo, and sometimes not. We should always be able to protect our commerce instantly, and see that such questions are not decided wrongfully to our detriment. We cannot afford to be in the condition we occupied during the Napoleonic era, when Great Britain and France, under orders in council and the Berlin and Milan decrees, warred on our commerce until we were compelled at last, in sheer desperation, to fight first the one and then the other. We saved our honor by the war of 1812; but irreparable injury had been done us before we took up arms to prevent it. The prime cause of offence to France and England during their wars was, that much of the commerce that each was seeking to destroy sought refuge under our flag. That is precisely what would happen again under like circumstances. A great opportunity would be ours to get back a large share of the carrying trade of the world,—a contingency dependent only upon our ability to protect the commerce that would seek the shelter of our flag. To realize from such conditions, we shall need only such a navy as will be, beyond question, sufficient to turn the scales of battle, if we should be forced into the contest. With such a navy, our rights would be promptly respected wherever our flag appeared.

This article would not be complete without glancing at what is possible, though it is hoped not probable,—a conflict with Japan, arising out of conditions in Hawaii. We have in Pacific waters, our Asiatic fleet, with six cruisers and gun-boats, and our Pacific fleet, with one battle-ship, two monitors, and four cruisers and gun-boats; forming together a fleet not equal to that which Japan could concentrate.

Besides the ships shown in table No. 1, Japan has recently bought and has now in English waters two first-class 12,000-ton battle-ships rated at nineteen knots, the "Fuji" and "Yashima," and also, still more recently, two 9,500-ton armored cruisers now being constructed by Armstrong at Elswick, England. The "Fuji" and "Yashima" could

coal sooner at intervening ports and steam more rapidly than our larger fleet, which could only go at the speed of the slowest vessel. Suppose we should not wish to risk the unequal fight. If we decided we could afford, in view of possible trouble with Spain, to strip our Atlantic coast, we should probably not send reinforcements by the Suez Canal, because, first, the Canal would be difficult for our deepest-draught vessels, and it might not be open to us after a declaration of war; and, second, we might not be permitted to coal at the English ports, which alone are available. If we should leave the defence of the Atlantic to the monitors and smaller cruisers, and start around South America with the "New York," "Indiana," "Iowa," "Chicago," "Minneapolis," "Maine," "Massachusetts," "Texas," "Columbia," and "Newark," we should coal at Santa Lucia, Pernambuco, Punta Arenas, Callao, and Acapulco. And if the fleet sailed from the latter port straight to Honolulu, it would reach there with almost empty coal-bunkers, having sailed 15,604 miles in ninety-seven days after leaving New York.

Japan could move her home fleet, consisting of 5 armored ships, say 6 cruising gun-boats, 6 torpedo gun-boats and 8 protected cruisers, 3,339 miles to Honolulu in sixteen or seventeen days; and her two new first-class 19-knot 12,000-ton battle-ships, the "Fuji" and "Yas-hima," now in English waters, could reach Honolulu long before our reinforcements could arrive. If we sent our ships by the Suez Canal, the distance would be practically the same,—15,552 miles, by the shortest route. We could not, by either route, concentrate so soon as Japan, and would therefore be compelled to decline battle and give up the islands, until our reinforcements should arrive; or else the conflict for the possession of Honolulu would be over before our Atlantic fleet could get there.

If we annex Hawaii, we must add largely to our Pacific fleet. We cannot otherwise defend this outpost, 2,000 miles from our present boundaries.

And now a word as to the value, from a naval standpoint, of the Nicaragua Canal. In the case of an enemy having a naval force in but one of the oceans, the Canal might sometimes be of great value. It would afford opportunity, when we were more alert and better situated than the enemy, to concentrate our Atlantic and Pacific fleets. But with an enemy having fleets in both oceans, it would afford him the same opportunity,—unless we should control the Canal, and keep it always defended by forts and men. To maintain this control, being without overland communications, we must have a Navy large enough

to fight its way to those forts through hostile squadrons. Any extension of our dominion to either the Isthmus of Panama or Hawaii must necessitate an increase of our navy.

Regardless, however, of any question of territorial extension, it seems to me that we should add to the number of our battle-ships and build many more torpedo-boats.

This does not imply that due weight should not be given to the fact that we are far the most powerful nation on this continent; that we are nearly three thousand miles distant from Europe; that any European Power detaching a fleet to attack our coast or to raid our commerce must watch its rivals near by; and that our purpose is and should be peace with all the world.

On the other hand, we must remember that naval power is not an abstract, but a relative quantity; that we cannot shut our eyes to what other nations are doing; that no human prescience can foretell the circumstances or the quarters from which wars may come; that we have more ships that need protection than any nation but one; that our ports, our shipping, and our ever-widening commerce are subject to attack; and that, with modern ships, naval wars will come and go almost like the lightning's flash. We should be able to command our peace and protect our rights at all times.

Certainly it would not be too much to add, say, six more battle-ships to our Atlantic fleet and half as many to the Pacific. And seventy-five torpedo-boats would not be an undue addition to this class of our vessels. These, it is believed, should be built during a programme of some five years,—two battle-ships and about fifteen torpedo-boats, to be laid down each year.

It is always advantageous to lay down a naval building programme extending through a series of years. The manufacture of ships, engines, guns, torpedoes, requires the highest class of skilled laborers. And every consideration of economy and efficiency requires that, once assembled, such laborers should be kept together. Germany—my recollection is—once had a ship-building programme extending through ten years; but Great Britain has maintained among nations the most continuous and orderly system, and so has attained the greatest relative economy and efficiency in the construction of ships.

Let me say, in conclusion, that all classes are interested in maintaining the efficiency of our Navy,—above all, farmers. Their crops form the bulk of our exports; their surplus must seek, and must be protected while it seeks, the markets of the world.

HILARY A. HERBERT.

TABLES ACCOMPANYING MR. HERBERT'S ARTICLE, "A PLEA FOR THE NAVY."

TABLE NO. 1.

CLASS OF VESSEL.	Great Britain.	France.	Russia.	Italy.	United States.	Germany.	Japan.*	Spain.
Battle-ships.....	14	6	7	2	5	2	1	..
{ Building.....	48	80	16	13	6	11	4	3
{ Built.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Total.....	13	86	23	15	11	13	5	8
Armored Cruisers.....	13	2	2	4	..	1	..	2
{ Building.....	..	6	8	1	2	..	4	9
{ Built.....	..	..	10	5	..	..	..	11
{ Total.....	14	16	15	..	20	17	1	..
Coast and Harbor Defence.	14	16	11	..	..	2	..	..
{ Building.....	105	7	13	8	13	5	4	..
{ Built.....	..	84	13	16	18	14	11	5
{ Total.....	2	41	24	9	6	2	14	19
Gun-boats and lightly pro- tected Cruisers.....	63	41	24	9	14	14	14	19
{ Building.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Built.....	2	1	..	6	1	8	..	2
{ Total.....	2	1	..	6	1	8	..	2
Despatch-boat.....	..	5	1	2	..	2	..	3
{ Building.....	81	15	8	15	..	10	6	10
{ Built.....	..	20	9	17	..	12	6	18
{ Total.....	..	..	..	..	14	..	..	..
Torpedo-boats and De- stroyers.....	238	228	204	168	8	124	48	27

* Since this table was compiled, Japan has ordered one battle-ship and projected another.

† Also 64 Cuban Gun-boats of 200 to 300 tons displacement.

A PLEA FOR THE NAVY.

TABLE NO. 2.

NATION.	BATTLE-SHIPS.		ARMORED CRUISERS.		CRUISING VESSELS.		Total Displacement.	TORPEDO-BOATS AND DESTROYERS.		Ratio of battle-ship displacement to torpedo-boat displacement.	Ratio of total displacement to torpedo-boat displacement.
	Built and Building.		Built and Building.		Built and Building.			Built and Building.			
	Number.	Disp't.	Number.	Disp't.	Number.	Disp't.		Number.	Disp't.		
	Number.	Disp't.	Number.	Disp't.	Number.	Disp't.		Number.	Disp't.		
Great Britain	62	678,279	13	86,260	217	650,788	1,415,277	238	28,651	24	49
France	36	837,429	8	63,540	108	243,568	644,537	228	16,583	20	39
Russia	23	207,897	10	77,472	46	62,897	348,266	204	12,929	16	27
Italy	15	162,528	5	25,978	51	82,532	271,089	168	11,246	14	24
United States	11	112,896	2	17,471	33	86,398	216,765	23	3,075	37	70
Germany	18	103,593	1	10,650	50	75,318	190,061	134	14,550	7	18
Japan	5	59,600	4	9,309	85	61,168	130,057	48	3,051	20	43
....	3	24,455	11	65,220	39	52,607	142,282	27	3,739	7	38

TABLE NO. 3.

CLASS OF VESSEL.	Particulars.	United States.	Germany.	Italy.
Battle-ships.....	Building	5	2	2
	Built.....	6	11	13
	Total number.....	11	13	15
	Total displacement.....	112896	103593	162529
	Total horse-power.....	110155	98174	190681
	Average speed in knots.....	17	15	18
	Guns, main battery.....	182	270	241
	Muzzle-energy, foot-tons.....	1924466	1492070	2181864
Armored Cruisers	Building .....	.. ..	1	4
	Built.....	2	.. ..	1
	Total number.....	2	1	5
	Total displacement.....	17471	10650	25978
	Total horse-power.....	86170	14000	33293
	Average speed in knots.....	21.5	19	15
	Guns, main battery.....	38	26	74
	Muzzle-energy, foot-tons.....	148562	123960	162370
Coast and Harbor Defence	Building .....	.. ..	2	.. ..
	Built.....	20	17	.. ..
	Total number.....	20	19	.. ..
	Total displacement.....	53759	40899	.. ..
	Total horse-power.....	26066	45549	.. ..
	Average speed in knots.....	10	12	.. ..
	Guns, main battery.....	56	123	.. ..
	Muzzle-energy, foot-tons.....	604470	496906	.. ..
Cruising Vessels and Gun-boats..	Building	6	7	3
	Built.....	27	31	31
	Total number.....	33	38	34
	Total displacement.....	86398	71512	68308
	Total horse-power.....	182997	127552	143728
	Average speed in knots.....	16	14	15.6
	Guns, main battery.....	285	270	202
	Muzzle-energy, foot-tons.....	705602	434942	519498
Torpedo Gun-boats	Building .....	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
	Built.....	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
	Total number.....	.. ..	12	17
	Total displacement.....	.. ..	4306	14229
Torpedo-boats and Destroyers....	Building	14	.. ..	.. ..
	Built.....	8	.. ..	.. ..
	Total number.....	22	124	168
	Total displacement.....	3075	14550	11246

ALASKA AND THE NEW GOLD-FIELD.

As a preliminary to a clear conception of the conditions in the Yukon district, it is necessary to understand the climatic and topographic features of the adjacent region. These are far less uniform than they are generally supposed to be.

North of Puget Sound, the mountain-ranges—differentiated as the Coast range, the Olympics, the Cascades, etc.—are succeeded by a wide belt of mountainous country not differentiated into extensive or continuous ranges. The western margin of this belt is partly submerged; the narrow valleys becoming intricate arms of the sea, protected for hundreds of miles from the ocean surges by an almost continuous barrier of densely wooded, rocky islands. The steep sides of these islands rise to irregularly broken peaks, whose higher summits reach a fairly uniform height of two thousand five hundred to three thousand feet above the sea-level. The archipelago has an average width of some fifty miles; the narrow, deep, navigable channels extending from Puget Sound to the head of Lynn Canal.

Eastward, the more elevated continental region preserves the same characteristics. In British Columbia, where the width of the belt is greatest, it has been aptly termed a “sea of mountains.” This extends, parallel with the general trend of the coast, northward and westward; forming a confused mass of short ranges, drained by narrow valleys, the waters of which, gathered into a few torrential rivers, are carried through rocky cañons to the sea.

Advancing northward, the valleys gradually widen, at the expense of the mountainous area; the latter assuming a greater regularity of trend, and forming more continuous ranges. The axis of elevation comes nearer to the coast; and the height of the mass, as measured by its higher peaks, is greatly increased. It reaches a maximum of over 19,000 feet in the vicinity of the one hundred and forty-first meridian west of Greenwich, where it is known as the St. Elias Alps.

The head-waters of the Yukon lie deep among the northern portions of the British-Columbian mountains; reaching to within forty miles of the continental coast. Here the valleys are narrow, the

streams often widening to form long and narrow lakes, obstructed by rapids and other impediments to navigation. The borders of the water-courses are usually wooded with spruce, willow, and poplar of moderate size. Elsewhere the land is covered with a dense growth of grasses, or with a thick and elastic blanket of moss. The southern group of streams meets the northeastern group near Fort Selkirk. Here the last serious obstruction to navigation is passed; and then the noble river flows, as the Yukon, some two thousand miles to Bering Sea.

Below Fort Selkirk, the Yukon cuts its way obliquely through the mountains, forming a moderate cañon known as the "Upper Ramparts." Emerging from this cañon it enters a wide expanse of tundra—wet and grassy prairie,—where it becomes tortuous, and broad, and entangled in a myriad of low and sandy islands. Fifty miles further down, the tundra comes to an end, and the Yukon enters the second cañon, or "Lower Ramparts," which extends some forty miles. Below this, with low mountains, hills, or bluffs on its right bank, and a wooded expanse of lowland—the Kafyuh Valley—on the left, the Yukon pursues its uneventful way to the vast grassy plains and sandy sloughs of the delta.

The gold belt of the North Pacific, speaking in general terms, is coincident, though not entirely coëxtensive, with the mountainous region above described; and access to it, in the Yukon district, is had by way of the Yukon or the passes leading to its head-waters.

The climate of the Yukon district is quite different from that of the adjacent coast. The islands of the British-Columbian and Alexander archipelagoes, as is generally known, have a mild and wet climate, a mean annual temperature of about 42° Fahr., and a winter more stormy, but hardly colder, than that of Washington, D. C. Even the treeless Aleutian Islands, far to the westward, participate in this moderation of temperature and excess of moisture. The transpacific easterly drift, which, on the northwest coast, represents what is left of the Japan current, after crossing the Pacific, brings with it fog and rain. The immediate coast and islands are continually moistened, and, therefore, covered for the most part with a vegetation comparable in density with that of many tropical forests. The low level of the peaks carries few of them above the snow-line in summer, so that the conditions for glaciers are wanting.

On the continental shore, in the same latitude, the additional height supplies the factor deficient on the islands; and here are developed the glorious glaciers whose fame has spread over all the civilized world. Farther westward the towering heights of the St. Elias Alps and the

Fairweather range are the sources of glaciers far surpassing those of the archipelago; but to these the tourist has not made his way.

A marked distinction of the Alaskan fjords, lies in their topography. In the latter cases the ice-cap was deep enough, or long-lived enough, to grind off the surface of the seaward island; leaving only subdued contours of rounded or polished, little-elevated rock. In Alaska, whatever the cause, the result has been to scour the channels in the narrow valleys; heaping a few moraines here and there, but leaving in all their rugged grandeur the craggy walls and splintered pinnacles. In consequence, we have in this region a finer type of scenery than either Maine or Norway commonly affords, and a barrier against access to the interior far more difficult to cross. The rainclouds and fog-laden winds are thus arrested on the verge of the continent. Once over the range, one enters a radically different climate.

As far as rainfall is concerned, the Yukon district is almost arid. If it were not in the far North, where congelation holds in its firm grip almost all the undrained rainfall, the region would be a desert. Including the melted snow, less than thirteen inches of water are recorded as falling during an entire year,—but little more than on the arid plains of Nevada. The immense volume of the Yukon in spring is derived from the melting snows of many thousand square miles. The freshet begins about May 20; and by the middle of July, as a rule, the snow has disappeared even from the mountain-tops.

The great river now shrinks to its main channel; its level in the cañons sometimes falling as much as seventy feet below that of the freshet: it is still deep enough, however, for steamer navigation. As the frosts of mid-September lock the rills and streamlets, a further shrinkage begins, and the water of mid-winter fills but a fraction of the September channel. The snows are light and fleecy; lying, in March in the depths of untroubled woods, as deep as six feet on the level: as the snow becomes compacted, it falls to about three feet. A light haze—hardly a fog—is not uncommon in summer. There are light showers, but no thunderstorms or heavy rains; and very high winds are rare.

As regards temperature, the winters may be compared to those of Canada and Minnesota. The air is crisp and cold, with occasional blizzards: for the latter, the Russians long ago coined the name "poorga." The mid-winter temperature may average thirty degrees below zero (Fahrenheit): in two winters, minus 68° was the coldest observed with standard instruments. More extreme statements are probably derived from inaccurate thermometers. With the light deerskin clothing and

native boots containing a non-conducting sandal of dry grass, these temperatures are quite bearable. Few, if any, complaints of cold feet or hands are remembered; and the writer wore a pair of ordinary blue army trousers without discomfort during two winters.

Ordinary woollen clothing for the body, and leather boots for the feet, are of course utterly unsuitable, and can be worn only at serious risk when travelling. Indian snow-shoes are essential: the Norwegian variety proved worthless.

As the season advances the snow settles; and at night a firm crust forms. The most favorable months for travelling are March and April. The mid-winter days are short, with sunlight in some latitudes from ten in the morning to three in the afternoon. When necessary, one can travel fairly well by star-light and moon-light over the snowy tundra, but not in the woods. In May, the snow is wet and heavy, and travel, difficult. Pools of water and the first mosquitoes then begin to appear. By May 20, the river bursts its bonds of ice, and floods the lowlands; ice, débris, and broken timber pouring, with a grinding noise, head-long toward the sea. For at least a week, navigation is impossible.

Summer, swift-footed, trips upon the heels of winter. The sun pours down with a violence not soon forgotten, though in the shade it is always cool. The cry of the brant, northward bound, is continually heard; and myriads of smaller water-fowl appear on every hand. All the minor forms of life, native to the region or migrants from the south, with startling suddenness, people the copses and pervade the air. Vegetation springs into leaf and flower at a bound; and, with hardly a hint of spring, summer is upon us.

Mosquitoes, the pest of the North, appear in clouds. Except in mid-stream, or where a brisk breeze is blowing, life without a net and leather gloves is misery. The Indians smear their faces with a mixture of grease and charcoal, and paddle with a smudge on a square of turf in the bows of their birch canoes. The caribou, moose, and bear, driven from the thickets, plunge into the river, for a temporary respite. Curiously enough, during three summers, black flies and midges, so plentiful to the eastward, were encountered only once on the Yukon: possibly, near its head-waters, our luck would have been worse.

The records show that the lower Yukon valley has a summer temperature much in excess of that normal to the latitude. As the days are long, the traveller will prudently sleep at noon, and utilize for his work the cooler hours when the sun sweeps low along the northern horizon and the mosquitoes are less active.

Frosts appear in mid-September. Early in October, the Yukon begins to be covered with ice; though it is not fully ice-bound until late in November. So the round is completed.

In July, the salmon begin to run. There are several species; only one or two, however, reaching the upper waters of the river, nearly two thousand miles from the sea. There is no fishing with hook and line. The salmon does not take the fly; and even the grayling, found in the smaller streams, refuses the lure. Fish, abundant in the lower river, scarcer by degrees as the stream is ascended, are taken in nets or traps. Both in summer and in winter, they form the greater part of the native food-supply. They comprise, beside the salmon, whitefish of seven species, the burbot, suckers, and salmon trout. The ptarmigan, arctic rabbit, and polar hare, the caribou, moose, black and brown bears, offer the chief supplies of game. They are, however, very irregularly distributed,—some districts, especially on the upper Yukon, being almost destitute of the larger animals. The annual migration of water-fowl—particularly of ducks and geese—tides over a part of the year when other game is scarce and there is no fishing; but the upper Yukon receives a very meagre proportion of the migrants.

Many years ago gold was known to exist on the Yukon. The Hudson Bay Company's men tested the bars of the main river, and found "the color," but not in sufficient quantity to warrant working. The reason is, that, in the disintegration of the rocks by the smaller streams and the action of frost and melting snow, the metallic burden of the waters is dropped in the causeway of the smaller tributaries; only the finest float gold and the lighter sand and gravel being carried as far as the Yukon itself.

In 1880, after years of fruitless search on the main stream, a body of prospectors under the protection of Captain (now Admiral) Bearley, U.S.N., landed at the head of Lynn Canal, crossed the divide and proceeded to explore the head-waters. Not much being found first in Canadian territory, the prospectors descended the river to a region near the lower end of the Upper Ramparts. In this region the boundary, formed by the one hundred and forty-first degree of longitude from Greenwich. Here the Yukon receives from the west a tributary called Forty-Mile Creek. A few miles of the upper part of this creek, including its mouth, are on the Canadian side of the line: the head-waters—on which the gold is chiefly found—on the most part, on the American side. In this vicinity the first deposits were discovered, many of which are still worked

camp, under Canadian jurisdiction, has been established at the mouth of Forty-Mile Creek. It has had for several winters a large population.

Near the junction of the Porcupine and Yukon, a few miles below the site of Fort Yukon, visited by the writer in 1867, is the mouth of Birch Creek,—a tributary from the south and east. On the upper waters of Birch Creek,—nearly parallel with the Yukon and wholly in American territory,—valuable placers were found. About half-way between the boundary and Fort Yukon another camp, known as Circle City, has grown up: from this, by a short portage, the head-waters of Birch Creek are reached.

The site of the new diggings—which have produced an excitement recalling the “Fraser River rush” of 1857—is on a stream tributary to the Yukon from the northeast, wholly in Canadian territory, and entering the main river about fifty miles eastward from the boundary. Here a mining camp, called Dawson City,—after the head of the Dominion Geological Survey,—has been established; which, by the ensuing winter, will doubtless have a population of several thousand.

The stream above referred to has been named the Klondyke,—signifying “reindeer”: on some of the older maps it is designated Reindeer River. It is said however that the name should really be Thron-dak,—a Tinné term meaning “plenty of fish.” The existence of gold on this stream and its branches appears to have been first made known by Indians. One of the first prospectors to locate upon it with success was J. A. Carmich, who staked out his claim in August, 1896, and with two helpers, in a few weeks, washed out over \$14,000.

According to the reports of Mr. William Ogilvie—in charge of the Canadian contingent of the International Boundary Survey—the Klondyke and its branches form a district in which four thousand claims, each one hundred feet in length, may be expected. To this may be added the length of a large creek between Klondyke and Stewart River, called Indian Creek, along which good prospects have already been found. There is no reason to doubt that the other small tributaries of the Yukon on both sides of the boundary will add valuable workings to those already discovered. Work for ten or twelve thousand people appears to be already in sight; and only the question of adequate subsistence seems likely to limit the number of incoming seekers for fortune.

In an examination of the gold deposits in the coast regions of Alaska made, in 1895, by the well-known expert of the United States Geological Survey, Dr. Geo. F. Becker, it was noted that much of the gold was contained in discontinuous lenses of quartz in the country rock,—known

to miners as "stringers,"—rather than in regular fissure-veins. On account of their irregular distribution, these stringers, unless of exceptional abundance, contiguity, and size, afford less promising openings for regular quartz-mining. When the disintegration of the rock proceeds in the natural way for many centuries, there is carried on what may be termed a natural panning-out process. By this process the metal contained in the stringers is gradually concentrated in the rough beds of the small streams, while the lighter gravel and other débris are carried away by the main stream or gradually dropped above the heavier material containing gold. Although Mr. Spurr, of the United States Geological Survey, who examined the deposits on Forty-Mile and Birch creeks in 1896, is very hopeful of valuable vein deposits in this region, it seems probable that much of the Yukon gold, like that of the coast, is the product of disintegrated stringer leads.

The analysis of several lots of Klondyke gold at San Francisco shows the value of the coarse and fine dust to be, respectively, about seventeen and eighteen dollars per ounce,—being somewhat less fine than that produced by the California placers. With the gold is mixed a certain amount of lead, silver, and other less valuable metals; and most of it is more or less deeply stained with iron. The washings are said to be accepted in trade by the storekeepers on the Yukon at a valuation of fifteen dollars per ounce; which doubtless reserves for them a certain margin of safety.

The method of working the gravel deposits in the Yukon mines is somewhat unique, and results from the peculiar climatic conditions. Ordinarily, the earth in this region, below its blanket of moss, is more or less permanently frozen to a considerable depth. Even when the soil is not actually consolidated, numerous small crystals of ice are plentifully distributed through it. In ordinary seasons, when the vegetation is removed, the natural thawing of the earth does not proceed much below a foot from the surface. The frozen soil is very tough, resists the pick, and hardly responds to a charge of blasting-powder.

At first the miners were led to take advantage of the shrinkage of the streams when cold weather set in, by laying up a supply of gravel above the level of the stream, so as not to be forced into idleness during the time of freshets. After clearing away the surface, fires were built over the gravel, and maintained until the heat had melted thick a layer as seemed practicable. This was then removed and carried to a safe place on the bank; and another frozen surface being exposed this was subjected to the same process, which was repeated in

nately, or until the bed-rock was reached. When the freshets came, the workable gravel was, of course, covered with water; but the miner filled up his time by washing out the gravel he had stored above water for the purpose. This process necessitated the cutting of a very large supply of wood, and the moving of a great quantity of barren gravel, the labor on which was in large part lost. This method was then improved by restricting the area heated to what would practically form a shaft, which was carried down until pay-gravel was reached, when the miner utilized his fires to run a tunnel along the axis of the pay-streak, over which the frozen, barren gravel formed a solid roof. In this way better results were obtained, at a cost of much less labor.

A certain amount of difficulty arose from the liability of the carbonic-acid gas generated by the fires to collect in dangerous quantities in the tunnels,—an evil which, in some cases, was overcome by the use of rude ventilating machinery worked by a hand-made windmill. It is quite evident that whatever returns the hardy miner obtained from his work were well earned.

In American territory there has been hitherto no governmental or judicial officer, and there have been no restrictions upon miners or mining. Citizens of any country may reap the fruit of their labor without any supervision or restriction, except that imposed by the unwritten but universally accepted "miner's law." Under these conditions, excellent order has prevailed in the American diggings: the imbibition of cheap smuggled whiskey and the gambling inevitable to mining camps seem to have produced no very serious evils.

On the Canadian side of the line, however, law and government have not been without their visible symbols and administrators. A "Gold Commissioner," who is a sort of benevolent despot invested with plenary powers, and twenty of the mounted police with which our Canadian neighbors maintain such excellent order in frontier districts, have been for some time in the region. So far, they have had little to do; but, if the reports in regard to the character of some of the present influx toward Klondyke are true, they are likely to have their hands full before long.

A license fee of five dollars, payable to the Gold Commissioner annually, is required of every prospector in Canadian territory. Should the miner be fortunate enough to "strike pay-dirt" and take up a claim, he must pay an entrance fee of fifteen dollars, and one hundred dollars per annum thereafter. He may take up diggings on bar or river—practically the only kind on these streams—for a length of

five hundred feet along the axis of the stream and outward to the base or benches of the hills on either side. Dry diggings are allowed to claim an area of one hundred feet square. Any person discovering a wholly new mine is allowed two hundred and fifty feet extra along the stream. All claims must be staked and registered with the Commissioner; but any number of miners may unite and work their claims as a body. A claim must be recorded within three days of its location; one additional day being allowed for every ten miles' distance of the claim from the office of the Commissioner. Claims may be sold, transferred, or assigned before the Commissioner for a fee of two dollars.

Right of way to other claims is reserved over the surface of registered claims; but the miner on a registered claim is exclusively entitled to all the products thereof. He must, however, obtain a permit to cut timber from the surface. He is entitled to his proportion of the water originally flowing on or over his claim, and to free drainage of his claim over the claims below.

Absence from his claim, or failure to work at it on working days for the space of seventy-two hours, without the Commissioner's permit or evidence of illness satisfactory to the Commissioner, entails a forfeiture of the claim in favor of any other person who, on showing these facts, may register upon it. In all disputes or difficulties not otherwise provided for, the Commissioner possesses nearly absolute powers.

It will be seen from this summary that our Canadian brethren regulate their mining affairs much more minutely, and certainly more effectively, than we do. It is probable that their method diminishes materially the amount of mining litigation, as compared with ours, while the expenses of the Commissioners are no doubt fully met by the fees.

The Canadian government has announced a graduating tax on productive Klondyke mines, and reserves every alternate claim to itself.

There are two principal routes by which the Yukon mining district may be reached. One is by steamer from Puget Sound through the interior waters of the archipelago to their northern limit at the head of Lynn Canal. The narrow terminal part of the Canal is often called Taiya Inlet. The word Tai-ya, of native origin, is spelled in many different ways, such as Tya, Dyea, of which the last is the form most commonly used. At the head of the inlet is the level delta of a small stream where Healey, a well-known Alaskan pioneer, has established a trading-post and rendezvous for pack animals. Thence the trail ascends to the divide; the upper part being very steep and above the snow-line.

On the Canadian side of the range a string of small lakes

streams, hardly navigable,—but usually crossed on the ice,—leads toward the more navigable portion of the Lewes branch of the Yukon. Formerly, on arriving at the wooded border of one of the upper lakes the traveller stopped, and, with a whip-saw, laboriously cut from the green spruce, boards enough to build a rude *bateau*, in which he embarked with his goods and chattels for the Yukon. Many of these frail constructions found a watery grave at the White Horse Rapids or in Miles Cañon on the Lewes River, though neither obstruction is serious if adventured in a seaworthy craft.

Once in the Yukon, the traveller's troubles are over. It is easy navigation, floating with the stream to any point desired. Of late, a small saw-mill supplies, for a sufficient consideration, boards or even ready-made *bateaux* to the prospector, thus saving him a great deal of time. It is doubtful, however, if this institution will be able to cope with the needs of the throng who have recently taken passage for Dyea.

The proper time to make the journey is early in the year, while the snow is hard, and the upper Lewes lakes offer a frozen surface for the sledges. After the snow is gone, the difficulties of the portage for foot-travellers is enormous. There are several other passes beside the Chilkoot Pass at the head of Dyea; but they all offer so much longer a land portage that hitherto they have been but little used. A pass next west from Chilkoot has been called the White Pass. It is said to be one thousand feet lower at its summit, and passable for pack animals with ease. As it opens upon a grassy prairie, it will probably come into use in summer for mounted parties. Another, the Chilkat Pass, still farther west, is also low, but has a much longer land portage. A fourth pass, said to be practicable, extends from Taku Inlet to the headwaters of the Hootalinqua River. It is long; but once the river is reached, the navigation is reputed to be less dangerous than on the Lewes.

The advantages of the portage route are: That it can be made early in the season, getting the traveller to the ground at the beginning instead of the middle or end of summer; that it is short; and that it is vastly easier to float with the stream than to paddle against it. For those reasons persons who go in by this route very frequently follow the Yukon down and come out by way of St. Michael.

The other route is by ocean steamer from California or Oregon to St. Michael, Norton Sound. Here the flat-bottomed stern-wheel steamers belonging to two companies doing business on the river may be taken, landing the passenger at Dawson City—with good luck—early in August. This is the easiest and slowest way of going, and in-

volves no more danger than a trip on a similar craft anywhere else. Barring the mosquitoes, there are no blood-thirsty enemies or wild beasts to be feared; and the journey, if a trifle monotonous, offers many points of interest. But for miners on business bent, the boat arrives just about in time to admit of building winter quarters; while the man who has come over the portage—with luck—has had the whole working season for his own.

One serious danger menaces the large population now pouring into the district. The upper Yukon is a country where subsistence has always been difficult. The first party which ever reached it,—that under Robt. Campbell of the Hudson Bay Company, who named the Pelly River,—though composed of seasoned *voyageurs*,—was, if tradition be reliable, forced to support life by cannibalism before it could reach help. In 1866, not more than three hundred Indians were able to find subsistence between Fort Yukon and Fort Selkirk. The abundant fish and game of the lower Yukon are absent. The river steamers available for transportation cannot, during the remainder of the present season, carry up to Dawson City much more food than will supply its present population. It seems improbable that any large proportion of the people now hurrying over the Chilkoot portage can transport—if indeed they possess—food enough to carry them over the winter and up to the arrival of summer supplies from the lower Yukon.

Very serious hardships, and even probable starvation, therefore, confront the rash and foolhardy, who push forward without proper supplies into a region whose limitations they do not realize. Fortunately, it is likely that many of those least prepared for the undertaking will never get over the divide, and will be obliged to remain in Southeastern Alaska, where the rush to Klondyke will have left open many opportunities for employment. Were it otherwise, the coming winter and spring would probably furnish material for tragedy. Even as it is, the circumstances offer ground for very grave apprehensions.

For those who may contemplate investing in permanent works, such as roads across the portages, another warning is in order. The average life of the placer districts of the Northwest Territory has been about three years. The gold-bearing streams being narrow, their pay-streak is soon worked out; though for a time it produces abundantly. These considerations should not be neglected in weighing the possible profit to be derived from constructions of a permanent nature in a region dependent solely upon the product of its mines.

WILLIAM HEALEY DALL

STRIKES AND THE COAL-MINERS.

OF all momentous questions there is, in my opinion, none so little understood as the labor movement. It is generally believed that its sum total is represented by the strike and the lockout; whereas, in truth, its chief factors are those which noiselessly, but steadily, secure for the wage-earners a measure of relief from unjust burdens and conditions. The labor movement serves not only to avert reductions of wages, but to bring about actual increases, as well as to reduce the hours of labor,—not by the strike, but by the power and influence exercised by the possibility of a strike. Employers who are wholly unmoved by argument or appeals to humanity will often, by a strike or the fear of a strike, be convinced of the necessity of considering more impartially the rights of the workers.

To prepare for strikes is to avert them, or at least to reduce their number; and it is beyond the shadow of a doubt that more strikes have been averted by the organization of labor than by any other means.

A strike or lockout is merely an incident—and in fact a comparatively insignificant incident—of the labor movement. It is, however, only when a strike occurs that the movement attracts general attention,—as does a volcano only when in a state of eruption. The normal and continuous efforts of labor are of interest merely to the student, who seeks for cause and effect. It is the strike that exposes to the public view the shocking conditions which, even in this enlightened age, exist among the workers. It is because of the exposure of these conditions that the sympathy of the people is generally to be found on the side of striking workers. The public conscience is shocked by the fact that, in this era of material plenitude, so much want prevails.

After all, what is a strike? It may be defined as a disagreement between the buyers and sellers of labor as to the terms upon which labor is bought and sold. And inasmuch as the seller cannot differentiate labor from man, the transaction has, in addition, humane bearings and interests. The negotiations as to price are conducted usually in one or other of two places: in the case of the unorganized workers, at the entrance to the mine, mill, factory, etc.; and in the case of the

organized workers, in the employer's office. In the one case, the terms of sale are based on the lowest needs and conditions of the workers; in the other, on their average needs and conditions.

In this age of organizations, combinations, corporations, and trusts, there certainly exists little ground for real complaint against the workers, because they organize, and, by organized effort, seek to place a somewhat fairer value upon their labor,—the only property or “merchandise” they have to sell. Without organization they are not accorded the slightest consideration in the mad scramble of competition for the markets of the world.

It is agreed, by all observers, that the higher the standard of life among the workers, the greater is the degree of industrial, financial, and commercial success attained, and the higher is the state of civilization of the whole people. Of course, it is not to be ignored that there are some well-meaning people who labor under the belief that the wages of American workers are too high, and their hours of labor too short, and that in world-competition the highest pinnacle of success may be attained only upon the basis of low wages and long hours of labor. To such the fact that the whole history of industry is replete with evidence of the unsoundness of their thesis, is of little moment: the immediate present—a large sale or order—is the alpha and omega of their economic, social, political, and moral philosophy. It may well be said that if low wages and long hours of labor formed the basis of industrial and commercial progress, China should be in the vanguard of civilization to-day.

During the industrial stagnation of the past four years, the organizations of labor have performed a service to the people of our country for which they have never received recognition, and for which, perhaps, they will never receive the gratitude to which they are justly entitled. One of the great causes of this stagnation—if not the greatest cause—was, undoubtedly, the fact that the productive power of the workers progressed at a greater ratio than their ability—or rather their opportunity—to consume. In other words, there exists in our economic system the evil sometimes called “over-production,” but which might be more correctly termed “under-consumption.” For, were the consumptive power of the workers to keep better pace with their productive ability, the anomalies of a people going a-hungred with ever-recurring industrial, commercial, and financial panics, crises, and stagnation—the midst of plenty—would be unknown.

Fortunately, when the crisis of 1893 came, it met a fairly well organized labor movement. While in some instances reductions in w

were made, these occurred only exceptionally in the case of organized workers.

Awful as the conditions were at the time of the panic of 1893,—and still are as a result of that panic,—there can be no doubt that had the workers not been so well organized as they were, there would have been no limit to the depth to which wages would have fallen. As a result, the consuming power of the workers would have been so much further reduced as to render the economic and industrial depression still more acute, and the demoralization and misery of the workers so much more marked that, by comparison, their present conditions would represent a veritable paradise. In a word, the unions of labor, during the past four years, have stood as a rock to check a wholesale reduction in wages, with all its concomitant misery. Further, the labor movement has served to shorten the duration of panics themselves as well as to enable the workers to maintain the consciousness of power and the hope that full justice will be secured to them in the no distant future. Finally, the movement has been the one great preventive of much more serious conflicts, if not of a revolution.

THE MINERS' STRIKE.

The Miners' Strike affords a study for us all. In the coal industry, as in most others, "machinery is introduced faster than new employments are founded." Before the panic of 1893, the miners were comparatively poorly organized; reduction after reduction was the order of the day; machine mining had been freely introduced, without the slightest attention being paid to the new conditions under which the miners were required to work. Of course, no observer—certainly no intelligent union member—entertains the thought of opposing the introduction and full development of machinery; but union labor insists that if, through the genius of man, the production of the necessities and even the luxuries of life be made easier, the producers of these—the workers,—if they do not become the beneficiaries, shall certainly not be made to suffer thereby. Union labor insists further that if new machinery be introduced, the worker shall enjoy at least part of the fruits. It also insists that the burdens of the worker be lightened by a reduction in his daily hours of labor, and that he receive as a reward for his labor a living wage,—a wage which, in the dawn of a higher manhood and a nobler civilization, will afford him an opportunity to keep pace with the ever-increasing responsibilities devolving upon him as a husband, a father, a man, and a citizen.

As above stated, the condition of the miners' organization in 1893 was such that the men were unable to insist upon a fair consideration of their interests. The old abuses of the "Company Stores," where the workmen were compelled to deal, were reintroduced and extended; thus compelling them to pay, in most instances, an excess of 25 to 50 per cent for every necessary of life. The hovels in which they dwelt, the well from which they drank, the church at whose altar they knelt, were all owned or controlled by the companies: the workers were truly their bondmen and their slaves.

There is a limit of poverty and misery among the workers in civilized society; and, rather than sink below it, they prefer to incur the dangers of open revolt. Though they deplore the disturbance it occasions, it is the courage, hardihood, and temporary self-sacrifice which this course involves that often prevent a relapse of society into barbarism, and the people from being thrust into actual slavery. It was this state of feeling, no doubt, that provoked the Miners' Strike of this year. Let us briefly examine the miners' conditions, existing just previously to the strike, and compare them with those of 1893.

The rates paid in the Western-Pennsylvania mining district in 1893 were 79 cents per ton for thin vein, and 65 cents for thick vein. The rates at the time of the Strike (July 4, 1897) were, 47 to 54 cents per ton for thin vein, and 28 to 30 cents per ton for thick vein.

In Ohio and Indiana, the prices in 1893 were 75 and 70 cents per ton respectively for thin and thick vein mining. The 1897 rates were 51 cents per ton, with an offer of a reduction to 45 cents per ton, occasioned by the low prices in Western Pennsylvania. In every mining district about the same ratio in the reduction of wages was enforced.

According to a written statement of a mining company in the Hocking Valley district of Ohio, thirty-nine miners were paid in wages an aggregate of \$223.98 for two weeks' work,—or \$2.87 a man per week. From this is deducted the cost of powder, tool sharpening, and wear and tear of pick, shovel, etc. The articles purchased by the families of the thirty-nine men at the company's store in the same two weeks amounted in the aggregate to \$178.05,—an average of a fraction over \$2.28 for each family, not including rent. This statement, it must be borne in mind, is that of the employers,—not of the men,—and, therefore, is certainly not overdrawn to elicit sympathy for the condition of the latter. Nor was this condition exceptional: it was, unfortunately, a general one. In 1895, when the mining rates were 55 cents per ton,—four cents higher than the present rates,—the Chief Mining Inspector

of Ohio ascertained that, on the average, the wages of the miners were \$18.48 per month, excluding deductions and expenses.

It is not the intention of the writer to picture here a woful tale of the misery and degradation to which the miners were being gradually crowded. Let someone more gifted, someone less actively engaged in the struggle to lift our fellows from the slough of despair, write it down, to the shame of our present era, for the edification or horror of future generations.

It will not be amiss, however, to quote from the official statement of the miners' organization, concerning the causes which impelled the present suspension :—

"Our suspension is not a choice, but an alternative. It is the voice of an enslaved class urged to action by cruel and unbearable conditions; the protest of an overworked, underpaid people against longer continuing a semi-starved existence. The limit of endurance was reached when honest labor could no longer sustain itself. . . . On one side, we were confronted by a heartless array of employers, whose combined wisdom and wealth suggested no remedy other than continued submission to avarice and greed; on the other side, we were met by the cries of nearly one million men, women, and children appealing for their rights to the opportunities of life and wages to sustain them compatible with economy, civilization, and present industrial conditions."

The miners' organization sought, by conciliation with the employers, to establish a uniform minimum mining rate. But every advance of this character was accepted as additional evidence of the miners' weakness. The overtures of their representatives were ignored or spurned. The men were insulted and defied to do their worst; and the conflict culminated in the challenge of a leading operator, "Go on and fight! We are ready for you."

The last straw was about to be placed upon the camel's back: no hope for a change through the assistance of the operators,—that is, no change except possibly still worse conditions,—could be looked for. The future seemed bleak and hopeless, unless the men themselves could be roused from their lethargy, and be made to feel that perhaps by submitting to a little more hunger and hardship for a time, a movement might be inaugurated from which would spring better conditions for the miners, their wives, and their little ones—better conditions not humanely or wisely sought by the far-sighted and public-spirited employers, but wrung from them through dire necessity to save themselves from financial destruction.

It was this alternative which confronted the miners when the authorized order for the suspension of mining operations in the competi-

five bituminous-coal district was issued, July 3, 1897, to take effect on the following day. In response to this order, more than one hundred and fifty thousand heroes emerged from the bowels of the earth, dropped their tools of labor, and sullenly looked the future in the face, thinking that abstinence from all work for a time could scarcely entail much greater hardship than they had already borne. They determined that if the future should mean nothing more than misery and degradation, they would not become resigned to their fate without at least registering such a mighty protest as would live for all ages to tell the tale that the miners were not willing slaves.

Before the Strike, a continual reduction in wages was the order of the day; no operator could see, nor did he care, where the limit of low wages would be; the discussion of a minimum rate was scouted as absurd, not to be considered for a moment. Could the coal-trade entertain an idea of an increase in the mining rate? Perish the thought! Nevertheless, at the time of writing this article (August 6) the Miners' Strike has lasted five weeks; and it has already resulted in a great change in the attitude of the operators.

To-day we hear no one discussing the reduction of wages, either for the present or the future. Why this change in the attitude of the operators and why this upward tendency of rates? It certainly is not because of a more humane consideration of the just claims of the miners by the operators. If so, the claims before the Strike were as just and fair as they are now. In a recent largely attended conference of mine operators at Pittsburg, it was resolved to endeavor to effect a combination among them, and all other operators in their competitive field, for a uniform minimum mining rate. Of course, there are some who doubt the sincerity of the leading spirit in this move, and who ascribe to him a purpose to evade the issue presented by the Strike; charging that it is a cleverly devised scheme to befog the public, and thus to defeat the present miners' movement for a real and permanent basis of a uniform minimum rate. But it is not the purpose of this article to impugn the motives of the promoters of this scheme and of those who participate in it. If we take the declarations as they are, we cannot fail to conclude, protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, that the conference was held and the declarations for a uniform minimum rate were made as the direct result of the Miners' Strike. If this be not so, pray why was the conference not held previously to the Strike, when the miners so earnestly pleaded for it?

It is, therefore, not an improper inference, when we claim that

though the Miners' Strike, as a strike, may not result so successfully in all its phases as we may wish,—the writer certainly hopes and believes that it will,—yet, as a matter of fact, it has already been successful to a very large extent. No more shall we hear of reductions in miners' wages: the limit has been reached. Although neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, a reputation is ventured upon the prediction that the worst is over, and that the future of the miners will be better and brighter; tending upward and onward in full touch with the progress of their fellow-workers.

Pursuant to the call, more than 150,000 miners, spread over five States, quit work at one and the same time. In five weeks, among all that number, not a breach of the peace has occurred; and this record has been maintained in spite of the greatest provocation caused by armed and disreputable hirelings, whose continuance of service has depended upon their thugging, brutal, and unscrupulous propensities. The miners, as well as their friends and sympathizers, have realized that much of their success—if not all—would depend upon their sterling, law-abiding deportment. To the chagrin of their enemies, their behavior has been such as to command the admiration of their counsellors and friends.

But what of the operators? They have been engaged in arresting the leaders of the men's choice; in building fences around public property, such as school and meeting houses; and, through the agency of the police and a horde of armed special deputies, in forbidding and preventing public meetings and free speech.

We are living in an age in which the cause which espouses, and struggles to attain, real justice and true freedom, deserves the earnest thought and best efforts of the men of our time.

It will be the unswerving purpose of the miners and their brothers in labor to secure the full measure of justice for which they are struggling, and to which they are entitled.

HAWAII AND THE CHANGING FRONT OF THE WORLD.

NOTHING has been more noteworthy during the century now drawing to a close than the wonderful expansion of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States.

The British Empire has steadily expanded until it now comprises an area of 11,384,000 square miles, with a population aggregating 402,000,000, having a foreign and intercolonial trade amounting to \$6,385,000,000 yearly. Of the total shipping of the world, 61 per cent is carried under the British flag. No empire since the dawn of history has equalled the British Empire of to-day in area, in population, or in wealth.

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was a glorious apotheosis of British unity and strength. The Premiers of eleven self-governing colonies rode in the Jubilee procession, accompanied by colonial and native troops from all parts of the world; every colony represented rejoicing in the words of Kipling, "Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in my own."

At a banquet given to the colonial Premiers, the Duke of Devonshire contrasted the feeling entertained in England toward the Colonies to-day—Englishmen everywhere rejoicing in celebrating imperial unity—with that which obtained when the Manchester School flourished, and when colonial expansion and consolidation were regarded as a policy of doubtful principle. The Jubilee marks the beginning of a new era in Anglo-Saxon development; and Imperial Federation will hereafter be the goal of British endeavor.

The expansion and growth, in population and in wealth, of the United States during this century have been the wonder of the world. The thirteen sturdy, self-reliant English colonies came into conflict with the dependent colonies of France and Spain on this continent,—a contest between the town-meeting and bureaucracy, between individualism and paternalism; and individualism triumphed. A stupid British ministry tried to interfere in the local affairs of the colonies; but the latter asserted and maintained their independence, and put into operation the most perfect system of federation hitherto attempted.

The propensity to acquire land, and the colonizing instincts which we inherited from our sea-roving ancestors, have lost none of their potency; and we have gradually secured, by purchase and conquest, the vast territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And our Aleutian Islands stretch across the Northern Pacific almost to the eastern coast-line of Asia. We have but recently proclaimed that our country is paramount on this hemisphere; and we have had that claim acknowledged by the only great World-Power possessing ability to dispute it. In this connection, it may prove of interest to recall some of the events leading up to the acquisitions of territory, and the declaration of the Doctrine that America must remain free from foreign aggression.

But for the victory of Wolfe at Quebec, and the purchase of the Louisiana territory, France would have controlled the vast domain extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, and indefinitely westward toward the Pacific. Spain claimed the vast territory extending from Vancouver to Cape Horn. It was the growing sea-power of England—Rodney's victory over the French fleet in 1782; the victory at Cape St. Vincent over the Spanish, and that of Camperdown over the Dutch in 1797; the victory of the Nile in 1798; the seizure of the Dutch fleet in 1799; and the annihilation of the Northern Maritime League at Copenhagen in 1801—that caused France to part with her Louisiana territory in 1803.

After Trafalgar (1805), France and Spain ceased to be naval Powers to be dreaded. Later, when Mexico and Central and South America had revolted against the despotic rule of Spain, and the crowned autocrats of Europe, alarmed at the spread of free institutions, had leagued together to stifle freedom and to aid Spain in recovering her American possessions, it was at the instance of England—we should not forget—that our celebrated Monroe Doctrine was promulgated. Mr. Canning suggested to our Minister to Great Britain that the two countries should stand together in preventing, "even by force if necessary," any action of the Holy Alliance looking to the reestablishment of Spanish rule in America. Mr. Jefferson urged President Monroe to accept the "proffered aid of England"; and the celebrated Message containing the Doctrine was promulgated December 2, 1823. There was great rejoicing in England when the Message reached that country. Sir James Mackintosh said in Parliament:—

"The coincidence of these two great English commonwealths (for so I delight to call them, and I heartily pray that they may be forever united in the cause of justice and liberty) cannot be contemplated without the utmost pleasure by every enlightened citizen of the earth."

In 1826, Henry Clay, as Secretary of State, in instructing our delegates to the Panama Congress, wrote:—

“After these two great maritime Powers [Great Britain and the United States] had let Continental Europe know that they would not see with indifference any forcible interposition in behalf of Old Spain, it was evident that no such interposition would, or, with any prospect of success, could, be offered.”

But for Wolfe and Nelson, Pitt and Canning, how changed might have been the history of this continent, how changed might have been the history of the world! Whatever the debt we may owe England—and the debt is great—for the achievements of the great men just named, it has been amply paid by the lesson of our Revolution, and by the lessons of federation which our successful experiment is teaching.

Sir H. Maine points out that

“the Federal Court is the unique creation of the founders of the Constitution . . . the success of this experiment has blinded men to its novelty. There is no exact precedent for it either in the ancient or the modern world.”

Of this court, John Stuart Mill says:—

“the usual remedies between nations, war and diplomacy, being precluded by the Federal Union, it is necessary that a judicial remedy should supply its place. The Supreme Court of the Federation dispenses international law, and is the first great example of what is one of the most prominent wants of civilized society, a *real international tribunal*.”

The British colonies are fast learning the lessons of federation which we have taught. Within the past few years the Canadian provinces have federated; within the past few months several of the Australian governments have passed Acts looking to Australasian federation. A great British empire is growing up in South Africa. The Transvaal and Orange Free State are just as sure to form part of the South-African British Federation as New Netherlands was to become New York. There, in South Africa, is a region as large as Europe,—not including Russia,—suited to colonization by our race; and in that far-away land the statesmen, in discussing the problems to be solved, are quoting from the American Constitution and the writings of Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton, and are demonstrating how applicable to their present conditions are the principles enunciated and put in practice by the founders of our government. There, too, are states with diverse interests, their English and Dutch communities, their local jealousies, their barbarous, warlike tribes on the frontiers, and vast areas of unoccupied land. They have Oöm-Paul, with his alien and sedition laws; and the fight

between Chief Justice Kotze and President Krüger is much like the contest that Chief Justice Marshall had with President Jefferson and some of his successors, and which resulted in the victory of the Court over the Executive.

Will not the federation of the various colonies be followed by a larger or imperial British federation, with an Imperial Supreme Court to settle intercolonial differences, as the differences between our States are settled? Has not our Supreme Court shown statesmen the way to a higher Court of International Arbitration, and was not the treaty, signed at Washington during the present year, but a harbinger of the coming dawn?

The growth of political aggregations is facilitated, and their permanence insured, by the introduction of the representative or federal system of government, and by the increasing commercial and industrial interdependence of widely separated countries.

With the development of the marine engine, the sea unites rather than divides widely separated lands. Measured by freight costs, Honolulu is nearer to San Francisco than are many towns in the State of California; Auckland, Sydney, Vancouver, and Hong-Kong are nearer to London than is Omaha to New York; and the British possessions in India, South Africa, Australasia, Canada, and the innumerable isles of the seas form a more perfect commercial unit than do the various parts of the Russian Empire, with no intervening seas.

The English-speaking peoples now supreme on the ocean, possessing by far the largest area of habitable lands in the temperate zones,—lands containing the greatest stores of coal, iron, copper, gold, and silver,—have advanced more in material wealth during the century now closing than in all the previous centuries in the history of our race. With a proper application of the federal system, as devised by the founders of our government, our race has the means of unlimited expansion without imperilling national unity.

Russia has been striving for centuries to reach the open sea. The dream of Peter the Great has become crystallized into a national aspiration. Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, and the preponderating strength of the British navy make the Mediterranean an English lake, even should Russia pass the Bosphorus. The entrance to Russia's Baltic ports is blocked by ice for a great part of the year. Thwarted on the west and south, ice-bound on the north, this great, mysterious, seemingly irresistible Power extends her dominion steadily until she reaches the Sea of Japan on the east; acquiring, by bold and skilful diplomacy, the

Amur country, equal in area to France. For the purpose of uniting her vast dominions, Russia is pushing to speedy completion her great Siberian railway from the Ural Mountains to her Asian seaport-fortress. The names around this Eastern fortress indicate Russian aspirations: Vladivostock, means "Ruler of the East"; the harbor is called the "Golden Horn"; the passage to the sea, the "Eastern Bosphorus"; and the bay, the "Gulf of Peter the Great." If not in Europe, yet in Asia, after centuries of patient striving, will Russian dreams of becoming a sea Power at last be realized.

But Vladivostock is blocked by ice during the winter. Russia must reach the open sea. By masterful diplomacy, after the close of the war between China and Japan, she makes a treaty with the former; acquiring, among other important concessions, the right to construct branches from her great military railway through Manchuria to harbors in China on the Yellow Sea. Unless checked, her dominion will follow the completion of these roads. Gradually she will extend along the lines of least resistance. She cannot become a sea Power until she becomes a manufacturing and commercial Power. China has, in her northern and eastern provinces, the only great coalfield not now in the possession of Great Britain and the United States. The population of Russia, by the census just completed, aggregates 129,211,113; and the yearly increase amounts to 1 per cent.

Russia has not reached the limit of her expansion. She has neither Parliament nor Congress to question the policy of her aggressive, autocratic government.

China has a population estimated at 400,000,000 of frugal, industrious, enduring people. With the possession of the great coalfield near the open sea, and deep harbors, if Russia can unite her forces and direct the tremendous, but hitherto dormant, energies of China, the world will have a new Power, possibly a new danger, to face.

More than six hundred years ago the great Mongol Empire threatened to absorb Western Europe. Now, the expanding empire of the Slav threatens to absorb the descendants of the Mongols, and to establish an empire more powerful than the all-conquering empire of Genghis Khan.

The presence of Russia in the Far East, and the possibility of a combination between Russia and China, followed by the awakening of China from her sleep of centuries; the extension of French dominion in Indo-China, Siam, and Madagascar; the partitioning of Africa and the islands of the Pacific among European Powers; the industrial

growth of Japan, and her entrance into the family of nations as a great naval and military Power; the completion of the great military highways from Halifax to Vancouver, and from St. Petersburg to Vladivostok; the rapid peopling of British Columbia and our North-Pacific States, and of the Amur and Manchuria districts,—all tend to change the front of the world, and to transfer to the placid Pacific the national activities which, for three centuries past, have rendered the Atlantic the theatre of stirring events.

We must expect points of vantage in the Pacific to be occupied. There is a vast area of the Pacific Ocean with one, and only one, great land-locked harbor, easily defended,—Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. These islands are situated at the intersection of the great commercial routes from Vancouver to Australasia, from the Isthmus of Panama to Japan, from San Francisco to Hong-Kong and Canton.

However Americans may differ in their views as to the policy of free trade or protection, as applicable to this country, all must agree in wishing that our own products should not be excluded from foreign markets by hostile tariffs. It is fast becoming absolutely essential to our well-being that such markets should take our increasing surplus. We possess the greatest aggregate of machinery of highest efficiency in the world; and we produce a larger output per operative than any other country. Because of our application of mechanical appliances, our farmers produce more per man than do the farmers of any other country. One farmer in this country can produce food for two hundred and fifty persons; while in Europe one man can feed but thirty.

Mulhall estimates that the United States possess almost as much energy, measured in foot-tons, as Great Britain, France, and Germany combined. Already our capacity for production, both in agricultural and manufactured products, far exceeds our capacity for consumption, so that we must seek foreign markets for the disposition of our increasing surplus. More than one-half the population of the world is in countries fronting the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The foreign commerce of the countries bordering these oceans—excluding North America—already amounts to over \$2,250,000,000 a year. Of this great commerce, we, as yet, have but a small fraction. Over 80 per cent of our total exports go eastward across the Atlantic, and less than 5 per cent, westward. This is because the great bulk of our total exports are the crude products of our farms, forests, and mines. They go to feed the producers of Europe, and to furnish raw material to Euro-

pean manufacturers. We grow 80 per cent of the raw cotton in the world ; yet, with the cheapest power in the world, and the most efficient labor, we have only 15 per cent of the spindles of the world. China, Japan, Corea, and India are cotton-using countries ; and, with the changing conditions, here is a future market worth striving for. The deep rivers of China and India render the remote interiors of those countries, with their teeming millions, easily accessible from the sea. We have now five transcontinental railways reaching the Pacific ; and a ship canal connecting that ocean with the Atlantic is inevitable. Our trade with Eastern Asia will expand to enormous proportions. The ports of Japan were first opened by United States war-ships, under Commodore Perry ; and this was the beginning of the tremendous revolution and development in the Far East.

Thus far, British colonial expansion has meant to this country the opening of new markets for whatever we have had to sell. About 60 per cent of our total exports go to Great Britain and her colonies. The colonial expansion of France and Russia aims always at close markets for their own commerce,—a continuation of the Roman system of acquiring and governing countries for the exclusive benefit of the central power. With the occupation of Madagascar by France last year, commercial treaties were abrogated, by the placing of increased duties upon imports other than French.

The time is approaching when the cotton-growers of the South, the wheat-growers of the West, the meat-producers on our plains, and manufacturers and wage-earners all over our land will realize that exclusion from Asian markets will be disastrous to their best interests. The expansion of Russia in Asia and a combination between Russia and China will extend the Russian system of exclusion.

President Monroe's celebrated Message of December 2, 1823, contained also a warning against Russian colonization in North America ; and, in view of the march of events, the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the North Pacific is of more importance to-day than it was in 1823.

As a country where the principles of protection are carried to an extreme, we have no right to object to any other self-governing country levying whatever duties it may desire, provided it does not discriminate against us in the interest of other nations. But we shall have the same right that we had in 1823, in connection with England, to object to any Power forcing its system, to our exclusion and detriment, on countries with which we have commercial treaties. Should not the

United States and Great Britain, having like interests at stake as in 1823, stand together to guard from danger Anglo-Saxon liberty, law, and interests? I believe events are so shaping that these two great World-Powers, and probably Japan, will be drawn into an alliance which will insure the well-being and progress of the world.

War-ships flying the American flag first opened the ports of the Far East. War-ships flying the Stars and Stripes, the Union Jack, and the flag of Japan may be forced to unite to prevent the closing of these ports.

The Hawaiian Islands—the most important strategic position in the Pacific—are to-day like a derelict flying a flag of distress in mid-ocean.

With a government representing a minority insignificant in numbers, liable to overthrow at any time from internal causes, or from dangerous complications growing out of the preponderance of aliens, the situation, in respect of these islands, in view of the tremendous and far-reaching interests that are involved, is such as to demand the immediate action of our government.

We cannot with honor recede from the protectorate which we have maintained for more than fifty years; and a continuation of existing conditions may at any time involve this country in troubles which could not arise, were the Islands to become a part of our possessions. Our interests, as well as our national honor, now demand the annexation of the Hawaiian group.

We have a coast-line of nearly 2,000 miles on the Pacific; and our Alaskan coast-line is greater in extent than our Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coast-lines combined. In the future we shall have a large seaborne commerce on the Pacific to protect.

Modern ships of war and commerce require facilities for coaling, and for frequent docking for repairs. A neutral port cannot be used as a base of supplies in time of war. This was emphasized in the Franco-Tonquin war, when England refused to allow French ships to coal at Singapore, and France was forced to send coal transports from Marseilles through the Suez Canal to Saigon. Mahan has well likened a modern war-ship without coal to a wingless bird.

The great distance across the Pacific will render it difficult for a war-ship to cross from Asia and return without recoaling.

In the possession of a hostile power, Hawaii would give an additional base for coaling and repair from which to attack our extended coast-line. With Hawaii in our possession, and Pearl Harbor fortified and

stored with coal,—furnishing a safe harbor for our merchantmen,—we need fear no attack from across the Pacific. We should require fewer war-ships in the Pacific, and fewer fortifications on our Western and Alaskan coasts, than would be required if Hawaii should remain in its present condition or pass to the possession of a foreign Power.

A fortified harbor of refuge and coal-supply will save to our commerce in time of war, in the item of marine insurance alone, many times the cost of maintaining it. England, realizing the importance of such harbors of refuge and bases of supply, has established fortified coaling-stations all around the world in the pathways of commerce.

A cruiser or battle-ship with a coal capacity necessary to carry her 5,000 miles, steaming at ten knots an hour, will exhaust her coal in less than 1,000 miles, by doubling her speed. With a supply of coal well guarded in Pearl Harbor, our war-ships and merchantmen can cross the Pacific at maximum speed, or concentrate at distant points at high speed, thus largely increasing their efficiency; while their adversaries, being under the necessity of conserving coal, or of risking the running out of coal away from their own ports, must move at much less speed, thus being placed at great disadvantage.

This important group of islands can now become a part of our possessions, not for the asking, but as a free gift from their now acknowledged government.

The methods of the revolution which deposed the Queen and brought the present government into being are no longer material to the consideration of this question. That is a closed chapter: we are dealing with existing conditions.

Having annexed possessions of France, Spain, Mexico, and Russia,—with their alien peoples, customs, and laws,—and, with ease, incorporated them into our system, we care little whether there are a few thousand more or less Orientals now in Hawaii. If this be an evil, with annexation, it will prove a diminishing one: without annexation, it may become incurable.

It may be argued that our system of government is not suited to such expansion. England has learned that the federal system is the only system yet devised by man that admits of unlimited expansion while securing imperial unity. Our race has demonstrated during this century the great superiority in national vitality of a freely governed country over one governed by a centralized despotism. The great colonial empires of Rome and Spain fell apart because the principles of local self-government and representative government were ignored.

The founders of our government understood that it was devised to facilitate annexation of territory ; and our past history has settled that question. At the time of the Louisiana purchase, Jefferson wrote to Gallatin : " There is no constitutional difficulty as to the acquisition of territory ; and whether, when acquired, it may be taken into the Union by the Constitution as it now stands, will become a question of expediency." Gouverneur Morris said at this time, that he had known since the day when the Constitution was adopted that all North America must at length be annexed.

Texas was brought in not by treaty ratified by the Senate, but by an Act of annexation passed by both branches of Congress.

Alaska was bought of Russia in 1867 by treaty ; thus abandoning deliberately the theory of contiguity of territory, as determining the right of annexation,—and this by an almost unanimous vote of the Senate, only two votes being cast against the ratification of the treaty.

An English officer took possession of Hawaii in the name of the Queen in 1843 ; but his action was promptly disavowed by his government. Our Secretary of State, Mr. Legaré, wrote to our Minister in England, that these islands bore such peculiar relations to this country that we might feel justified in interfering by force to prevent their conquest by any Powers of Europe.

In 1853 our Secretary of State, Mr. Marcy, wrote thus of these islands to our Minister in France :—" It seems to be inevitable that they must come under the control of this Government."

In 1873 this country entered into a treaty of reciprocity, which is yet in force.

In 1888 the British Minister, in a communication to our Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, informed him that as England and France had, by the Convention of 1843, bound themselves to consider the Hawaiian Islands an independent state, and never to take possession, either directly or under the title of a protectorate or any other form, of any part of their territory, it was proposed that the United States should enter into a similar agreement with England and Germany by which should be guaranteed the neutrality and equal accessibility of the Islands and their harbors to the ships of all nations without preference. To this, Mr. Bayard replied :—

"The existing treaties of the United States and Hawaii create, as you are aware, special and important reciprocities to which the present material prosperity of Hawaii may be said to owe its existence ; and by one of its articles, the cession of any part of the Hawaiian territory to any other government without the

consent of the United States is inhibited. In view of such existing arrangements it does not seem needful for the United States to join with other governments to secure the neutrality of Hawaiian territory nor to provide for the equal accessibility of all nations to those ports which now exist."

Mr. Bayard, commenting on the above correspondence in an authorized interview, January 31, 1893, said:—

"I held there could be no comparison between our rights in the Hawaiian Islands, as secured by the treaties of 1875 and 1887, with those of other nations; and I would not consent that the United States should be put upon an equality with them. We had the right of veto upon any transfer of Hawaiian territory, and consequently upon any diversion of the revenues accruing from it. We had an interest in Hawaii that no other country could have. *A political union would logically and naturally follow, in course of time, the commercial union and dependence which were thus assured. . . . It was simply a matter of waiting until the apple should fall.*"

Admission as a State need not necessarily follow annexation. As Jefferson wrote in 1803, "that will become a question of expediency." The Administration of Jefferson forced on the Louisiana and Orleans Territories a strong government until they had learned the conditions of American citizenship. The government of the District of Columbia, with a population greater than that of Hawaii, is an example of how those islands may be governed. I doubt if any people are better satisfied with their government than are the citizens of the District of Columbia.

Let us hope that the rivalry between the three great World-Powers—the United States, Great Britain, and Russia—will always be a peaceful striving for the highest development, prosperity, and happiness of their respective peoples. In this contest for supremacy, our great rival, England, had the advantage of advancing beyond ourselves in the science of administration while this country was engaging its energies in the subduing of a continent, in settling the problems of slavery, in the Civil War, and in reconstruction.

In a recent speech, Lord Dufferin said that England could not have reached and maintained her present imperial position, but for the reform of the Imperial and Colonial Civil Service.

It has been well said that the gift of the Victorian reign most worthy of celebration at the Jubilee is the gift of good government; the selecting of the best men for the work to be done; the enactment of laws bearing equally upon the rich and the poor; the reforming of the Civil Service,—thus, upon ascertained fitness, opening a career to rich and poor alike.

Every acquisition of territory since the formation of our government has been opposed by men who seem to have had little appreciation of the manifest destiny of our race: others shrink with fear, lest we have not the ability to administer properly the government of countries seeking admission into our system.

We need not fear that we shall be unable to meet the requirements of increased responsibilities, and hold our own in this coming contest for industrial and commercial supremacy. The growing greatness of our country will divorce our Civil Service, in the cities, in the States, and the nation, from the blasting influence of bossism and party spoils, and place it upon a broad, business basis of ascertained merit: thus our best trained, our fittest, our wisest men shall be put in places of public trust. Then, and not till then, can we dismiss "the craven fear of being great."

JOHN R. PROCTER.

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE FOR THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

TWENTY years ago the question, "What have women done for the protection of public health?" would have proved a hard one to answer. We cannot deny that women have always done much for the sick. They have founded or supported hundreds of hospitals; and it was Florence Nightingale who introduced the modern system of trained nursing. Yet such work is of the nature of a remedy, and aims at restoring lost health. To-day we have begun to think more of the "ounce of prevention" which is "worth a pound of cure"; and we find ourselves face to face with the problem, how to avert disease and secure sound constitutions among the people.

In studying the attitude of women toward this question, we must take into account several considerations which are generally overlooked. The entire system of sanitary inspection in cities and towns and of local health boards is a movement of the last half-century. New York did not establish a Board of Health until 1866, when the authorities were goaded on by fear of cholera. Women have no doubt been doing much for the protection of health in their own small circles, the results of which it is impossible to estimate; yet the fact remains that they have been behind the men in displaying a broad interest in such matters. This is so simply because, until recently, they lacked the opportunity of obtaining the necessary knowledge, while, at the same time, they had no effective means of reaching the public. The higher education of women has attained significant proportions within comparatively recent years only; and not until recently has any attempt been made to educate them in sanitary or in domestic science. They were supposed to "know it all by instinct, like a bird." The truth is, that the majority of women have not understood these principles; and many of them have made woful failures in the care of their homes. To-day, courses in medicine and sanitary science are open to women in many universities and colleges; scholarly women have studied and written on these questions; and women's clubs all over the land have had their attention called to them. More than this, within the last twenty years women have found in their numerous and well-organized societies

a more effective method of work than in mere individual effort. The influence of these organizations is so well recognized to-day, that they are constantly called upon by leaders of reforms to assist in shaping public opinion. And we find that women have been quick to make the best of their newly acquired knowledge and of their increased opportunity for public work.

The first organization of women whose sole object was the care of the public health came into being not so much as the result of deliberate purpose as of urgent necessity. Eleven women in New York city, living on Beekman Hill, had suffered so long from the foul odors of an adjacent manure-yard, that they determined to abolish the nuisance. For this purpose they formed themselves, in November, 1884, into the society now so widely known as "The Ladies' Health Protective Association of New York." The history of their early labors is truly remarkable.

These women found, on investigation, that the owner of the manure-yard, Michael Kane, had been allowed, despite numerous complaints, to accumulate this foul heap till it reached two hundred feet in length and thirty feet in height. The secret lay in the fact that he had a brother-in-law in the Senate at Albany. The women appeared before a grand jury, and secured an order for the removal of the nuisance. Similar orders had been previously obtained by others, only to be pigeon-holed; but, owing to the vigilance of the ladies, this one was reluctantly obeyed. In a short time, however, Kane secured the assistance of the Senate, and attempted to reestablish his dumping-ground in another quarter. The ladies followed his emissaries to Albany; and, after hard work on their part before the Governor and the Legislative Committee, Kane was again defeated.

The astonishing feature of this affair, as well as of every case undertaken in the early days of the Association, was the fierce opposition against which these women had to contend. The Board of Health absolutely refused assistance. It had not inspected the neighborhood of Kane's yard for six years. "Police Commissioner French," says one of the women, "questioned us as if he were interrogating a lot of criminals." Officials were amazed at their audacity. Newspapers dubbed them the "Committee on Smells." Street rabbles followed them as they went on tours of inspection, till they were forced to take a policeman with them. But, instead of being disheartened, they seemed to gain new vigor for the fight.

At that time New York city was receiving a large meat-supply

from the slaughter-houses on First Avenue, between Forty-third and Forty-seventh streets. This place is described, in a report of the Ladies' Health Protective Association (1894-1896), as consisting of "fifty-five dirty little pens," where cattle "were confined in cellars, the air of which was so stifling that the poor creatures could be seen clambering over each other in frantic efforts to reach up to the gratings for a breath of fresh air." Apparently no attempt had ever been made to clean the buildings; and an expert inspector, who accompanied the ladies, declared that the blood of the slaughtered animals had been absorbed to the very foundations. Pools of blood were standing about even in the streets. A bill was sent to the Legislature by the Association, but was defeated. The butchers, however, found legislative victories of this sort so expensive a luxury that they agreed to adopt certain specified reforms, if the ladies would desist from further influencing legislation. These reforms have since led to the complete destruction of the old buildings and the erection of model *abattoirs*.

Another noteworthy achievement of this association was the investigation, in 1885, of a district between East Eighty-ninth and East Ninety-third streets, called "Little Italy," where one lady reported eight families living in a single room, with their eight beds—such as they were—ranged against the walls. Three hundred cows, ill-fed and filthy, were confined in the vicinity, to provide "pure country milk" for the city. In two years this whole neighborhood was renovated.

Some time ago the Association undertook the work of exposing the shocking condition of stable refuse in the city. The facts which Mrs. Fendler, as chairman of the committee concerned, brought to light seem almost too revolting to believe possible in a land which holds that "cleanliness is next to godliness." The women met such fierce opposition from the stablemen that their bill was not admitted to the Legislature; but an ordinance secured from the Board of Health marks one step in advance. A story told by Mayor Strong at the Convention of the Ladies' Health Protective Association held last spring amusingly illustrates some further results of their efforts. The Mayor saw a man standing at the door of a livery stable, complaining of the dirty condition of the place. "If you don't have this cleaned right away," said the man, "I'll report you to the Ladies' Health Protective Association." "Oh, for God's sake, don't!" exclaimed the stable-keeper. "Come again next week and see if it is n't clean."

At the regular meetings of the Association reports are heard from

committees on street cleaning, public closets, school-houses, etc. That these committees have great influence, is evidenced by a recent letter from the owner of a well-known dry-goods establishment to the president of the Association, requesting her to inspect his store and suggest improvements.

The past two years have been a bright period in the history of the work; for the President of the Health Board, the President of the Police Board, and the Commissioner of Street Cleaning have gladly received the suggestions of the ladies, and promptly acted upon them.

Associations have been organized in Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg, under the national charter obtained by the Ladies' Health Protective Association of New York. In Brooklyn no such striking results have been attained as in New York. Perhaps similar appalling conditions did not exist. The president of that association, writes: "We deal with the little things that make up the sum of universal misery." They have organized a Children's Aid of several hundred boys and girls to abstain from throwing things on the streets. Similar work has been organized by women in other cities. In Brooklyn the women have also secured the placing of large tin cans, at frequent intervals, on the street corners, for refuse that would otherwise be thrown about at random.

The Association at Philadelphia, founded in 1892, has been grappling with the question of a pure water-supply,—one of the crying needs of that city. They paid an expert \$500 for a thorough examination of the city's water-supply; visited the Mayor, and interviewed two hundred and sixty members of councils; printed circulars of information and twenty-five experts' reports; besides procuring the names of petitioners,—all for the advancement of the cause.

The city has now appropriated \$3,000,000 for filtration; and the Board of Health favors the adoption of sand filtration, as recommended by the expert whom the ladies employed. In the Department of Street Cleaning they have issued twenty-five thousand cards in four different languages, for distribution in tenement districts, naming the hours when garbage and ashes will be collected; and during the summer of 1896, they turned their attention to fitting up several old wharves on the Delaware with settees and awnings, so that poor women and children might gain relief from the stifling heat of the city. At the same time the Civic Club, feeling that children, to be healthy, must have exercise, opened thirteen summer playgrounds, and obtained \$5,000 from city councils to enlarge the work.

In Pittsburg the Health Protective Association can boast of one most decided triumph. A law, recently passed by Congress, prohibits the dumping of garbage in a river or harbor improved by the United States Government. The city of Pittsburg, however, went on complacently emptying its garbage by the ton into the Alleghany and Ohio rivers. No thought of the discomfort and danger to health thus occasioned the population dwelling along the rivers disturbed the Board of Health; and when it was brought to their notice by a Committee from the Ladies' Health Protective Association, they excused themselves by saying, "Other cities throw their garbage into the rivers; and why should we be more fastidious than our neighbors?" After much hard work on the part of the Association, assisted by the Sanitary Commission, the law was enforced, and another way found to dispose of the refuse. Characteristic also of the work in Pittsburg is the attempt to arouse public sentiment against the smoke nuisance. One anti-smoke ordinance has been passed; but there is little effort made to enforce it. The women are constantly making complaint to the authorities; and recently they planned to take a test case before the courts.

There is one long-standing evil now beginning to claim public attention, the eradication of which all Health Protective and Town Improvement societies have made the object of their most persevering effort. This is the disgusting habit of expectoration in public places. Physicians have declared it to be a source of contagion; yet, until the women took it up, hardly any attempt had been made to stop it. Legislation on the subject is very difficult to secure, the habit being universal; and, in spite of appeals to city councils and officials of car companies, little satisfaction has yet been obtained. Some slight improvement may be observed in New York, Brooklyn, Pittsburg, and other cities, where women have brought this matter repeatedly before the Boards of Health, and have obtained the posting of prohibitory notices in many public buildings and conveyances. At a recent meeting of the Ladies' Health Protective Association in New York city, the subject was discussed with much animation; and a majority of the members declared their determination to give the car companies no rest until each conductor should be made responsible, as far as possible, for the condition of his car.

In addition to these societies, whose avowed aim is the care of the public health, other bodies of women are now enlarging their sphere of action to include this kind of work. A notable instance of this is the investigation of school-houses undertaken by the Association of Col-

legiate Alumnæ of Boston. A committee of investigation was organized under the president of the Association, in April, 1895. Lists of questions were presented to the schoolmasters and teachers, from which tables of information were prepared. Mayor Quincy heartily approved the work and appointed a commission of experts to suggest improvements. Their report was presented to the Mayor in the spring of 1896; and the Boston "Herald" of March 20, 1896, commented on the work of the women as follows:

"The record shows that every building about which there has been or is likely to be any question as to its complete sanitary fitness. . . . has been carefully studied. It comprises doubtless the only comprehensive statement that has ever been made of the condition of the school-houses in this respect, and therefore supplies information in a form wholly new and of great value."

Out of one hundred and eighty-six school-houses examined, only thirteen provided the required amount of air—thirty cubic feet per minute per pupil. The floors in 41 per cent of the buildings had never been washed, although many were from thirty to fifty years old. What wonder that there had been a larger death-rate among teachers in Boston than in any other city! Moreover, 5,053 cases of throat trouble, largely due perhaps to dust and poor heating and ventilation, were found among the children in one year. The investigation resulted in the condemnation of two buildings; while improvements in thirty-five, the cost of which would exceed \$300,000, were deemed absolutely necessary.

Shops and factories have been made the subject of similar investigations in New York by the Working Women's Association, the Consumers' League, the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, and the Ladies' Health Protective Association. Equally shocking conditions were found to exist in many of these places; the health of the employees, especially of the working-women, being further imperilled by long hours and the necessity of standing.

The Mercantile Inspection Bill, drafted by the Working Women's Association, and passed by the New York Legislature in 1896, limits the employment of women (under twenty-one years of age) in shops and factories to sixty hours per week, forbids the employment of children under fourteen years of age, and provides for proper sanitary arrangements in buildings.

The attention of ladies in England has been extensively attracted to this question of child-labor, and the condition of working-women. They found that women were contracting diseases which were transmitted to the next generation, and that the factory children were

becoming stunted and sickly. A number of ladies rendered great assistance to the Labor Commission in a series of investigations, which resulted in several acts of reform legislation. This work is perhaps the latest development of a movement for the renovation of tenement houses set on foot in London as long ago as 1864, by Miss Octavia Hill. Her book entitled "Homes of the London Poor," which had so great an effect in rousing public sentiment, was written, no doubt, primarily, in the interest of sociology rather than of mere health; but, from the nature of the work, the two were closely related. Miss Hill, with the assistance of Mr. John Ruskin, converted the whole Marylebone district from a pestilential into a clean and decent neighborhood; while the Baroness Burdett-Coutts filled the Nova Scotia Gardens, one of the worst spots of London, with model dwellings. Their example has led to many similar experiments on both sides of the Atlantic. The publication of Miss Hill's articles in New York in 1876 initiated a movement for better tenements in that city; and the Coöperative Building Association of Boston, a joint-stock company of men and women, is working avowedly on the principles laid down by Miss Hill.

Chicago has the honor of having been the first city in the world to appoint women as sanitary inspectors. This was brought about through the efforts of the Trade and Labor Assembly of Chicago,—a body of twenty-five thousand men and women. Miss Jane Addams, head-worker at Hull House, is now inspector of the ward in which she lives; and marked improvement has been made under her care in the scavenger service and the small stables of that ward. The five bathrooms in the rear of Hull House have also done much for the cleanliness of the neighborhood. The Trade and Labor Assembly has secured the passage of a law limiting child-labor and prohibiting the sale of cigarettes to minors; and much that this great organization has achieved in the name of temperance must be recognized as of infinite value in the cause of health.

The facts here presented are but few and isolated, compared with a host of others equally noteworthy; yet they indicate the widely diverse paths along which women are moving in the great work of sanitary reform. No account of their progress, however, would be complete without mention of another form of work less striking in its results, but of no less value. This is the study of the food question, with many practical experiments.

It is a well-known truth that the good health of a people depends largely upon its food; yet Americans are notorious for their careless-

ness in this respect. They are confirmed eaters of pork and pastry, use too much grease in cooking, and eat hastily: as a result, they produce more dyspeptics than any other people. It is interesting to note that the first attempt in this country to show that cooking is a liberal science was made by the Woman's Educational Association of Boston, which was organized for the purpose of opening Harvard examinations to women. They established the Boston Cooking School in 1880, which, besides introducing Diet Kitchens for the sick, and sending out excellently trained cooks, awakened in Boston an interest in the subject of scientific cooking which culminated in the New England Kitchen.

In 1890 the Kitchen began in a small way to prepare nutritious dishes for the public, cooked in the best method, and sold at low profits. Each dish was made an object of study; and the Kitchen's beef broth, now so highly commended by physicians, was put on the market only after twenty careful experiments. Soon substantial lunches were furnished for clubs and school children; and their popularity has become so great that the Kitchen has been engaged by the city to supply lunches daily in at least eight schools, representing more than eleven hundred children. The Report for 1895 states that two hundred and fifty quarts of soup were consumed daily in school lunches, and that a taste for health bread and good puddings prevailed among the children; whereas formerly they had fed on pickles or pies. Within a few months parents and teachers observed a marked improvement in the children's health.

In Paris, Vienna, and many other places in Europe the public authorities have made provision of this sort for the health of their school children; but in America whatever has been accomplished in this direction has been due to the labor and sacrifice of the women. One offshoot of the New England Kitchen has been started in New York, another in Baltimore, and a third in connection with Hull House. They stand as examples of cleanliness in a tenement district. At first, the plates brought in by customers of the New England Kitchen had to be washed before they were fit to receive food. Now, this seldom occurs.

The study of dietaries, a work recently undertaken by women, has, thus far, little outcome, although it is opening the eyes of the public to many of the demands of health. One of our workers found that baker's bread formed 21 per cent of all the food eaten by many families among the poor; also that a so-called pound loaf of baker's bread was about one-third larger than the home-made pound loaf, the extra

size being caused by excessive raising, which detracted from its nutritive value. It would be well for Health Boards to consider these as well as other truths revealed by the Ladies' Health Protective Association of New York regarding the general unsanitary condition of bakeries.

Chicago has been mentioned as the first to recognize the value of women as health officers. The University of Chicago has been the scene of a unique experiment in the interest of health. Complaints had frequently been heard of the poor health of students, and more particularly of the young women in colleges and universities. The deans of the women's dormitories of the Chicago University proved that this trouble might be very largely remedied, if sufficient care were taken in the selection and preparation of the students' food. Every effort was made to render the experiment fair and yet thorough. They secured the apparatus of the Rumford Kitchen from the World's Fair, as well as the assistance of its managers. After a test of six months, from October, 1893, to April, 1894, their report showed a varied bill of fare of nutritive food materials, and at low cost; while, as a practical result, nearly all the one hundred and six students "gained in weight, in general physical condition, and were able to work with less headache than usual." The kitchen department of these dormitories is now a model one, and is being copied by other universities and public institutions.

A very curious fact has been discovered by the writer in the preparation of this paper. The subject furnishes material for many more pages than may now be occupied, yet the public at large is astonishingly ignorant of the whole matter. When men and women, generally conversant with public affairs, are asked to name something accomplished by women in the cause of health, very few can give any definite answer. Fifty-three persons, among whom were college graduates and those interested in various kinds of philanthropic work, have been so questioned by the writer within the past few weeks. Thirty-eight could give no reply. Only three, who chanced to be intimately connected with prominent women's societies, could name more than two or three insignificant items. The majority of the answers given were very vague; the reason being that every attempt on the part of women to benefit the public is necessarily somewhat indirect. They do not hold the ballot, nor sit in legislative halls. Their only course is either to arouse public opinion or to present their cause to the public officials. Their part in public reforms is chiefly suggestive or coöperative. They can seldom of themselves carry anything to completion, as a Board of Health or a Street-Cleaning Department can do. Hence their work is

frequently unmentioned in the public records. A definite account of women's work can be found only in occasional magazine or newspaper articles, or by searching the reports of their various organizations. Yet women are not dissatisfied with this mode of work. A prominent worker in the cause was heartily applauded by her hearers when she said: "We are working on this principle, that we may work less, and these people whom we have put in office may work more. We are doing altogether too much; and the men are willing that we should do it. We must stand behind to see that the men do their duty. We work for the enforcement of public cleanliness, and of law."

In glancing over these wonderful results gained by women, one cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that, in by far the greater number of cases, their deeds tell of evils overcome which would not have existed, had the proper officials done their duty. Perhaps the hope involves too great a change in our present system of machine politics; yet, if we may dare to hope that, some day, officials will not need so much urging and pushing, there will still remain much that women may do for the public health and happiness. This will be along the line of an intelligently applied science of housekeeping. From all over this country, from England, Belgium, and elsewhere reports come of the establishment of schools of household economics; of the thorough courses opened in universities; and of the great interest women are showing in the questions of home sanitation, pure water, food materials, the diet and care of children. The recent Congress of Mothers at Washington illustrates one phase of this growing interest. The women now flocking into the medical profession will do much toward fostering it; for women, as physicians, have been among the foremost workers in the cause. This great educational movement is one of the most hopeful signs of our times: it contains, without doubt, the brightest promises for the future.

EDITH PARKER THOMSON.

AMERICAN ANNEXATION AND ARMAMENT.

HALF a century ago—in dreamy days still vividly remembered by many active in the affairs of our States and the nation—the children of America were taught in the schools, the newspapers, the churches, and in the fireside talks at home, that there was to be war in the world no more. The youth of our country read the histories of the great wars with a conviction that these things belonged to other conditions of human life and organized society. There had been great inventions that made for peace. The spirit of progressive Christianity was abroad : the sword would not devour forever. We Americans were especially exempt from the slaughter of the people wrought by the ambition of foolish kings. The solemn admonition of Washington, that we should avoid entangling alliances abroad, dwelt with us. Separated, as we were, by oceans and by ages from war as the natural occupation of a people, the elements of strife were lacking in our land of plenty and of liberty,—liberty marred only in part by the existence of a racial system of slavery in our midst.

What should or could we fear? Oregon at the mouth of the Columbia was ours. The mouth of the Mississippi was ours also ; and orators were accustomed to say, as a climax, that our possessions extended from Maine to Florida. We were isolated in our own grandeur ; and our free, popular government guaranteed us against the contention of communities. If we wanted anything settled, we had only to take a vote on it,—and there was the infallible Constitution of the United States. As for differences among sections, Andrew Jackson had threatened Calhoun with condign punishment if he crossed the line of national prerogative with the doctrine of nullification. Concerning slavery, Washington owned many slaves ; and the Bible commanded servants to obey their masters. And as for cranks, they should be judged and dealt with according to law. We had liberty that would solve all troubles, though it had not been precisely proclaimed “ throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof,” according to the inscription on the Declaration of Independence Bell.

It is but half a century since we found ourselves at war with Mex-

ico. Texas and California were added by the sword to our sisterhood of States ; and there was a profound disturbance in Europe that sent Continental monarchs flying. After all, the volcanoes were not extinct. The great wars since those days have been that of the Crimea, in which England, France, Turkey, and Sardinia fought the statesmanship of Russia, and Turkey was preserved as a living Asiatic menace in Europe ; then the war of France against Austria, culminating at Solferino ; the war of our States that closed at Appomattox ; the French invasion of Mexico ; the war in which Prussia beat down Austria at Sadowa ; the Franco-German war, in which Paris fell and France lost Alsace and Lorraine ; and the war of Russia against Turkey, that roared around Plevna. There were the wars of the Mutiny in India, of the occupation of Egypt, of the fall of Khartoum, the wars to open the ports of China, the war in which Chili struck down Peru, the civil war in Brazil, the war in which Japan put China to the sword, the wars in Cuba, and the Turco-Grecian war.

No continent has been exempt ; and the latest of this series of combats is not the least, so far as we are concerned. The increase of military and naval armaments within this generation has been beyond example. The armed nations, in their equipments for asserting themselves, have consumed the products of industry, and mortgaged the future for money to cover extraordinary expenditures for the machinery of destruction,—expenditures amounting to more than the cost of armies, fleets, fortifications, and the ravages of campaigning, from Bunker Hill to Waterloo. The world is learning war more than ever ; and arbitrament of arms was never so costly as now.

The Turks, Austrians, French, Chinese, Peruvians, and Mexicans lost territory in the wars of the later half of the century. The Turkish losses became small kingdoms ; the Austrians gaining two provinces and the Greeks one. The greater importance of the acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine by the Germans, has been the unquenchable enmity of France ; and the symbol of it is the old statue of Marshal Ney in the park at Metz, musket in hand, as he faced the Russians on the retreat from Moscow. The statue of Strasburg crowned with mourning wreaths, in the Place de la Concorde at Paris, has not such sinister significance as the defiant figure of Ney on German territory. At night, in the electric light that glows near the French field-marshal, he seems to listen and almost to speak.

The greatest gain of land by the sword in modern times was that which we acquired from Mexico. We were particularly fortunate also

in earlier and later days, in buying Louisiana from the French, and Alaska from the Russians.

In the same period England and Russia have obtained vast landed possessions, Germany has unified German States, and the Italian peninsula has crystallized into one kingdom.

Naturally the tendency of the times has been to the expansion of sovereignties, partly for the same reason that there has been an unexampled growth of cities and augmentation of popular demonstrations. These things result from the extension and perfection of railway systems; from telegraphy and cheap papers; from the manufacture of high-grade steel at low rates, permitting the erection of bridges and buildings otherwise impracticable; and from the improvement of the condition of the hosts of labor. The victories in peaceful conventions, not less than those on the fields of combat, make for the aggrandizement of empires and the concentration of peoples. Our Confederates fought against the stars when they took up arms against that consolidation which we call nationality, and which, with guarantees of popular liberty in republicanism and democracy, has in it the enduring and dominating substance of imperialism, that overcomes and expands and constructs and goes on to greater destinies. It is the rule of the many, not of the few, that is the stronger government. It is not the Czars and Kaisers, the Sultans, the Emperor-Kings, and the Empress-Queens, that are to be magnified in the future by our higher civilization; but the millions themselves shall be great, by reason of the conditions of equal opportunity and the discipline of common and inviolable order.

The world is no longer inaccessible and unknown to its inhabitants. It is explored, measured, traversed, until there is instantaneous communication between the old mysteries of the atlas. Some of our States, in cost of time and movement, are farther away from our commercial and political capitals and the clusters of our manufacturing industries than are England and France; but the States fronting the two great oceans are better acquainted with each other, and have a closer sense of companionship, than the counties of the older States—Virginia and New York, for example—had, before the steamboat, the railroad, the telegraph, and the telephone came to intensify the application of the ancient and honored motto, "E pluribus unum." If we are of New York, the nations of Europe are now more distinctly our neighbors than were the New-England States when the girl-queen, Victoria, was crowned; and there is a feeling in our great city, New York, that it is almost as

much of a task to cross the East or North River, as to go to Boston or Chicago. Long Island Sound and the Mediterranean are much the same to the metropolitan and cosmopolitan.

George Washington knew more of the West than any man of his time; repeatedly visiting, especially in his youth, the Ohio country, the Allegheny, and the Kanawha; but he never contemplated the greater scope of our country as it is now—never realized that beyond the Mississippi was also a part of our land. He as little expected the Pacific to be our western boundary, as Columbus thought to find a new world on his way to Asia. We have grown far beyond the ambitious fancies of the Fathers—with the exception of Thomas Jefferson, who not merely purchased Louisiana, but sent out the Lewis and Clark expedition for the exploration of the remote regions in which the Missouri had its sources, and the fertile lands beyond the Rockies where rolled the unknown Oregon. We have had but few statesmen who grasped the grandeur beyond the policy of annexation. There was lack of statesmanship and assertion of natural right; otherwise we would have shut England off from the Pacific.

It is a reproach to our agents in authority that we have not Vancouver and the forests, waters, and gold-mines of Northwest Canada. Even Daniel Webster was slow to understand the value of our possessions on the Pacific. It was a fault of the grand old Whig statesmen that they did not appreciate the duty that waited upon all chances to take lands, to have and hold the advantages of them, and to assert the paramount policy of annexation; thus broadening the foundations of the republic that was to make liberty imperial and predominant.

It is true that our peculiar institution of slavery was an embarrassment; but whether or not it was the pro-slavery ambition that caused the war with Mexico and the magnificent country we appropriated, it was a wise and masterly stroke. Those who delivered it may have builded more wisely than they knew; but no blame attaches to workmen who do that. The opposition to the annexation of Texas was narrow, even if there was a little speculation in the Texas debt; and when we accepted as a State the France of America, the Americanization of the people was justification. New Mexico has not changed, and developed American characteristics, so rapidly as we could desire; but the example that, above all, vindicates the policy of annexation—not excepting Louisiana, Florida, or Texas—is California. We have nothing more priceless than the Golden Gate; but some of our statesmen shuddered when we got it.

There were many criticisms when William H. Seward and Charles Sumner accepted the friendly offer of Russia to sell us Alaska. If they had not improved the happy moment, it never would have come again. Now, the American people would not tolerate the idea of selling that vast Northern reserve for our people in the future, with its forests, its fisheries, and mines, for one hundred times the sum we paid for it,—nor indeed for any sum at all. We never have annexed a bit of land we would dare to part with; and we never shall.

Cuba has always been highly estimated in the higher ranges of our public service; and it is a pleasure to recognize John Quincy Adams and Charles Sumner among those who knew that the last of the important Spanish possessions in this hemisphere was at least the greatest of the islands of America. It has been the plain common sense of history that, as Spain lost by her colonial system of regarding outlying possessions crown property, and ruling them by martial law, so she must lose Cuba in the same way. There is no escaping the law and logic of history. If she has not lost the island already it is only a question of time when she will do so. And then the United States must accept the duties of destiny. The failure to annex Hawaii, when only the vote of the Senate was wanted, was a capital error. When the pendulous foreign policy of President Cleveland swung the other way in the partially supposititious case of the Venezuelan boundary, there was an insufficient shadow of recompense on the shore of the Caribbean Sea for the grievous blunder in the Pacific. There was, however, an assertion of the expansion of the Monroe Doctrine—for which we should be grateful.

The war with Mexico was one that largely influenced our country for good. The Mexican land we won by the sword was beyond valuation, measured in precious metals. We had matchless good fortune in that. Our great civil war taught the people of the antagonistic sections to respect each other; and when the Union was reestablished, our gigantic resources were revealed to the whole nation. The retirement of the French from Mexico, and the payment of the Alabama award by England, as well as our resumption of specie payments and the elevation of national credit, asserted with glorious achievements, confirmed, before consenting nations, our standing as one of the great Powers.

In the three latest wars, two of which have shaken continents historically older than ourselves, we are deeply concerned. We name first, as it is still going on and is nigh us, the war in Cuba. It is vain

for the Spaniards to say that they alone are interested in and responsible for that island. We have an interest and responsibility in it, because it guards the Mediterranean of America; and the waters of more than half our States flow by the shores of Cuba, whether they reach the Atlantic by the Gulf Stream or by the Caribbean Sea. We have the right to stop, at our doors, savagery in warfare, and to protect the lives and property of American citizens; and we overshadow all this, and far more, with the right of the dominant Power in this hemisphere.

The war between Japan and China has disturbed the balance of power on the Pacific. Japan has become a conquering empire; and suddenly we find her engaged in promoting questions of dispute with the Hawaiian government and our own. She is anxious about the treaty rights in Hawaii in case of the consummation of annexation; and she is even troubled over our tariff. We must understand that she is now in our neighborhood, and has some advantages if she cares to pick and provoke a quarrel with us. She has a victorious army and navy of considerable strength. Her people are in Hawaii by tens of thousands, very conscious of their number, ability, and physical force. The point is, that she is in possession of the strength to overthrow the Hawaiian government while our Senate waits, and to argue the case of her treaty rights in the islands from the foundation of occupation.

The war between Turkey and Greece has made changes in Europe that may affect us more seriously than any other event abroad in the closing decade of the century. It is not improbable that the Emperor of Germany—the most restless and despotic spirit among modern monarchs—was the manager of that war; that he prepared the theatre, and supplied the actors. He visited Vienna at a critical time in the relations of the Powers; and then the Emperor of Austria made haste to visit the Czar of Russia. From that time there was concert between the Kaiser, the Czar, the Sultan, and the Emperor-King of Austria and Hungary,—the masters of the armed nations in which there is the least public opinion: there is so little of it, that imperial affairs are decided without reference to the sentiments of the people. The Austrian sovereign does not assert himself so absolutely as the others do in their respective dominions. But he has two Turkish provinces; and, as he wants more, he will maintain the concert. The Emperor of Germany is daily manifesting himself in disregard of all that is liberal and progressive in the German people; and he has the greatest military machine that the world has ever seen. Next to him in that respect is the Czar,—a young man in the iron grip of a system, with a million

thoughtless bayonets. The Sultan has been rehabilitated. It is seen that he has an immense army, and that there is no better fighting material in Europe than that which composes it. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Turkey are a portentous quadrumvirate of irresponsible despots. The Emperor of Germany does not like our form of government, and would be pleased, I have no doubt, to intrude in American affairs. The Germans displayed, eight years ago, in the case of Samoa, a tenacity difficult to understand. The mystery was,—what did they want in the Pacific? They have interests in South America and in the West Indies, especially Cuba, where, before the war, they sold a great deal of sugar-making machinery. They are ambitious to foster distant colonies, and to circle the earth with zones of Germanic influence. In England, France, and Italy there is public opinion. The radical republicans of Italy keep a close watch on the King and the Cabinet; and the former could not go far in following the Kaiser and the Czar without evoking agitation at home. France is exceedingly sensitive to popular influences; and that is the form in which her republicanism is acute. England is subordinate to public opinion. Yet these three Powers are so entangled in collateral branches of the Eastern Question, that they will do little or nothing to interfere with any enterprise undertaken by the Kaiser,—with the Czar, the Sultan, and the Emperor-King at his heels. There has not been in the records of the armed Powers such an array of representatives of personal government drawn up confronting free institutions.

Apply the fact to the conditions evolved,—the appliances employed that make the world a neighborhood of nations,—and can we fail to note signs that our equanimity may be disturbed, our complacency shocked? It would not be unlike the Emperor William to take an interest in Cuba. England does not regard her share of the West Indies so highly as she did even a few years ago; for latterly the sugar-producing islands have not flourished in English hands. It might very well happen that Germany, whose beet-sugar production has become a great industry, should care to have the cane competition in her charge. If, therefore, the United States should offer her good offices to Spain to secure the liberty and independence of Cuba, the Eastern despots might support Spain, whose Queen Regent is an Austrian. The Eastern Question may thus come West, and challenge us in the very waters where the dominance of the sea was fought for in the last century. And, at the same time, Japan might face us in the Pacific with the ancient Asian aggression opposing superior civilization.

What will happen, if the Asiatic redundant population, instead of moving westward and finding land in Europe, as they did thousands of years ago, should turn eastward and contest with us the American shores of the Pacific? The Greco-Turkish war, the Chino-Japanese war, and the war that still lingers in Cuba are a combination of influences that may bring us into contact with the military monarchies of both Europe and Asia, through imperial questions raised at both Honolulu and Havana. This may not happen now; but in some form or other it is sure to come, and that soon. We are the dominant Power in half the world; and it is time our public spirit should overcome our inertia.

It is well worth while for us to consider that the combination of emperors growing out of the Greco-Turkish war is the most formidable alliance of military Powers ever formed. There are four great armies in it,—the Turkish, with half a million men, being the smallest,—and three considerable navies. The Kaiser and the Czar are young and inexperienced, and are not limited within defined responsibilities. Germany is the leader, and has the colonizing passion. This country is the one that would naturally appear to the mediæval mind of the Kaiser as the worst example of a wrong form of government; and other despots could hardly help agreeing with him.

We may be sure there will be more friction than there has been between us and other nations, because each year brings us closer together. We can send orders for goods to Germany by cable, and have them landed here within ten days of the date of the message. One hundred of the ships of war reviewed at Portsmouth in the course of Queen Victoria's Jubilee could be off our coast in a fortnight; they would have at Bermuda and Halifax an abundance of docks, stores, provisions, and ammunition, as well as all the machinery for handling and fitting out ships of war; and away down in the Caribbean Sea they would find another vast station of the same character. We should not count England as an enemy; but she is our only rival on this continent. She holds more continental land and more islands in the American hemisphere than we do; she is prepared for war both in the Atlantic and the Pacific; and we have a treaty with Great Britain that makes her a partner with us if we connect the oceans by a canal. The fleets of England and Japan could overpower our armed ships on both oceans, and inflict upon us infinite annoyance and damage. It is only recently that we have begun in earnest the work of manufacturing high-power artillery;—effective weapons under the modern conditions of coast defence;—

and we have a provision as to the price of steel plates that retards the construction of the few battleships actually ordered. In 1814 the British ravaged the coasts of the Chesapeake Bay for months with their sailing ships, and finally made a rush and captured Washington. People did not believe then that such a thing could happen; but our public buildings were burned. The aggressive power of a fleet is increased tenfold by steam and steel; and now there are vessels for provisions and munitions of war, for coal and water, for hospitals and armories and troops. The command of the sea is a more portentous thing to the seacoast than it was eighty years ago. We are no better prepared now than then; while the property within reach of the steamers of steel and their long-reaching guns is an invitation to any enemy to inflict injury beyond estimation. The imperialism of England is to-day a considerable fact, and means more to us than to any other people except the English. We say English rather than British; for the evolution is of England. Already the English colonies are in sharp competition with us in producing food for the metropolitan centres of congested civilization. Australians have broken the markets of New York more than once. A cablegram to Melbourne brings butter by the thousand tons from the other side of our planet, where the grass is green all the year. Australia is not as far away in time and charges as Europe was in the middle of the nineteenth century. The English invested a great deal of capital in Argentina, and seem to have lost it; but the railroads they built and the ships they subsidized opened immense wheat-lands. Besides, the oceans are easy roads. Transportation from the South-American coast to the ports of Western Europe is cheaper than it is from Central North America, where there are elevator tolls. The Dakotas and Manitoba are no longer monopolists in the production of white bread. We agree now to protect the long staple cotton of South Carolina from the product of the cheaper labor and the richer soil of Egypt. England is all around us, with her Dominion of Canada, her fortresses, her naval stations, and reserves of material for armies and navies on the Pacific shore; her Leeward Islands, where, if the Venezuelan excitement had become dangerous, she was ready—and we were unready—for war. And while we have been talking in our sleep about Hawaii, England has occupied and possessed a score of islands in the greatest of the oceans, in the same spirit that she tried, a year ago, to capture a desolate South-Atlantic peak from Brazil. There was no space there for a dock; but there was the foundation for a coal-yard and a telegraph station.

We speak of a canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and some day we shall have one; but England has us engaged, in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, to share the interocean facility with her.

We are sensible of the friendliness that the policy of England would cultivate with this country; but her splendid, grasping policy is selfishness defended in diplomacy and fortified with a fleet ready to appear in superior force in any sea. The very pith of this matter,—sympathy and closer union of the colonies of England with the mother-country,—marks with more definiteness the assured and haughty independence of our Union of States that once were colonies. We have already pronounced the irrevocable policy of the Monroe Doctrine. We have assumed a protectorate of Hawaii, and, for the second time, urge a treaty of annexation of those islands. We have claimed rights as a humane Power, with faith in self-government, and a consciousness of manifest destiny, to do the things counting for freedom and peace and the extension of our just influence in Cuba. Shall we take steps looking to retirement, or must we walk in the ways made familiar by those who established the zone of our national predominance across the continent, took Florida, and, touching the tropical climate of the Southern seas, moved north and west into the Arctic regions, so that from the eastern border of Maine to the western islands of the Aleutian group, we have in the summer days eighteen hours of sunshine on the land covered by our flag? Shall we not go on where the honors and the glories await us as the Power that is competent, if we will, to speak for half the globe? Once the Alleghanies were our western horizon; but we have crossed the space that divided the discoveries of Columbus from the lands of his dreams, where the east and the west are blended, like sea and sky, in the boundless blue of the waters and the air. Shall we retreat, when our colors stream and shine in the zenith of the arch under which is our planet's path?

The objection is made that we neither have nor can have, under our system of States, anything but States and Territories. We, the people of the United States, however, ordained a Constitution to establish "a more perfect Union"; and that very Union was triumphant, through the conquest of States whose statesmen had made the Union greater than the States. And the continuance of the policy of annexation only invites us to be masterful in peace. We need to formulate a colonial system, and then the precedents that should be everlasting examples. Thomas Jefferson saw that if the Constitution was not equal to the occasion of the absorption of the Louisiana purchase, there was a higher

and a more fundamental law—our inheritance—written over the continent, in rivers and ranges of mountains, in plains and valleys, and that, therefore, the Constitution would have to be accommodating. No parchment can forbid the march of mankind. Our territorial system has served us well. It has yielded thirty-two States, each as sovereign and inviolable as the others; and there is no primacy by reason of seniority. The Hawaiian treaty still before the Senate offers another solution; and the proposition to make Cuban bonds good, by collecting customs through our agents in the ports of the island, offers a far-reaching suggestion.

We need to be armed as becomes a great Power; not for military aggression, as our volunteers have always been and will prove to be sufficient for that. But, whether we include the American islands in the scope of our sovereignty or not, we need to equip ourselves with effective artillery, and to augment our fleet with such energy as we would display if we knew there was an emergency at hand. We should have a squadron for the Atlantic and another for the Pacific, each competent to confront all enemies that might be moved to command our waters and threaten our cities by the sea. It is false economy not to prepare such a fleet. We should have it as a guarantee of peace, as a measure of economy to guard against the profligate weakness of surprises.

Now is the time to provide armaments. We are one of the great Powers. This fact should appear elsewhere than in our statistical tables and on the maps. We should care nothing for the "balance of power" in Europe. That is a matter of locality and detail. We should have no concern how Africa, Asia, or Australia is cut up. But the American islands are ours for the hereafter; and we should, in good time, annex Cuba, as we annexed Florida, Texas, and California, and add her tropical riches to the arctic resources of Alaska, so that all the zones may be included in the patrimony of our people.

It is the logic and lesson of current history, that the greatest of wars are to come; for the nations are spending money, time, and toil in learning war, with an extravagance incessantly increasing as the later years of the century are numbered. We should heed the humiliation of China by the inferior force of Japan,—a discomfiture due to insufficient equipment. It is but our duty.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

THE SUPREMACY OF RUSSIA.

"Russia's actual movements and her conjectured intentions now form the alpha and omega of international politics. . . . Ostensibly they [the Powers of Europe] may league themselves together for the purpose of thwarting certain of Russia's presumed aims; but secretly they outbid each other in offers for her friendship. They may insure themselves and each other at enormous cost; but they never feel safe unless they have privately reinsured themselves at St. Petersburg. Their whole policy is summarized in their relations with the empire of the Czar."

E. P. DILLON, in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1897.

CZAR ALEXANDER III was familiarly known as the peace-keeper of Europe: his son, Nicholas II, bids fair to be its peace-breaker. For the last sixteen years, at least, Russia has thus been the determining Power in Europe. Great Britain, which in 1878 was strong enough to compel Russia to annul the treaty of San Stefano, has since then fallen behind in the race; and Germany, despite all the efforts of her present ruler to imitate the worst practices of the worst of the Czars, has not been able to take her place. This momentous fact being beyond doubt, it seems worth while to consider (1) how Russia arrived at her present supremacy, and (2) what it means for the future.

The history of Russia's rise to greatness is long and eventful; and we must sketch it in the barest outline.

In the beginning of the thirty-ninth chapter of Ezekiel (Revised Version) we read, "Thus saith the Lord God: Behold I am against thee, O Gog, prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal: I will turn thee about, and will lead thee on, and will cause thee to come from the uttermost parts of the north." That in "Rosh" and "Meshech" we have here the most ancient reference to the Russians and Muscovites, has been maintained in ancient and modern times,¹ and seems almost certain. In the time of Ezekiel (B.C. 590) the tribes Rosh and Meshech were settled to the south of the Caucasus. When next we hear of the Rosh, it is under the

¹ See FÜRST, "Hebräisches Handwörterbuch," under "Rosh" and "Meshech." It is just possible that in Homer, "Iliad," x. 484 *et seq.*, we have in Rhesos, the Thracian king, with his horses "whiter than snow and swift as the wind," a still older reference to the Russians. That *Rosh* means racers, is shown by the Greek rendering *Δροῦῖται*. Rhesos=Horsa.

name of Roxolani.¹ Strabo, writing about the time of Christ, speaks of them as "the remotest of the known Scythians," living between the Don and the Dniepr, that is, in the centre of Russia; and they are mentioned in the two following centuries by Pliny, Tacitus, and Ptolemy. After this, they vanish from history for a long time; having, along with the Finns, been driven northward by the Wendic or Slavic hordes, who, soon after the Christian era, began to spread over the steppes of Russia. In the ninth century they reappear, as Rosh (Greek *Ῥως*), inhabiting Ros-lagen, in the east of Sweden. Hence, at the time of the great Scandinavian exodus, when Great Britain, Normandy, Italy, and Sicily were overrun by the Northmen, they forced their way back into Western and Central Russia, and even as far as Constantinople, where, under the name of "Varangians" or "Warings" (*Βάρανγοι*=Norse *Væringyar*, i. e., confederates), they became the body-guard of the Emperors. They are first mentioned as "Rosh" in 839. Twenty-three years later, in 862, under three chiefs, Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor,² they effected a permanent settlement in the country to the south of the Gulf of Finland, where Rurik founded the city of Novgorod, and, with it, the Russian Empire, which bears the name of his people.

This empire, then, is somewhat over a thousand years old,—a few years older than the kingdom of Hungary, which celebrated its millennium last year. It was founded by Norsemen, men of Germanic blood, for the organization of rude tribes of Finns and Slavs, many of them still nomads, and all, apparently, pagans. From the days of Rurik on, large numbers of Russians, that is, Norsemen, flocked into Russia; and, though they soon adopted the language of the Slavs, they continued to feel their distinction as a ruling race. In the century following 862, they greatly extended their dominion, and even made successful war upon the Eastern Emperor.

In 957, Olga, the widow of Rurik's son Igor, was baptized in Constantinople, and undertook to introduce Christianity among her people.³ Although she was but moderately successful in this, even her son remaining

¹ Latin for the Finnish *Ruotsalainen*, the name given to the Swedes; *Ruotsi* being Sweden, and *lainen* a Gentile termination. See GRIMM, "Gesch. der deutschen Sprache," Vol. ii, p. 520.

² So says the "Chronicle" of Nestor, written about A.D. 1100. Rurik is the common Norse name, *Hrærek*, which Saxo Grammaticus turns into *Roricus*. See ZEUSS, "Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme," p. 555.

³ It had been introduced nearly a century earlier among the Southern Slavs, by the brothers Methodius and Constantine (Cyril).

a pagan, the importance of the event can hardly be overestimated. To a large extent it brought the Russians under Byzantine influence; suggesting to their rulers notions of autocracy, and saddling them with the stiff, formal, unprogressive Christianity of the Greek Church. In this way it separated Russia from the rest of Europe by a chasm that has not yet been bridged, and will not be for many years to come. Indeed, the peculiar attitude which Russia occupies toward the rest of Europe is mainly due to her ancient connections with Constantinople. While Western Europe derived its Christianity and, in large measure, its civilization from Rome, with her splendid traditions of virility and justice, Russia borrowed hers from an empire decrepit from its birth and corrupt in every member. While, in the West, the church practically absorbed the state and so was able to unfold freely into a great dominating force of a spiritual sort, in the East it was nearly always a mere department of the state, subject to petty political interests, and incapable of any free development or spiritual influence. Hence it was that, while the West advanced from dogmatizing patristicism to subtle, dialectical, systematizing scholasticism,—the unconscious but mighty precursor of modern philosophy and science,—the East sank more and more into a lifeless, unreflecting traditionalism, fatal to all intellectual progress. Thus was Russia separated from the spiritual life of Europe, and condemned to blind fanaticism and feeble, ascetic piety.

In 980, Vladimir the Great, grandson of Olga, the first prince who ruled over the whole of the Russians, forcibly made Christianity the official religion of his empire, and, like Charlemagne, tried to introduce learning among his people. His son Yaroslaff, who ruled from 1019 to 1054, followed in his footsteps; so that, in the middle of the eleventh century, Russia, so lately the home of confusion and conflict, seemed on a fair way to stable unity and civilization.

But troublous times—conflicts within and without—followed. The peoples to the west, Poles, Lithuanians, Danes, and Germans, attacked her, rending away large tracts of her territory; while, partly as a result of this, she broke up into a number of independent states, all governed by descendants of Rurik. Some of these prospered and built capitals, chief of which was Moscow, founded in 1147; and there is every reason to believe that, in course of time, some one of them, gaining ascendancy, would have restored unity to the empire. But ere this could be done, a new calamity befell the nation; threatening its very existence, and, though finally overcome, deeply and permanently affecting its character and institutions. This was the invasion of the Tatars, which took

place in the first half of the thirteenth century, under the world-conqueror Genghis Khan and his successors. These Tatars, whose original home was on the upper Amoor, overran the greater part of Russia with fire and sword, built a capital on the lower Volga, and compelled the conquered states to pay them tribute. All resistance being for the time hopeless, the princes of these states soon began to vie with each other in courting the favor of the Khans, and in making matrimonial alliances with their families. Those who succeeded best in this used the power of their masters to depress and further enslave their less fortunate, or less crafty, brethren; making common cause with the ruthless Tatar Khans, imitating their rude, domineering habits, and adopting their despotic attitude toward their subjects, now almost reduced to slavery.

The most successful of these Tatarizing princes were the lords of Moscow. These having, through Tatar influence, gained supremacy over the neighboring states, even over Rurik's capital, Novgorod, and having built up a powerful army, at last, after more than two hundred years of servitude, felt strong enough to turn against their oppressors,—enfeebled by tribute-engendered sloth,—and to declare themselves free. This took place in the latter half of the fifteenth century, under Ivan the Great, who reigned from 1462 to 1505. As this prince initiated a new era in Russian history,—being, in fact, the founder of the Russian Empire, in the true sense of the word,—we must pause for a moment to consider his achievements, and the new elements and ideals which he introduced into Russian policy.

The nation founded by the Norse pagan Rurik had been a nation of freemen; honoring their chiefs, indeed, when these were brave and worthy, but rebelling against them with the utmost vigor, when they were otherwise. The empire founded by the Christian Ivan, on the contrary, was an empire of subjects, governed despotically by an irresponsible sovereign, claiming to derive his authority from supernatural sources. A greater change, or, from a certain point of view, a more pathetic one, can hardly be imagined. And yet it was unavoidable. The weakness of the government founded by Rurik had been demonstrated in the most emphatic and painful way; first, by the breaking up of the nation into independent and often mutually hostile states; and, second, by its powerlessness, when thus self-divided, to resist invaders. The conquests of its Eastern neighbors and the long, degrading thralldom to the Tatar were object-lessons, whose meaning could not be mistaken or forgotten.

It had become obtrusively plain that, if Russia was ever to assume

the position of a great, free, progressive nation, she must be strongly united internally, and must present a bold front to her neighbors, east and west. To accomplish this was no easy matter, owing to the heterogeneous character of the Russian people, their different grades of civilization, their jealousies, and their tendencies to internal strife. But Ivan, fully comprehending the difficulty of the task, nevertheless undertook it, and spared no effort to accomplish it. And there were favorable circumstances in the case. In 1453, nine years before his accession, Constantinople had fallen into the hands of the Turks, and the Greek Empire had come to an end. Feeling that, if he could succeed to the place of the Greek emperors, take over Byzantine civilization, and make Russia the chief bearer and champion of Greek, or orthodox, Christianity, he would greatly add to his own prestige and authority, give his people a place among the nations of Europe, and become master of the most powerful of all means for the consolidation of his empire, he set to work with the utmost energy and deliberation to accomplish these ends. In 1472 he married, by proxy, in St. Peter's at Rome, Sophia Palæologina, belonging to the elder branch of the Byzantine imperial family; and, in consequence, he adopted, as the Russian arms, the double-headed eagle of Constantinople—a circumstance of obvious and far-reaching significance. Thereupon he used every effort to make Russia heir to the authority, culture, literature, art, and traditions of the fallen empire, and to secure to her that primacy in orthodoxy which had belonged to it. In a word, without openly claiming that the Eastern Empire had merely removed its capital, for safety, to Moscow, he tacitly made that assumption and acted upon it, as his successors have done ever since. There is no fact in Russian history more necessary to be borne in mind than this: Russia claims to be the heir of the Eastern Empire, and of all that that implies.

Thus Ivan the Great, setting out with the despotic pretensions of the Tatar Khans, sought to legitimize these by posing as heir to the Eastern Cæsars, and to invest them with divine authority, by claiming to represent the cause of God upon earth. Armed with these credentials, he did his best to unite Russia politically and religiously or spiritually. His purpose was beneficent, and his scheme eminently suited to the needs of the time; but, being violently imposed on the people from without, it proved a mere external bond, finding no response in the hearts of the people, and producing neither political nor religious¹

¹ The Russians were practically pagans far into the thirteenth century; and to-day, despite their nominally Christian fanaticism, the case is not very different.

life. Politics consisted in the will of the despot; religion in superstitious beliefs and observances. In spite of this,—nay, perhaps by reason of it,—Ivan attained great results. He entirely threw off the yoke of the Tatar (1480), united under his sceptre a large portion of disrupted Russia, including even the kingdom of Novgorod, and settled his nation's chief policy for all time to come. And his successors walked in his footsteps. His grandson, Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584), drove back the Tatars, conquered Astrakhan, Kazan, and a large portion of Siberia, rigorously (not to say cruelly) suppressed insurrections at home, made his way to Archangel, on the White Sea, introduced printing, and assumed the title of Czar (*Kaiser*, *Cæsar*). With the death of his son, Feodor¹ (said to have been poisoned), in 1598, the line of Rurik, after ruling for over seven hundred years, ceased to exist; and there followed fifteen years of conflict, confusion, and distress, aggravated by a decimating famine.

At length, in 1613, the nobles, tired of anarchy, met and elected as Czar, Michael Feodorovitch, connected with Rurik through his grandmother. This ruler, the founder of the Romanoff dynasty still reigning, did much to develop the resources of Russia, and extended (1639) its borders to the Pacific Ocean. His two sons, Alexis and Feodor, continued his work; and, on the death of the latter in 1682, there came to the throne the most gifted man, and the ablest ruler, that the nation ever produced—Peter the Great. Before we pass to him and the new era which he initiated, it will be well to call attention once more to the political aim of the rulers, from Ivan the Great to Feodor,—from the defeat of the Tatars to the advent of Peter. This aim was, simply and solely, the greatness of Russia, the conditions of which were harmony within and freedom of attack from without. To realize the former of these, they ruthlessly suppressed every attempt at rebellion or separation: to insure the latter, they attacked and conquered all the dangerous roving tribes of the East as far as the Pacific. In speaking of Russia's "lust of conquest," we are apt to forget that she had no choice in the matter, and that Europe owes her an immense debt of gratitude for cutting off the springs of one of the greatest evils that ever threatened her. If Europe is no longer subject to devastating inroads of Turks and

¹ Curiously enough, it was under this last of the direct descendants of Rurik that serfdom, so abhorrent to the free Norseman, was first introduced into Russia (1598). It was rendered necessary by the fact that the Northern peasants persisted in wandering off to the fertile lands in South Russia, recently redeemed from the Tatar. The serfs have nearly always been Slavs (hence, "slave" "*esclave*"), not Norsemen, Finns, or Germans.

Tatars, it is to Russia that the credit is due. The two essential conditions of Russia's greatness are sufficient to account for her policy at home and abroad,—her internal despotism and her external conquests.

But to return to Peter. If Rurik had delivered Russia from internal anarchy, and Ivan had redeemed it from external barbarism, Peter launched it on the path of positive civilization. He was its third founder, and the creator of all that is best in it. It is not necessary to enter here upon the details of his schemes and achievements, so romantic in their interest. Suffice it to say, that he found Russia mediæval and left it modern,—Oriental, and left it far on its way toward Occidentalism. He did his best to introduce among his countrymen all the enlightenment, institutions, and appliances of Western civilization. To draw the fangs of the obscurantist, obstructive church, he abolished the Russian patriarchate; replacing it by a Holy Synod, plastic to his touch. He showed the utmost contempt for the claims, traditions, and prejudices of the nobility, learnt handicrafts, divorced his aristocratic wife, married a peasant girl, dethroned his elder brother, cloistered his ambitious aunt, put to death his rebellious son, extended on all sides the dominion of Russia, secured it a leading place among the nations, and, in 1721, assumed the title of "Peter the Great, Emperor of all the Russias, Father of his Country."

The reforms of Peter, like nearly all the progressive movements in Russian history, though in the end highly beneficial, were marred by two capital defects: they were imposed from without, and they were far too sudden. It is a strong testimony to the plastic, improvable character of the Russian nation, that they did not produce utter and irremediable confusion. Some confusion they have, indeed, caused; for, since the days of Peter, there have been in Russia two well-defined disruptive, spiritual tendencies drawing her asunder in different directions: the one to Orientalism, the other to Occidentalism. The former seeks to cultivate a narrow Russianism or Slavism, with an inert official church to attend to spiritual interests, and a rigid imperial despotism to manage political matters, leaving to the people only the narrower material concerns of social and domestic life; while the latter aims at elevating the whole people into spiritual and political autonomy, with free thought and popular government. These tendencies triumph alternately; and the policy of each Czar is mainly determined by the one for which he decides.

Peter the Great died in 1725; but his work was continued by his successors. The ablest of these in the eighteenth century was Catherine

II (1762-1796), who, being by birth a German, introduced some fifty thousand of her countrymen into Russia, and, in all other ways, did her best to Germanize it. She greatly increased the territory of Russia, improved legislation, established schools, patronized literature and learning, and left her empire one of the great Powers of Europe. The next great sovereign was Alexander I (1801-1825), who, beginning life as a favorer of Occidentalism, and doing his best to impart to his country all the advantages of Western civilization, gradually veered round to the very opposite extreme. He first opposed Napoleon, then made an alliance with him for the bipartition of the Old World, and then again turned against him. The result of this was the invasion of Russia (1812), in which Napoleon's army was almost annihilated. Alexander, having then headed a coalition against him, whose efforts resulted in the decisive victory at Leipzig in 1813, was hailed with the utmost enthusiasm as the "deliverer" of Europe,—a fact which secured to Russia a leading place in its subsequent councils and policy. Having, as he thought, seen enough of Occidental liberalism and its effects, he reverted to complete absolutism, and brought about the "Holy Alliance," whose aim was the suppression of all liberal movements and the furtherance of universal despotism.

At his death, Alexander was succeeded by his brother, Nicholas I (1825-1855), known as "the Iron Czar," who for thirty years maintained unswervingly the same policy, vigorously putting down all efforts for political freedom. Russia, as the result of this, escaped the revolutionary disturbances of 1848; and, thus finding herself the strongest Power in Europe, she began to think that the time had come for realizing her long-cherished project of completing the conquest of the Tatars and openly claiming the inheritance of the Eastern Empire, by adding Turkey to her dominions. To her surprise, she found herself opposed by England, France, and Sardinia; and the Crimean War (1853-1856) was the result. Having, still more to her surprise, been defeated in this, she was fain to lay the blame for her disgrace, not upon herself, but upon the despotic methods of her ruler, who himself seems, on his deathbed, to have acquiesced, in utter disappointment, in this conclusion. His successor, Alexander II (1855-1881), took the lesson to heart, made a sudden and disadvantageous peace with the hostile Powers, and reverted to Occidental liberalism. In 1861, he took the first step toward the disenfranchisement of his subjects by emancipating forty millions of serfs. Encouraged by the success of the Russian arms in the war with Turkey in 1878,

and by the example of constitutional England, still strong enough to compel the abrogation of the San Stefano treaty, he was on the very eve of convoking a deliberative assembly,—the first step toward a constitutional parliament,—when thoughtless, impatient nihilism, a fungoid, night-born excrescence of stunted liberalism, put an end to his life. No more stupid crime was ever perpetrated. No sadder disaster ever befell Russia.

The next Czar, Alexander III (1881–1894), though at first inclined to continue his father's policy, allowed himself to be so intimidated by the plots of the Nihilists as to change his mind; and, seeing no hope in reverting to the iron absolutism of his grandfather, he resolved upon standing still,—doing nothing himself, and forcing others to do nothing. Thus, for thirteen years he pursued a course which earned for him the title of the “peace-keeper of Europe.” He might, with equal justice, have been called the peace-keeper of Russia: for, under his rule, nihilism, that peculiarly Russian product, hid its head, and the strong antagonisms underlying the national life virtually concluded a truce. Meanwhile Russia grew in strength and prestige, so that, slowly and insensibly, the universal consciousness has come to recognize that she is the leading Power on the elder continent.

And this is no delusion, whatever vague apprehensions it may inspire: Russia to-day holds the political supremacy of the Old World. Nor, if we follow the course of her thousand years of history, here sketched in the barest outline, and consider her natural conditions, is it difficult to see how this has come about. Starting in the ninth century, under Norse chieftains, Russia in the next four hundred years developed into a considerable nation,—a nation of warlike freemen, governing a large population of nomadic and agricultural Slavs and Finns. Toward the end of this time, in true Norse fashion, it broke up into a number of independent states, and thus, greatly weakened, became a prey to the Tatar hordes which poured into it in the thirteenth century. Under Tatar domination, which lasted for over two hundred years, the Russian chiefs, imitating their masters, assumed despotic power over their helpless subjects; and when, at last, the Grand Prince of Moscow was able to throw off the yoke of the Tatar, and subject a large dominion to his own authority, he found this power necessary in order to hold together his demoralized subjects, and to protect himself and them against the recurrence of barbarian conquest. One of his successors, in order to increase and hallow this power, invested himself with the divine authority of the fallen Eastern Empire and Church, and, under

cover of this, claimed unconditional obedience. In this way the will of the ruler became the bond and organizing principle of the Russian state, which, thus unified and strengthened, gradually extended its boundaries over all the vast regions from which barbarian inroads might be feared.

But this strength was gained at great cost. To maintain it, the people of Russia had to be kept in a condition of ignorance, superstition, and passive obedience to a single will; a condition which, in the face of Western civilization, could not possibly be lasting. Recognizing this, Peter the Great made a gigantic effort to elevate his countrymen into freedom, by making them sharers in that civilization; thereby introducing among them an element utterly incompatible with their previous condition. Since his time, the history of Russia has been an oscillatory effort to combine Oriental absolutism with Occidental constitutionalism, to find a means of making her people free without undermining the unity and strength due to despotism. The task has proved one of extreme difficulty; and it is but fair to the Czars to say that, whatever may have been their mistakes in judgment, they have, on the whole, honestly and steadily kept it before them, going forward as far as they dared, and then shrinking back in dismay on seeing the results of their own audacity. If they have all insisted on keeping intact the autocratic power until the nation show itself capable of holding together, in undiminished strength, without it, this cannot surely be made a reproach to them. It is to this insistence that Russia owes her supremacy in Europe to-day. She is strong because she is unified by a single principle, organizing and functioning with ease and rapidity: she is influential because her vast forces are wielded by a single will.

Having thus discovered how Russia arrived at her present supremacy, we can deal briefly with the second question we proposed to ourselves: What does this supremacy mean for the future? We may, indeed, answer at once: That depends upon what it shall stand for. If Russia is to go on maintaining and championing despotism; if she is to ally herself with other despotisms for the suppression of all liberalism in the Old World,—then her supremacy must prove the greatest possible calamity to all that civilization means. If, on the contrary, she shall proceed cautiously along the path marked out by Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander II, and shall gradually substitute the noble, moral bond of freedom for the coarse, material one of despotism, and, in so doing, shall profit by all the rich experience of the Western nations without losing her own individuality and becoming a

mere imitator,—then her supremacy will be what the Old World most needs and craves.

It must be admitted that, at the present moment, the outlook is gloomy; that the new, young, and inexperienced Czar seems to have been lured by unwise and cunning counsellors back into the "dark forest" of reactionary absolutism and obscurantism. If, while this continues, Russia should, in any profound way, shape the political and social movements of Europe, great evil might be wrought. But, at best, it could be only temporary; for there is nothing more certain than this: that, with her present, external, unnatural, and historically obsolete bond of union, she cannot long maintain her supremacy. She could do so only by disowning and obliterating all the civilizing work of Peter the Great and his successors; crushing out education, intelligence, and the natural desire for freedom, building a Chinese wall to exclude the inroads of Western culture, and converting herself into a nation of ignorant, superstitious, grovelling slaves, ruled with a rod of iron by a brutal Tatarized Czar,—in a word, by returning to pure Orientalism. But this is absolutely impossible, so long as St. Petersburg, with all that it means, stands over against Moscow.¹

Cultivated Russia—and she is daily becoming more cultivated—demands freedom and constitutional government; and this she will sooner or later acquire, by fair means or by foul, by gradual evolution or by sudden revolution. That, in the process, there will spring up serious difficulties, in which she may temporarily lose something of her strength, is not unlikely; but what she loses in strength she will gain in prestige and in foreign sympathy. In any case, she has no choice in the matter: she must go forward or perish from among the nations. No doubt, at some no distant day she will go forward; and there are peculiar circumstances in her case which must greatly aid in making her progress safe and successful: (1) The complete, almost superstitious, devotion of the lower classes to the Czar, and their consequent plasticity in his hands; (2) the high culture, broad humanity, and freedom from conservatism of a large section of the upper classes, which would enable them to undergo a political metamorphosis far more easily than older and more stiffened peoples; (3) the village communities, with their rudiments of self-government, and their remedy for landless, homeless proletarianism, such as threatens the peace of Western

¹ The former is the acknowledged representative of Occidental liberalism; the latter, of Oriental despotism and narrow, unintelligent Slavophilism, which forgets that all that is great in Russia is due mainly to men of Teutonic race,—Norsemens and Germans,—not to Slavs at all.

Europe; (4) the compactness, combined with vastness, of the Russian Empire.

With these advantages, all that Russia requires is a far-sighted, heroic Czar who, comprehending the needs of to-day, as Peter the Great did those of two hundred years ago, shall complete the work begun by him, commit Russia irrevocably to Occidentalism and liberalism, and thus earn for her the sympathy and respect, instead of the jealousy and dread, of other nations. Should such a Czar arise, it would be wisdom on the part of Europe to allow Russia to gratify her two legitimate ambitions, in the pursuit of which she has been hitherto thwarted, especially by Great Britain. These ambitions are: (1) To complete the subjugation of the barbarous Tatars by annexing Turkey to her dominions; and (2) to possess ice-free ports for the development of a navy and of merchant-shipping. While, as despotic, she ought to be thwarted in every way; as liberal, she ought to enjoy all the rights of liberal nations, and be permitted to have her own way in Turkey and China, just as England has had hers in Egypt and India. A liberal Russia, with her long-cherished ambitions once satisfied, would be not only the peace-keeper of Europe, but also one of its most potent civilizing influences; equalling, perhaps surpassing,—so gifted is her people,—the other nations in culture, humanity, and righteousness. But whether Russia is to be blest with a liberal Czar or not, there is no reason to fear her supremacy. If she remain coarsely despotic, it cannot last: if she become liberal, it can be only a blessing.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL

WHEN Robert Louis Stevenson wrote his "Note on Realism," and declared that "the historical novel is dead," he did not think he would live to be the author of the "Master of Ballantrae." But when Prosper Mérimée expressed to a correspondent his belief that the historical novel was a "bastard form," he could look back without reproach upon his own "Chronique de Charles IX,"—one of the finest examples of the kind of fiction he chose to despise. Whether or not most readers of English fiction at the end of the nineteenth century approve Mérimée's opinion, that the historical novel is illegitimate by birth, few of them will agree with Stevenson in deeming it defunct. If we can judge by the welcome it receives from the writers of newspaper notices, it is not moribund even; and, if we are influenced by the immense sale of "Ben Hur" and by the broadening vogue of "Quo Vadis," we may go so far as to believe that it was never stronger or fuller of life.

We might even suggest that the liking for historical fiction is now so keen that the public is not at all particular as to the verity of the history out of which the fiction has been manufactured, since it accepts the invented facts of the *Chronicles of Zenda* quite as eagerly as it receives the better-documented "Memoirs of a Minister of France."

More than any other British author of his years, Stevenson worked in accord with the theories of art which have been elaborated and expounded in France; and it may be that when he declared the historical novel to be dead he was thinking rather of French literature than of English. There is no doubt that in France the historical novel is not cherished. No one of the living masters of fiction in France has attempted any but contemporary studies. M. Daudet, M. Zola, M. Bourget, find all the subjects they need in the life of their own times. Flaubert's fame is due to his masterly "Madame Bovary," and not to his splendid "Salammbô." So sharp is the French reaction against romanticism that even impressionist critics, like M. Jules Lemaitre and M. Anatole France, do not overpraise the gay romances of the elder Dumas, as Stevenson did. In France, the historical novel has no standing in the court of serious criticism. As Mérimée wrote in the correspondence

from which one quotation has already been made,—“history, in my eyes, is a sacred thing.”

Historical fiction suffers in France from the same discredit as historical painting, and for the same reasons. It is either too easy to be worth while—a French critic might say—or so difficult as to be impossible. When a young man once went to Courbet for advice, saying that his vocation was to be a historical painter, the artist promptly responded: “I don’t doubt it; and therefore begin by giving three months to making a portrait of your father!”

Perhaps French opinion is nowhere more accurately voiced than by M. Anatole France, in the “Jardin d’Épicure”:—

“We cannot reproduce with any accuracy what no longer exists. When we see that a painter has to take all the trouble in the world to represent to us, more or less exactly, a scene in the time of Louis Philippe, we may despair of his ever being able to give us the slightest idea of an event contemporary with Saint Louis or Augustus. We weary ourselves copying armor and old chests; but the artists of the past did not worry themselves about so empty an exactness. They lent to the hero of legend or history the costume and the looks of their own contemporaries; and thus they depicted naturally their own soul and their own century. Now what can an artist do better?”

In other words, Paul Veronese’s “Marriage at Cana” is frankly a revelation of the Italian Renaissance; and this revelation is not contaminated by any fifteenth-century guess at the manners and customs of Judea in the first century. It is difficult to surmise how some of the laboriously archæological pictures of the nineteenth century will affect an observer of the twenty-first century. As in painting, so in the drama: Shakespeare made no effort to suggest the primitive manners and customs of Scotland to the spectators of his “Macbeth”; and if the characters of “Julius Cæsar” are Roman, it is chiefly because of the local color that chanced to leak through from North’s “Plutarch.” What Shakespeare aimed at was the creation of living men and women,—interesting because of their intense humanity, eternal because of their truth and vitality. He never sought to differentiate Scotchmen and Danes of the past from Englishmen of the present. He lent to all his personages the vocabulary, the laws, the usages, the costumes which were familiar to the playgoers that flocked to applaud his pieces. Archæology was unknown to him and to them; anachronism did not affright them or him. Probably he would have brushed aside any demand for exactness of fact as an attempt to impose an unfair restraint upon the liberty of the dramatist,—whose business it was to write plays

to be acted in a theatre, and not to prepare lectures to be delivered in a college hall. Shakespeare and Veronese, each in his own art, worked freely, as though wholly unconscious of any difference between their own contemporaries and the subjects of the Cæsars.

The compilers of the "Gesta Romanorum" had no conception of the elements of either geography or chronology; and the authors of the Romances of Chivalry seem to have been as ignorant, although their scientific nihilism is perhaps wilful,—like Mr. Stockton's when he tells us a "Tale of Negative Gravity." The essential likeness of the Romances of Chivalry to the "Waverley Novels" has been pointed out more than once; and in each group of tales we find the hero, or the technical hero's rescuing friend, omnipresent, omniscient, and almost omnipotent. The essential difference between the two kinds of fiction is quite as obvious also: it lies in the fact that Scott and his followers know what history is, and that, even when they vary from it, they are aware of what they are doing.

The historical novel, as we understand it to-day, like the historical drama and like historical painting, could not come into being until after history had established itself, and after chronology and geography had lent to history their indispensable aid. Nowadays the novelist and the dramatist and the painter are conscious that people do not talk and dress and behave as they did a hundred years ago, or a thousand. They do not know precisely how the people of those days did feel and think and act: they cannot know these things. The most they can do is to study the records of the past and make a guess, the success of which depends on their equipment and insight. They accept their obligation to history and to its handmaids,—an obligation which Shakespeare and Veronese would have denied quite as frankly as the compilers of the "Gesta Romanorum" or the writers of the Romances of Chivalry. Scott was appealing to a circle of more or less sophisticated readers, any one of whom might be an antiquary: he was to be tried by a jury of his peers. But the author of "Amadis of Gaul," for example, wrote for a public that cared as little as he himself did about the actual facts of the countries or of the periods his hero traversed in search of strange adventure.

Although it is not difficult to detect here and there in Scott's predecessors the more or less fragmentary hints of which he availed himself, it would be absurd to deny that Scott is really the inventor of the historical novel, just as Poe was, afterward, the inventor of the detective story. In the "Castle of Otranto" Horace Walpole essayed to

recall to life the Gothic period as he understood it; but—if we may judge by Mrs. Radcliffe and the rest of his immediate imitators—it was the tale of mystery he succeeded in writing and not the true historical novel. For this last, Walpole was without two things which Scott possessed abundantly; viz., the gift of story-telling and an intimate knowledge of more than one epoch of the past.

And Scott had also two other qualifications which Walpole lacked: he was a poet and he was a humorist. As it happens, the steps that led Scott to the "Waverley Novels" are not hard to count. He began by collecting the ballads of the Border; and soon he wrote new ballads in the old manner. Then he linked ballads together, and so made "Marmion" and the "Lady of the Lake." When he thought that the public was weary of his verse, he told one of these ballad-*tales* in prose, and so made "Waverley." But he had read Miss Edgeworth; and he wished to do for the Scottish peasant what she had done for the Irish: thus it is that the prose tales contained sketches of character at once robust and delicate. In time, when he tired of Scotch subjects, he crossed the Border; and in "Ivanhoe" he first applied to an English subject the formula he had invented for use in North Britain, helped in his handling of a mediæval theme by his recollections of the "Götz von Berlichingen" of Goethe, which he had translated in his 'prentice days. After a while he crossed the Channel, and found that the method acquired in telling the Scotch stories enabled him to write "Quentin Durward," a story of France, and the "Talisman," a story of Palestine. Although he had to forego his main advantage when he left his native land, Scott did not abandon his humor; and these later tales contain more than one memorable character, even if they reveal none so unforgettable as are a dozen or more in the Scotch stories.

Probably the immense vogue of the "Waverley Novels," as they came forth swiftly one after another in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was due rather to the qualities they had in common with the "Castle of Otranto" than to the qualities they had in common with "Castle Rackrent." No doubt it was the union of the merits of both schools that broadened the audience to which the "Waverley Novels" appealed; but, in attaining his contemporary triumph, Scott owed more to Horace Walpole than to Maria Edgeworth. He surpassed Walpole immeasurably, because he was a man of deeper knowledge and broader sympathy. His audience was far wider than Miss Edgeworth's, because he infused into his Scottish tales a romantic

flavor which she carefully excluded from her veracious portrayals of Irish character.

Yet it may be suggested that the stories of Scott most likely to survive the centenary of their publication and to retain readers in the first quarter of the twentieth century are perhaps those in which he best withstands the comparison with Miss Edgeworth,—the stories in which he has recorded types of Scottish character, with its mingled humor and pathos. For mere excitement our liking is eternal: but the fashion thereof is fickle; and we prefer our romantic adventures cut this way to-day and another way to-morrow. Our interest in our fellow-man subsists unchanged forever; and we take a perennial delight in the revelation of the subtleties of human nature. It is in the “Antiquary” and in the “Heart of Midlothian” that Scott is seen at his best; and it is by creating characters like *Caleb Balderstone* and *Dugald Dalgetty* and *Wandering Willie* that he has deserved to endure.

In work of this kind Scott showed himself a realist. He revealed himself as a humorist with a compassionate understanding of his fellow-creatures. He gave play to that sense of reality, which Bagehot praises as one of the most valuable of his characteristics. When he is dealing with mediæval life,—which he knew not at first-hand, as he knew his Scottish peasants, but afar off from books,—the result is unreal. He was as well read in history as any man of his time; and he himself explained his superiority over the host of imitators who encompassed him about, by saying that they read to write, while he wrote because he had read. But this knowledge was second-hand, at best: it was not like his day-in-day-out acquaintance with the men of his own time; and this is why the unreality of “*Ivanhoe*,” for instance, is becoming more and more obvious to us. The breaking of the lances in the lists of Ashby-de-la-Zouch is to us a hollow sham, like the polite tournament at Eglinton. The deeds of daring of *Ivanhoe* and of the *Black Knight* and of *Robin Hood* still appeal to the boy in us; but they are less and less convincing to the man.

Although *Ivanhoe* and *Robin Hood* and the *Black Knight* are boldly projected figures, their psychology is summary. How could it be anything else? With all his genius, Scott was emphatically a man of his own time and of his own country, with the limitations and the prejudices of the eighteenth century and of the British Isles. Few of his warmest admirers would venture to suggest that he was as broad in his sympathy as Shakespeare, or as universal in his vision; and yet he was trying to reconstruct the past for us, in deed and feeling and thought,

—the very thing that Shakespeare never attempted. The author of "Much Ado about Nothing" and of the "Comedy of Errors" was content to people the foreign plots he borrowed so lightly with the Elizabethans he knew so well. The author of "Ivanhoe" and of the "Talisman" made a strenuous effort to body forth the very spirit of epochs and of lands wholly unlike the spirit of the eighteenth century in the British Isles. It is a proof of Scott's genius that he came so near success; but failure was inevitable. Says Taine:—

"After all, his characters, to whatever age he transports them, are his neighbors, canny farmers, vain lairds, gloved gentlemen, young marriageable ladies, all more or less commonplace, that is, well ordered by education and character, hundreds of miles away from the voluptuous fools of the Restoration or the heroic brutes and forcible beasts of the Middle Ages."

The fact is that no man can step off his own shadow. By no effort of the will can he thrust himself backward into the past and shed his share of the accumulations of the ages, of all the myriad accretions of thought and sentiment and knowledge, stored up in the centuries that lie between him and the time he is trying to treat. Of necessity he puts into his picture of days gone by more or less of the days in which he is living. Shakespeare frankly accepted the situation: Scott attempted the impossible. Racine wrote tragedies on Greek subjects; and he submitted to be bound by rules which he supposed to have been laid down by a great Greek critic. To the spectator who saw these plays, when they were first produced, they may have seemed Greek: but to us, two hundred years later, they seem to be perhaps the most typical product of the age of Louis XIV; and a great French critic has suggested that to bring out their full flavor they should be performed nowadays by actors wearing not the flowing draperies of Athens, but the elaborate court dress of Versailles. "Phèdre" is interesting to us to-day, not because it is Greek, but because it is French; and some of Scott's stories, hailed on their publication as faithful reproductions of mediæval manners, will doubtless have another interest, in time, as illustrations of what the beginning of the nineteenth century believed the Middle Ages to be.

Not only is it impossible for a man to get away from his own country, but it is equally impossible for him to get away from his own nationality. Has any author ever been able to create a character of a different stock from his own? Certainly all the greatest figures of fiction are compatriots of their authors. We have had many carpet-bag

novelists of late;—men and women who go forth gayly and study a foreign country from the platform of a parlor-car;—and some of these are able to spin yarns which hold the attention of listening thousands. What the people of the foreign countries think of these superficial tales we can measure when we recall the contempt in which we Americans hold the efforts made by one and another of the British novelists to lay the scene of a story here in the United States. Dickens and Trollope and Reade were men of varied gifts, keen observers all of them; but how lamentable the spectacle when they endeavored to portray an American! Probably most American endeavors to portray an Englishman are quite as foolish in the eyes of the British. Dickens twice chose to compete with the carpet-bag novelists; and if we Americans are unwilling to see a correct picture of our life in "Martin Chuzzlewit," we may be sure that the French are as unwilling to acknowledge the "Tale of Two Cities" as an accurate portrayal of the most dramatic epoch in their history. There are those who think it was a piece of impertinence for a Londoner like Dickens to suppose that he could escape the inexorable limitations of his birth and education and hope to see Americans or Frenchmen as they really are: far finer artists than Dickens have failed in this,—artists of a far more exquisite touch.

The masterpieces of the great painters instantly declare the race to which the limner himself belonged. Rubens and Velasquez and Titian travelled and saw the world; they have left us portraits of men of many nationalities; and yet every man and woman Rubens painted seems to us Dutch, every man and woman Velasquez painted seems to us Spanish, every man and woman Titian painted seems to us Italian. The artists of our own time, for all their cosmopolitanism, are no better off; and when M. Bonnat has for sitters Americans of marked characteristics he cannot help reproducing them on canvas as though they had been reflected in a Gallic mirror. In short, a man can no more escape from his race than he can escape from his century; it is the misfortune of the historical novelist that he must try to do both.

The "Atalanta in Calydon" of Mr. Swinburne has been praised as the most Greek of all modern attempts to reproduce Greek tragedy; and it may deserve this eulogy,—but what of it? It may be the most Greek of the modern plays, but is it really Greek after all? Would not an ancient Greek have found in it many things quite incomprehensible to him? Even if it is more or less Greek, is it as Greek as the plays the Greeks themselves wrote? Why should an Englishman pride himself on having written a Greek play? At best he has but accomplished a

feat of main strength, a *tour de force*, an exercise in literary gymnastics! A *pastiche*, a paste jewel, is not a precious possession. A Greek play written by a modern Englishman remains absolutely outside the current of contemporary literature. It is a kind of thing the Greeks never dreamed of doing; they wrote Greek plays because they were Greeks and could do nothing else; they did not imitate the literature of the Assyrians nor that of the Egyptians; they swam in the full centre of the current of their own time. If Sophocles were a modern Englishman, who can doubt that he would write English plays, with no backward glance toward Greek tragedy? The lucidity, the sobriety, the elevation of the Greeks we may borrow from them, if we can, without taking over also the mere external forms due to the accidents of their age.

Art has difficulties enough without imposing on it limitations no longer needful. "Let the dead past bury its dead,"—this has been the motto of every great artist, ancient and modern, of Dante, of Shakespeare, and of Molière. A man who has work to do in the world does not embarrass himself by using a dead language to convey his ideas. Milton's Latin verse may be as elegant as its admirers assert; but, if he had written nothing else, this page might need a foot-note to explain who he was. If a layman may venture an opinion, the use of Gothic architecture in America at the end of the nineteenth century seems an equivalent anachronism. Gothic is a dead language; and no man to-day in the United States uses it naturally, as he does the vernacular. One of the most accomplished of American architects recently drew attention to the fact that "such a perfect composition and exquisite design as M. Vaudremer's church of Montrouge, Paris, unquestionably the best and ablest attempt in our time to revive mediæval art, is considered cold even by his own pupils"; and then Mr. Hastings explains that "this is because it lacks the life we are living, and at the same time is without the real mediæval life." Gothic was at its finest when it was the only architecture that was known, and when it was used naturally and handled freely and unconsciously,—just as the best Greek plays were written by the Greeks.

In other words, the really trustworthy historical novels are those which were a-writing while the history was a-making. If the "Tale of Two Cities" misrepresents the Paris of 1789, the "Pickwick Papers" represents, with amazing humor and with photographic fidelity, certain aspects of the London of 1837. The one gives us what Dickens guessed about France in the preceding century; and the other tells us what he saw in England in his own time. Historical novel for historical novel,

"Pickwick" is superior to the "Tale of Two Cities," and "Nicholas Nickleby" to "Barnaby Rudge." No historical novelist will ever be able to set before us the state of affairs in the South in the decade preceding the Civil War with the variety and the veracity of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," written in that decade. No American historian has a more minute acquaintance with the men who made the United States than Mr. Paul Leicester Ford; and yet one may venture to predict that Mr. Ford will never write a historical novel having a tithe of the historical value possessed by his suggestive study of the conditions of contemporary politics in New York city, the "Honorable Peter Sterling." Nevertheless there are few librarians bold enough to catalogue "Pickwick" and "Uncle Tom" and "Peter Sterling" under historical fiction.

One of the foremost merits of the novel, as of the drama, is that it enlarges our sympathy by increasing our knowledge of our fellow-man. It compels us to shift our point of view, and often to assume that anti-thetic to our custom. It forces us to see not only how the other half lives, but also how it feels, and how it thinks. We learn not merely what the author meant to teach us: we absorb, in addition, a host of things he did not know he was putting in,—things he took for granted, some of them, and things he implied as a matter of course. This unconscious richness of instruction cannot but be absent from the historical novel,—or at best it is so obscured as to be almost non-existent.

In "Anna Karénina" one can see Russian life in the end of this century as Tolstoï knows it, having beheld it with his own eyes: in "War and Peace" we have Russian life in the beginning of this century, as Tolstoï supposes it to have been, not having seen it. One is the testimony of an eyewitness: the other is given on information and belief. "Pendennis" and "The Newcomes" and "Vanity Fair"—for all that the last includes the battle of Waterloo, fought when Thackeray was but a boy—are written out of the fulness of knowledge: "Henry Esmond" is written out of the fulness of learning only. In the former there is an unconscious accuracy of reproduction; while in the latter unconsciousness is impossible. The historical novel cannot help being what the French call "*voulu*,"—a word that denotes both effort and artificiality. The story-teller who deals honestly with his own time achieves, without taking thought, a fidelity simply impossible to the story-teller who deals with the past, no matter how laboriously the latter may toil after it.

In fact, the more he labors, the less life is there likely to be in the

tale he is telling: humanity is choked by archæology. It calls for no research to set forth the unending conflict of duty and desire, for example. If we examine carefully the best of the stories usually classed under historical fiction, we shall find those to be the most satisfactory in which the history is of least importance, in which it is present only as a background. The examination may lead to a subdivision of the class of historical fiction into the actual historical novel, and the novel in which history is wholly subordinate, not to say, merely incidental.

A British critic, Prof. George Saintsbury, has laid down the law that "the true historical novelist employs the reader's presumed interest in historical scene and character as an instrument to make his own work attractive." Although it would be easy to dissent from this dictum, it may be used to explain the distinction drawn in the preceding paragraph. A tale of the past is not necessarily a true historical novel: it is a true historical novel only when the historical events are woven into the texture of the story. Applying this test, we see that the "Bride of Lammermoor" is not a true historical novel; and this is perhaps the reason why it is held in high esteem by all lovers of genuine romance. By the same token, the "Scarlet Letter" is not a true historical novel.

Neither in the "Bride of Lammermoor" nor in the "Scarlet Letter" is there any reliance upon historical scene or character for attraction. Scott was narrating again a legend of an inexplicable mystery; but, although the period of its occurrence was long past when he wrote, he presented simply the characters enmeshed in the fateful adventure, and relied for the attractiveness of his story upon the inherent interest of the weird climax toward which the reader is hurried breathless under the weight of impending doom. Hawthorne was captivated by a study of conscience, the incidents of which could be brought out more conveniently and more effectively by throwing back the time of the tale into the remote past.

In another story of Scott's, not equal to the "Bride of Lammermoor" in its tragic intensity, but superb in its resolute handling of emotion, the "Heart of Midlothian," there is perhaps a stiffer infusion of actual history; but it would be rash to suggest that in its composition the author relied on historical scene or character to make his work attractive. The attraction of the "Heart of Midlothian" lies in its presentation of character at the crisis of its existence. So in the "Romola" of George Eliot, although the author obviously spent her strength in trying to transmute the annals of Florence into her nar-

rative, the historical part is unconvincing ; the episode of Savonarola is seen to be an excrescence ; and what remains erect now is a wholly imaginary trinity,—the noble figure of *Romola*, the pretty womanliness of little *Tessa*, and the easy-going *Tito*, with his moral fibre slowly disintegrating under successive temptations. *Tito* is one of the great triumphs of modern fiction, not because he is a Greek of the Renaissance, but because he is eternal and to be found whenever and wherever man lacks strength to resist himself.

If we were thus to go down the list of so-called historical novels, one by one, we might discover that those which were most solidly rooted in our regard and affection are to be included in the subdivision wherein history itself is only a casual framework for a searching study of human character, and that they are cherished for the very same qualities as are possessed by the great novels of modern life. Without going so far as to say that the best historical novel is that which has the least history, we may at least confess the frank inferiority of the other subdivision in which the author has been rash enough to employ historical scene and character to make his own work attractive. What gives charm and value to "*Henry Esmond*" is exactly what gives charm and value to "*Vanity Fair*,"—Thackeray's understanding of his fellow-man, his sympathetic insight into human nature, his happy faculty for dramatically revealing character by situation. Perhaps the eighteenth-century atmosphere, with which Thackeray was able to surround *Esmond* only by infinite skill, is not breathed comfortably by the most of those who enjoy the book for its manly qualities. One feels that the author has won his wager,—but at what a cost, and with what a risk !

Some logical readers of this essay may be moved to put two and two together, and to accuse the present writer of a desire to disparage the historical novel, because he has tried to show, first, that the novelists cannot reproduce in their pages the men and women of another epoch as these really thought and felt, and, second, that the novelists who have attempted historical fiction have best succeeded when they brought the fiction to the centre of the stage and left the history in the background. But to draw this conclusion would be unjust, since the writer really agrees with the views of Sainte-Beuve as expressed in a letter to Champfleury :—

"The novel is a vast field of experiment, open to all the forms of genius. It is the future epic, the only one, probably, that modern manners will hereafter justify. Let us not bind it too tightly ; let us not lay down its theory too rigidly ; let us not organize it."

To point out that a historical novel is great—when it is great—because of its possession of the identical qualities that give validity to a study of modern life, is not to suggest that only the contemporary novel is legitimate. To dwell on the deficiencies of the historical novel, is not to propose that only realistic fiction be tolerated hereafter. But perhaps a due consideration of these inherent defects of the historical novel may lead the disinterested reader to confess its essential inferiority to the more authentic fiction, in which the story-teller reports on humanity as he actually sees it. And if romance is preferred to realism, romance is purest when purged of all affectation.

Genuine romance is always as delightful as shoddy romanticism is always detestable. Fantasy is ever beautiful, when it presents itself frankly as fantasy. "Undine" does not pretend to accuracy; and the "Arabian Nights" never vaunted itself as founded on the facts of Haroun-al-Raschid's career. Stevenson's romances, artistically truthful, though they contradict the vulgar facts of everyday existence,— "Markheim," for example, and "The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde,"—bid fair to outlive his romanticist admixtures of Scott and Dumas; and the "New Arabian Nights," with its matter-of-fact impossibility, will outweigh the "Master of Ballantrae" a dozen times over. But pure romance and frank fantasy are strangely rare; there are very few Hoffmanns and Fouqués, Poes and Stevensons in a century,—and only one Hawthorne.

Not long ago an enterprising American journalist wrote to some twoscore of the story-tellers of Great Britain and of the United States to enquire what, in their opinion, the object of the novel was. Half a dozen of the replies declared that it was "to realize life"; and the rest—an immense majority—were satisfied to say that it was "to amuse." Here we see the practitioners of the art divided in defining its purpose; and a like diversity of opinion can be detected among the vast army of novel-readers. Some think that fiction ought to be literature, and that "literature is a criticism of life." Some hold that fiction is mere story-telling,—the stringing together of adventure, the heaping up of excitement, with the wish of forgetting life as it is, of getting outside of the sorry narrowness of sordid and commonplace existence into a fairy-land of dreams where *Cinderella* always marries *Prince Charming* and where the *Haughty Sisters* always meet with their just punishment. It is to readers of this second class that the ordinary historical novel appeals with peculiar force; for it provides the drug they desire, while they can salve their conscience during this dissipation with the belief

that they are, at the same time, improving their minds. The historical novel is aureoled with a pseudo-sanctity, in that it purports to be more instructive than a mere story : it claims—or at least the claim is made in its behalf—that it is teaching history. There are those who think that it thus adds hypocrisy to its other faults.

Bagehot—and there is no acuter critic of men and books, and none with less literary bias—Bagehot suggested that the immense popularity of “Ivanhoe” was due to the fact that “it describes the Middle Ages as we should wish them to be.” This falsification characteristic of the historical novel in general is one of its chief charms in the eyes of those who like to be ravished out of themselves into an illusion of a world better than the one they, unfortunately, have to live in. “All sensible people know that the Middle Ages must have been very uncomfortable,” continues Bagehot. “No one knew the abstract facts on which this conclusion rests better than Scott ; but his delineation gives no general idea of the result : a thoughtless reader rises with the impression that the Middle Ages had the same elements of happiness which we have at present, and that they had fighting besides.” Scott knew better, of course ; but though “when aroused, he could take a distinct view of the opposing facts, he liked his own mind to rest for the most part in the same pleasing illusion.” Perhaps Bagehot might have agreed with some later critics who have held that many of Scott’s novels are immoral because of this falsification of historic truth,—a charge which receives no support from the “Bride of Lammermoor,” for example, nor from the “Heart of Midlothian,” and half a dozen other of his stories, in which Scott’s strong sense of reality and his fine feeling for romance are displayed in perfect harmony.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION AND RATEMAKING.

ON May 24, 1897, the Supreme Court of the United States, in what is known as the "Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case," rendered a decision to the effect that the Interstate Commerce Commission has no power to prescribe maximum, minimum, or absolute rail rates which shall control in the future. This decision, as hereinafter explained, denies to the Commission the asserted power of determining the relative commercial status of cities, States, and sections, and, consequently, the power of determining the course of the commercial and industrial development of the country. It is one of the most important decisions in the annals of American jurisprudence. This is fully appreciated by the Supreme Court, which, in rendering its opinion, remarked that "the importance of the question cannot be overestimated."

At the present time the history of the inception and growth of this assumption of power by the Interstate Commerce Commission is of especial interest, in view of the fact that the Commission persists in its attempt to secure by statutory enactment that which it has been denied by the Federal judiciary upon purely legal grounds.

The Act to Regulate Commerce, approved February 4, 1887, which created the Interstate Commerce Commission, was a tentative piece of legislation. It was drawn with great care and discriminating judgment. It forbade certain abuses and evil practices which had arisen in the course of the evolution of the American railroad system. It also charged the Commission with certain clearly defined quasi-judicial and administrative functions, directed toward accomplishing the purposes of the statute. But the Act withheld from the Commission the power of prescribing rates, of determining routes among connecting lines, or of interfering in any manner whatsoever with the administrative responsibilities of the various companies, either in the management of their roads or of their traffic. Besides, by the explicit terms of Section 1, the authority of the Commission in the work of securing just and reasonable rates was confined to "a continuous traffic from one State or Territory to another State or Territory." In a word, the Act to Regu-

late Commerce conferred upon the Commission no authority whatever to determine the relative commercial advantages of widely separated towns and cities, and, consequently, no authority to meddle with the commercial and industrial development of the United States.

In its fundamental provisions the Act was based upon the experiences of the country during a hundred years of untrammelled internal commerce. It also paid due respect to the fact that, with no check upon railroad construction and management save those of common-law requirement, the development of the national resources during a period of nearly sixty years,—mainly as the result of the facilities for railroad transportation,—had proceeded beneficially, and had exhibited a progress unparalleled in history.

At first the Commission seemed clearly to appreciate the force of the facts just stated. But, after a while, by a forced interpretation of the first paragraph of Section 3,—and, as the Supreme Court has clearly indicated, upon an utterly untenable assumption as to the “necessary implication” of the law,—the Commission jumped to the conclusion that it was endowed with a plenary power of ratemaking. If such authority had been granted to the Commission, it would inevitably have engendered sectional strife, resulting in serious political disturbances. The idea, that the Interstate Commerce Commission is capable of performing the service of ratemaking efficiently or beneficially, seems too absurd for serious consideration; and yet, in the Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case, we behold at one and the same time an assertion of this power and its own *reductio ad absurdum*.

That the Commission should have fallen into this error seems the more strange, in view of the fact that during the first two months of its existence, namely, from April 5 to June 15, 1887, it had passed through an exceedingly instructive experience in the attempt to carry into effect an erroneous view which it had adopted as to the nature and extent of its powers under the “long and short haul” rule of Section 4 of the Act. Having complied with the request of certain companies to determine, by preliminary judgment, the legality of exceptions to that rule, the Commission was soon overwhelmed with applications the determination of which would have consumed its entire time for many years. From that dilemma it extricated itself in its admirable decision of June 15, 1887, rendered in the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Case. Referring to the utter impracticability of the whole ratemaking proposition it then said:—

"The Commission would in effect be required to act as ratemakers for all the roads, and compelled to adjust the tariffs so as to meet the exigencies of business, while at the same time endeavoring to protect relative rates and equities of rival carriers and rival localities. This, in any considerable State, *would be an enormous task. In a country as large as ours, and with so vast a mileage of roads, it would be superhuman.* A construction of the statute which would require its performance *would render the due administration of the law altogether impracticable.*"

The Commission therefore decided that the companies should continue to exercise the right to make their own tariffs, and that, in case any person believed he was injured by such charges, he might institute proceedings before the Commission. In thus denouncing and renouncing the ratemaking power, the Commission drew itself out of a quagmire, and placed its feet squarely upon the solid ground of regulation, as prescribed in the statute.

If the Commission had succeeded in the Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case, it would have involved itself in troubles of far greater magnitude than those from which it extricated itself by the Louisville and Nashville Railroad decision.

In July, 1887,—only three months after the Commission was organized,—in the case of *Thatcher versus The Fitchburgh Railroad Company and Others*, the Commission, speaking by Mr. Commissioner Schoonmaker, declined to fix certain rates; saying, "It is therefore impossible to fix them in this case, *even if the Commission had power to make rates generally, which it has not.* Its power in respect to rates is to determine whether those *which the roads impose* are, for any reason, in conflict with the statute."

But a change came over the spirit and the understanding of the Commission in regard to the vitally important matter of ratemaking, even to the extent of an assumption that it had the power of supervising the work of framing freight tariffs and passing upon them before they should take effect. The efforts of the Commission in this un-American and dangerous policy have been expressed in futile attempts to secure judicial powers, and, under presumed "implied powers," to secure, through the courts, the power of ratemaking. The Commission has endeavored also to induce Congress, by specific legislation, to grant to it this function.

The first public utterance of the idea, that the Commission is or should be endowed with this function, is found in an elaborate argument by Judge Cooley, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in the matter of the Chicago, St. Paul, and Kansas City Railway

Company, decided September 19, 1888. In this "Report and Opinion of the Commission," the learned chairman declared that the terms "just and reasonable rates" in the statute imply the power to establish maximum, but not minimum, rates. Mr. Justice Brewer, however, in the recent decision of the Supreme Court, clearly exposes the illogical and contradictory nature of the opinion expressed by Judge Cooley.

In the case of *Coxe Brothers & Co. versus The Lehigh Valley Railroad Company*—complaint filed October 19, 1888, and decision rendered March 13, 1891—the Commission issued an order prescribing certain maximum rates on coal from various shipping points in Pennsylvania to Perth Amboy, New Jersey. This case was appealed to the Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, which held the matter under advisement and investigation for several years. Finally, on May 11, 1896, Judge Acheson, of the Circuit Court decided that the computation of the Commission in regard to maximum rates was erroneous, and, adopting the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the "Social Circle Case," decided that the Commission had no power to prescribe maximum rates. This case has been further appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals; but, in the light of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of May 24, 1897, in the *Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case*, it will undoubtedly be abandoned.

An important utterance of the Commission in regard to its power of ratemaking is found in an elaborate and carefully prepared address by Judge Cooley before the Convention of State and National Railroad Commissioners held at Washington, D. C., on March 3 and 4, 1891. In this address the chairman of the Commission declared that the "railroad problem" is found in the power exercised by the companies to make rates. He recommended that this power be placed under governmental authority,—meaning of course the authority of the Commission. A few months later, in the "Orange Rate Case," decided by the Commission October 29, 1891, the Commission again boldly "stepped out" upon the experiment of ratemaking, by prescribing certain rates on oranges from points in Florida to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. This case was finally decided by the Supreme Court against the Commission on May 24, 1897, by way of corollary to its decision in the *Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case*.

The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, in presenting the bill which afterwards became the Interstate Commerce Act, clearly condemns the ratemaking assumption of the Commission. That report was written by Senator Cullom, of Illinois, chairman of the Committee.

In my opinion, it is the ablest report on commerce ever presented by an American statesman. In speaking of the importance of uniform classifications, the report says (p. 188):—

“but the difficulty encountered has been how to provide for, or to require, uniformity without specially prescribing the classification which shall be adopted, or without giving a commission authority to establish a classification, which would be equivalent to authorizing such commission to fix rates.”

In treating of the impolicy of governmental ratemaking, the Committee says (p. 194), “it is questionable whether a commission or any similar body of men could successfully perform a work of such magnitude; involving, as it would, infinite labor and investigation, etc.” In closing this particular subject, the Committee adds:—

“Believing that railroad rates should be established in the first instance by the railroad officials, and that any attempt to provide for their establishment by legislation would, at the best, end simply in securing a revision of the existing tariff, the Committee is convinced that the same purpose can be better accomplished, and greater advantages to the public be secured, with less friction by other methods of regulation.”

The “other methods of regulation” are clearly set forth in the statute.

The Committee’s views as to the general policy of the bill which it had formulated are clearly indicated in its concluding remarks:—

“The underlying purpose and aim of the measure is the prevention of these discriminations, both by declaring them unlawful and by adding to the remedies now available for securing redress and enforcing punishment, and also by requiring the greatest practicable degree of publicity as to rates, financial operations, and methods of management of the carriers.”

This is regulation through publicity and action upon offences, in contradistinction to regulation through the populistic plan of prescribing rates and the relative commercial advantages which shall be enjoyed. The plan of regulation prescribed by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce is the antithesis of the plan adopted by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which, happily, has been condemned and absolutely annulled by the Federal judiciary.

The first positive expression of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the question, as to whether the power vested in the Interstate Commerce Commission to pass upon the reasonableness of rates does or does not imply the power to fix rates in the future, is found in the Social Circle Case, already alluded to, and which was decided on March 30, 1896; Mr. Justice Shiras delivering the opinion of the Court.

In this opinion the Court declared that it did not find "any provision of the Act which expressly, or by necessary implication, confers such a power." But the phraseology of this decision appeared to be ambiguous: at least, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the able counsel who represented it in after proceedings, so interpreted the decision as to make it favor their cherished views. All doubts upon the subject were however set at rest by the decision in the Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case; Mr. Justice Brewer delivering the opinion of the Court. Thus it appears that the vitally important question, as to the power of the Commission to prescribe the rates which shall be charged on railroads, was considered by the Federal courts for nearly six years before reaching a definite conclusion. This affords ample proof of the great care bestowed upon the consideration of the subject.

The enormous interests—commercial, industrial, and political—involved in the Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case seem to justify a brief sketch of the events which led up to it, especially in view of the fact that the Commission now seeks to gain by statute that which has been denied it by the courts upon legal grounds.

During the period from 1865 to 1875 the States south of the Ohio River and the State of Virginia, and east of the Mississippi River, designated "Southern Territory," became a field of extensive railroad construction. Lines were opened up from Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Chicago, and other Western and Northwestern cities,—together designated "Western Territory,"—into all parts of the Southern Territory, above-mentioned. By means of all-rail and rail-and-coastwise-steamer lines, traffic was also opened up between this Southern Territory and the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other manufacturing and commercial towns of the Northern seaboard States designated "Eastern Territory." After a while the struggle for Southern traffic between rival lines east, west, and south lost every semblance of order, and culminated in a disastrous "rate war," destructive to the interests of transportation, and utterly demoralizing to trade. The result of this struggle demonstrated the absolute necessity for some sort of self-government among rival transportation lines, whereby competition might be subjected to the wholesome restraints of coöperation, and order be brought out of confusion. In the autumn of 1875 the duty of devising and carrying into effect an arrangement of this sort was assigned to Albert Fink, a man of preëminent ability, then filling the position of vice-president and general manager of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. The nature of the duty devolving upon Mr. Fink

is clearly described by him in a report to the Chief of the Division of Internal Commerce of the Treasury Department at Washington.¹ This statement may be found in the appendix to the First Annual Report of that officer, submitted June 30, 1877, and in accompanying maps Nos. 8 to 13 inclusive. Mr. Fink instituted a system of self-government among the several contestants, upon the coöperative plan: it was known as "The Southern Railway and Steamship Association." Under the benign rule of this association order was restored; and for many years the organization worked smoothly. As the result of railroad construction and of greatly improved and extended facilities of transportation, the organization has passed through several mutations; but it has always been highly beneficial to the interests of transportation and trade.

But certain cities within the range of the operations of The Southern Railway and Steamship Association became dissatisfied with the relative amount of trade which they were securing within the borders of the coveted Southern Territory. Inspired by the assumption of the Interstate Commerce Commission, that it was endowed with the function of ratemaking, and of deciding as to the relative facilities for transportation which should be enjoyed by rival cities and sections of the country, the freight bureaus of the cities of Cincinnati and Chicago, on December 26, 1891, filed separate complaints with the Commission, to the effect that the rates between Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore in the trade with Southern Territory constituted a case of unjust discrimination against the rates from Cincinnati and Chicago to the same Territory. Without the slightest authority of law, the Interstate Commerce Commission entertained these extraordinary complaints. The two were joined in a decision which was rendered by the Commission on May 29, 1894,—nearly two and a half years after the complaints had been filed.

In this decision schedules were presented showing the rates which should thereafter prevail from Cincinnati and Chicago respectively to the principal towns in the Southern Territory. Subsequently, an order was addressed to the various railroad companies directing them, in the future, to observe the prescribed rates. The railroads having refused to comply with this order, proceedings were instituted by the Commission before the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of Ohio. After a patient hearing of the complex and exceedingly involved case, the Court dismissed the bill. Thereupon an appeal

¹ The office of Chief of the Division of Internal Commerce was held at that time by the author of this article.

was taken to the Court of Appeals, which submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States the following question, upon which the whole matter at issue turned; viz., "Had the Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdictional power to make the order?"

In reply to this inquiry the Supreme Court, on May 24, 1897, rendered its decision, above referred to, to the effect that the Interstate Commerce Commission had no such power. The particular points decided in this opinion are: First, *that the power of ratemaking does not reside in the Commission by any implication of law.* The Act to Regulate Commerce prohibits every unjust and unreasonable charge; and the duty of executing and enforcing the law devolves upon the Commission. Hence the Commission inferred that it was endowed with the authority to prescribe rates assumed to be just and reasonable. The Supreme Court clearly explains that this amounts to an assumption of legislative power, and that it is completely outside "the power to execute and enforce." By way of illustration, the Court refers to the fact that the Constitution of the United States ordains that the President "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed," but that this does not give him the power to prescribe railroad rates. Second, it is shown by the Court that the law recognizes the authority of the companies to make, change, classify, and publish rates; and, third, that it is made the duty of the Commission, in the exercise of its executive, administrative, and quasi-judicial powers, to see that in making rates the companies do not unjustly discriminate between persons and places, that they observe all the other specific provisions of the law, and "that in all things, that equality of right, which is the great purpose of the Interstate Commerce Act, shall be secured to all shippers."

In commenting upon the proposition of the Commission that the courts shall apply the mandamus—which implies permanence—to rates, which are necessarily variable, the Supreme Court says, "Could anything be more absurd than to ask a judgment of the courts in mandamus proceedings that the defendant comply with a certain order, unless it elects not to do so?"¹ It seems strange that a commission composed

¹ This is clearly explained by the Court. The law empowers the companies to establish rates, to advance rates on ten days' notice, and to reduce rates on three days' notice. A statutory provision cannot be set aside by mandamus proceedings. Therefore if the courts should attempt by mandamus to enforce a rate ordered by the Commission, such edict of the courts would be subject to the right of any particular company to change the rate at its own discretion. The absurdity of this procedure is manifest; and the wonder is that it should have escaped the Commission.

of lawyers should ever have entertained the idea that the mandamus is an instrument which can be beneficially applied to the regulation of a thing so capricious as the internal commerce of the United States.

With reference to the ridiculous contention of the Interstate Commerce Commission relative to its power of ratemaking, the Supreme Court adds the following elementary statement:—

“It is one thing to inquire whether the rates which have been charged and collected are reasonable,—that is a judicial act; but it is an entirely different thing to prescribe rates which shall be charged in the future,—that is a legislative act.”

The difference between correcting evils and ratemaking is the difference between punishing law-breakers for wrong-doing and directing intelligent citizens how to do right. The one is in conformity with the most stalwart Americanism; the other is undisguised governmental imperialism. The whole idea of governmental ratemaking is a part of that idealistic political heresy of the day, whose tones are expressed in the terms, Paternalism, Populism, and State Socialism. It is foreign to the genius of our government, and destructive of those policies which have been established in the interest of human liberty,—policies which have made this nation the light of the world.

The absurdity and utter uselessness of any attempt on the part of the National Government to attempt to control the development of railroad transportation are further indicated by the fact that in the course of the evolution of the American railroad system the railroad mileage of the country increased from 35,085 miles in 1865 to 181,021 miles in 1895, and that the average cost of freight transportation is now only about one-third what it was thirty years ago. Besides, wonderful improvements have been made in track equipment, and in the methods of conducting traffic. Almost innumerable facilities also have been adopted; and a system of self-government has been instituted among the railroads whereby the requirements of the Interstate Commerce Act have become entirely practicable.

The enormity of the contention of the Commission in the Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case is indicated by the fact that the suit instituted was directed against railroads extending from the Western States and from the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers into and throughout the Southern States, railroads extending from the Northeastern States into the South-Atlantic States, railroads in the Southern States extending from Atlantic seaports to the interior, and coastwise-steamer lines connecting Northern and Southern seaports. In all, it made thirty

railroad companies and five coastwise-steamer lines defendants to its suit. More than this, it arrayed cities and towns of the Northeastern States against cities and towns of the Western and Northwestern States; and, in terms, it attempted to adjust the relative advantage of two great sections of the country in their competition for the trade of a third section. Evidently the success of the Commission in the Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case would have given to it the power to determine the relative commercial advantages which should be enjoyed by the various cities, States, and sections of the entire country. In a word, the Commission would have acquired the autocratic power of determining the course of the commercial and industrial development of the United States. It is a common-sense rule of general application that remedial legislation which overleaps its object, and does more harm than good, must give way to a less drastic remedy. From either the economic or the political point of view, the remedy proposed by the Interstate Commerce Commission was outrageously excessive.

One of the strangest features of the notable case here under consideration is that the two freight bureaus which instituted it invoked the power of the National Government for the purpose of advancing the commercial interests of a great and prosperous section which, during the last forty-five years,—mainly through the advantages afforded by untrammelled railroad traffic,—has realized a development in agriculture, in manufactures, in commerce, and correspondingly in population and in wealth, unparalleled in the history of the world.

It would be a waste of words to attempt to explain how strangely and outrageously the pretensions of the Commission, in the Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case, are at variance with the fundamental principles of American liberty. A few observations, however, as to the impolicy of governmental ratemaking seem to be appropriate in this connection. If the Government should become invested with the power of ratemaking it would be saluted by innumerable demands, not only for the cure of discriminations, but also for the removal of differences in passenger rates and freight rates, however well such charges might be justified by differences of conditions. The pertinacity of these demands would be intense. It would be like unto that of the horse-leech's daughters, who continually cry, "Give, give." In the end, "horizontal" freight tariffs would level commercial cities, and enterprise become subject to political rule in the face of all the economies and equities of commerce. Such a condition of affairs would inevitably create serious political disturbances.

Another difficulty involved in such proposed national administration of commercial affairs presents itself. The duties devolving upon the Commission are such as require a knowledge of law and of judicial procedure. Obviously, the cases in which men so equipped will also have had large practical experience in the complex and exceedingly difficult work of framing freight classifications and of adjusting rates will be exceedingly rare. Besides, the personnel of the Commission is constantly changing. Taking into account deaths, removals, and resignations, the average length of the official service of National Railroad Commissioners has been about four years only. How absurd then the idea of imposing the duty of framing classifications and establishing rates for all the railroads of the United States upon a tribunal of lawyers, not one of whom, previously to his appointment as commissioner, had had any practical experience in the art of ratemaking, or in the highly technical work of railroad-traffic management. This is an art which can be acquired only through a considerable probationary term of service, and daily business contact with men engaged in commerce and in all the productive enterprises of the country.

Again, governmental ratemaking would inevitably result in governmental ownership and control. The Convention of State and National Railroad Commissioners, held at Washington, D. C., May 28 and 29, 1890, unanimously adopted a report in which they said:—

“An attempt by Congress to regulate the details of the operation of our railroads cannot be looked forward to by any patriotic citizen without grave apprehension. There are many reasons for believing that absolute regulation by the United States will result in absolute ownership by the United States.”

Who can depict the enormity of saddling upon our National Government the political responsibilities which would attach to the ownership and control of 185,000 miles of railroad, and of placing upon the pay-rolls of the Government 1,000,000 railroad employees, which number, under national administration, would undoubtedly be enormously increased? Besides, petitions for the construction of new lines, backed by fierce political pressure, would come up from States, cities, and towns, in all parts of the country. No government officer or commission would be able to withstand this torrent of appeal, although not one in ten of such new lines might ever pay running expenses. Such a policy would probably end in the bankruptcy of the Government. The experiences of Italy, Australia, South Africa, and Canada prove the correctness of this view. Six States of the American Union, viz., Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Georgia,

have tried the experiment of State ownership and control, and, having failed in the attempt, have abandoned it. Italy and the States of Australia have, for the same reason, taken similar action in regard to their government railroads. In Germany, railroad ownership and control have been maintained mainly upon the ground of an assumed military necessity. This idea, however, was negatived in America during the late war, when a much more extensive railroad system, under private corporate ownership and control, was everywhere and without the slightest difficulty made subservient to military operations as extensive as any that have ever been carried on in Europe.

In a word, the policy of governmental ratemaking and of governmental railroad-building would inevitably cast upon the National Government the whole weight of responsibility for the future development of this country, with all its vast variety and intense contrariety of circumstances and conditions. Our commercial and industrial future must be evolved, not predetermined nor wrought out by governmental order or by human device, no matter how expressed.

An experience of twenty years as an officer of the Government at Washington convinces me that governmental management of the railroads is utterly incompatible with the present Constitution and the methods of the Administrative Government of the United States.

The labored effort of the Interstate Commerce Commission for years, to make it appear that the ratemaking power is essential to the success of railroad regulation under existing provisions of law, is utterly disproved by the record of its own proceedings. Upon this point, I quote the following from certain remarks which I had the honor to submit to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce in the year 1894:—

“In the exercise of its function of preventing unjust discriminations and exorbitant charges, the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission has been crowned with abundant success. Although several hundred complaints as to alleged violations of the Act to Regulate Commerce were made during the year ended December 1, 1893, only sixteen cases came to a formal consideration and hearing; all the rest having been settled by the mediatorial offices of the Commission. In only one of the cases decided was the reasonableness of rates called in question; and in that single instance the claim was decided to be not well founded. One of the Commissioners has informed me that only about two-thirds of the cases decided sustain the charges preferred. This indicates that the actual number of proven cases of unjust discrimination did not exceed eleven, and constitutes a most gratifying proof of the success of this non-judicial tribunal in the exercise of its appointed function. . . . I venture the assertion that no court in this country, inferior to the Supreme Court of the United States, has had so few cases appealed from its decision in a single year.

In their last Annual Report, the Commission also declare that the administration of the Act to Regulate Commerce has been instrumental 'in enlightening the public mind and reforming the views of railroad managers.' They further declare that 'the work of regulation is continually progressing in different ways,' not only as to the successful performance of the various functions of the Commission, but also as to 'the civil and criminal proceedings in the Federal courts, and the determination of suits involving interstate commerce in State courts.' This is a most encouraging record. It is creditable to the Commission ; and, besides, it fully vindicates the wisdom of those statesmen who framed and carried to a successful conclusion the present means of governmental regulation."

Since the Annual Report of the Commission was rendered in 1893 its success in the strict line of its function, as defined by the Act to Regulate Commerce, has been no less marked. The education afforded by its experiences, and the fact that it is surrounded by an able staff of well-trained officers, afford the highest presumptive evidence that this must be so. But the Commission is on record upon this point. In a communication addressed to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, under date of January 28, 1897, the Commission declares that "there has been a marked and gratifying decrease in rate-cutting and kindred offences." Evidently it needs no autocratic power in order to perform its legitimate duties.

The Supreme Court, in its decision of May 24, 1897, alludes to the ample function of the Commission to perform the duties required of it by the Interstate Commerce Act, among which are mentioned: the duty of inquiring as to the business of railroad companies, with the right to compel full and complete information; the duty of seeing that there is no violation of the "long and short haul" rule, that there is no discrimination between persons and places over any continuous line, that there is no violation of agreed rates, and that due publicity is given of changes in rates. Besides, the Commission may at any time appeal to the courts for the enforcement of its legal and just decisions. The Commission also exercises a potential moral influence. At this age of the world, a governmental office invested with the power of converging public sentiment upon proven wrongs exercises an exceedingly dignified and exalted function. The pretence of the Commission, that it lacks the power to perform its functions, is a libel upon the law.

Since the year 1889 the Commission has, in minor cases, frequently ordered or advised the rates which should be observed in the future "for a continuous carriage"; and, from an awakened sense of justice in the minds of railroad managers, such instructions—although completely outside the requirements of the law—have been observed, and

rates so adjusted have been maintained until changed in order to meet the requirements of changed circumstances. This is a very different thing from an autocratic authority wielded by the Commission,—either by virtue of its own powers, or through the procrustean expedient of a mandamus,—carrying with it a despotic control of the commercial and industrial development of a great country, as was attempted in the Cincinnati-Chicago Freight Bureau Case.

But the exigent question of the hour relates to the determined purpose of the Interstate Commerce Commission to gain by legislation that which it has failed to secure before the courts. This purpose is manifested by the Commission in unmistakable utterances. In its Seventh Annual Report (pp. 10, 11), may be found the following:—

“It requires little consideration of the difficulties which these observations suggest, to be impressed with the necessity for government control over the rates and charges of railway carriers. Some authority there must be, superior to and independent of the railroads themselves, to supervise their tariffs, prevent unfair exactions, and equalize, so far as may be, the burdens of transportation. More and more, as population increases and industries multiply, will these burdens require careful scrutiny and equitable readjustment. To give each community the rightful benefits of location, to keep different commodities on an equal footing, so that each shall circulate freely and in natural volume, and to prescribe schedule rates which shall be reasonably just to both shipper and carrier, is a task of vast magnitude and importance. In the performance of that task lies the great and permanent work of public regulation. It is the manifest duty of Congress, therefore, to invest this Commission, or such other agency as may be wisely employed, with ample authority to correct ascertained excesses and enforce the observance of relative justice.”

This is a clean-cut demand, not only for the power of ratemaking, but also for autocratic power to determine the commercial status of towns, cities, and sections, and generally to dictate the course of our commercial and industrial development. It is unmitigated governmental imperialism of the populist type. The issue, fought out to a definite conclusion in the case to which this article relates, leaves no room for doubt as to the purposes of the Commission, nor as to the outcome of a plenary power of ratemaking in the hands of that body. In a letter addressed to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, under date of January 28, 1897, the Commission in a somewhat petulant tone asks that Congress will, “in unmistakable terms,” confer upon it the power of ratemaking; and, in a letter dated May 19, 1897, addressed to Hon. S. M. Cullom, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, the Commission declares that its claim to the power of ratemak-

ing "should be granted and stated in unquestionable words." Better, a thousand times, abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission, with all its potentialities for good, than confer upon it such autocratic and un-American powers. No more absurd and mischievous form of governmental imperialism can be imagined. Already the Commission has impaired its powers for good by its unceasing cry, "Strengthen the Commission." In other ways than that mentioned, it has manifested its populist purpose of meddling with the freedom of the commerce of the country. By false conceptions of its powers, and by illusory ambitions, it has missed its most splendid opportunity for good.

At times it has seemed as though the Commission had become oblivious to the sort of political institutions under which its authority is exercised. A few years ago the Commission thought that it was invested with judicial powers, even that it was itself a branch of the judicial power in the United States. That idea was dispelled and the authority absolutely denied by the Federal courts, and refused by Congress. And now the highest court of the Federal judiciary has repelled a similar attempt by the Commission to usurp the power of determining the limits of the commercial opportunities of cities, States, and sections, and of dictating the course of the commercial and industrial development of this vast country through the power of ratemaking. An abiding faith in the intelligence of the American people, and in their unswerving purpose to maintain our cherished principles of liberty, leaves no room for doubt that it will not be until long after the present leading statesmen of the country shall have passed away, that any such power as that sought by the Commission will be granted by the Congress of the United States.

JOSEPH NIMMO, JR.

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF RECENT ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION.

THE general course of the business of the country is governed by two constant laws: First, as time goes on, the margin of profit diminishes. Second, in order that business may still be transacted without loss, its methods conform themselves to this diminution. But as it is impossible to foresee the character of the future exigency, so it is impossible to lay down rules as to the manner in which the necessary changes in business methods shall be made. It would be as easy to fix the weather by rules established in advance.

As a practical matter, therefore, it is idle to attempt to defeat, by legislation, the future effect of these natural laws of trade. Efforts to preordain the course of events have no more enduring success when made by statutes than when made in any other manner. Statutes attempting to prescribe rigid rules as to business methods are necessarily passed without knowledge of future conditions. As time goes on, they are found to be unsuited to the existing state of things; they, ultimately, prove to be in conflict with the irresistible action of the natural laws of trade; they then cease to be supported by intelligent public sentiment, and fall into disuse.

Therefore it need not be feared that the recent anti-trust legislation will seriously obstruct that constant and ready adaptation to existing and ever-varying conditions which is essential to the country's development. The statutes in question are likely to have a transient effect only, because they offend against the constitutional guarantees of liberty and property, which had their origin in *Magna Charta* and are now firmly incorporated into both National and State Constitutions. Those guarantees were established in this country for the precise purpose of preventing action by any branch of the Government to satisfy the passing clamor of the moment. In the past they have been effectual; and without doubt they will continue to be so.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that no State shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within

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its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws" (Sec. 1). Similar provisions are contained in the various State Constitutions. The courts are agreed that these provisions are not to be interpreted in a narrow or technical sense. The right to liberty does not mean merely freedom from incarceration; nor does the right to property mean merely freedom from its destruction or confiscation. These constitutional guarantees secure to every person the right to live and carry on his avocation in accordance with the dictates of his will, as well as the right to acquire, use, and dispose of such property as he may see fit. This necessarily includes freedom to make such contracts as may seem to him proper in connection with the exercise of these rights.¹

The Legislature has no power to limit these rights, save in so far as may be required by the security and welfare of society; *i. e.*, in the exercise of the police power. If the Legislature attempts to impose such limitations, it is for the courts to determine whether the legislative action is really a valid exercise of the police power. In recognizing and enforcing these guarantees the courts of last resort are unanimous.²

Moreover, the constitutional guarantee of "equal protection of the laws" or "the protection of equal laws" ³ forbids the Legislature, even in matters otherwise within the scope of its powers, to make arbitrary distinctions between persons, including corporations.⁴ The rule of equality, which has always been the leading principle of equity, is thus enforced upon the Legislature itself. This, too, has recently been ruled with great vigor by the highest courts.⁵

These guarantees of equal rights to liberty and property are the most fundamental and the most efficient features of the American system of protecting by written constitutions the absolute freedom of the citizen. The recent anti-trust legislation manifestly offends against these limitations of the legislative power. It will not be practicable in this article to examine in detail anything more than the statutes of New York in this regard. But these are a fair example of the general character of legislation upon the subject.

The Penal Code of New York provides that "if two or more per-

¹ *In re Jacobs*, 98 N. Y., 98; *Allgeyer vs. Louisiana*, 165 U. S., 578, 584; *People vs. Gillson*, 109 N. Y., 389, 398, 400; *Forster vs. Scott*, 136 N. Y., 577, 584; *Colon vs. Lisk*, 153 N. Y., 188.

² *Lawton vs. Steele*, 152 U. S., 133; *Colon vs. Lisk*, 153 N. Y., 188; *People vs. Gillson*, 109 N. Y., 389, 400; *In re Jacobs*, 98 N. Y., 98.

³ *Yick Wo vs. Hopkins*, 118 U. S., 356.

⁴ *Home Ins. Co. vs. New York*, 134 U. S., 594, 606.

⁵ *Gulf Co. vs. Ellis*, 165 U. S., 150; *Colon vs. Lisk*, 153 N. Y., 188.

sons conspire . . . to commit any act injurious . . . to trade or commerce . . . each of them is guilty of a misdemeanor" (Sec. 168). It is claimed, under this statute, that concerted action by two or more persons who may own similar commodities, for the purpose of fixing the prices of their property, is a conspiracy to commit "an act injurious to trade or commerce," and, therefore, unlawful. But, if this construction of the statute have the effect of depriving those to whom it is applied of the equal protection of the laws, it cannot be adopted by the courts; for they, equally with other branches of the State government, are inhibited from taking action having that effect.¹

The Penal Code provides also that "the assembling or coöperation of persons employed in any calling, trade, or handicraft for the purpose of obtaining an advance in the rate of wages or compensation, or of maintaining such rate is not a conspiracy" (Secs. 170, 675). But the right of all persons to labor, in accordance with their respective wills, is no different in quality from their rights to liberty and property generally. They all depend upon the same constitutional guarantees. If, then, those having one class of property to dispose of, namely their labor, are free to assemble and coöperate for the purpose of enhancing its price, while those having other classes of property to dispose of are prohibited from doing so, obviously both the liberty and the property of the latter class of persons are subjected to burdens from which the liberty and the property of the former class are free. In that case, the latter are deprived of the "protection of equal laws." The Circuit Court of the United States for the Northern District of Texas has, indeed, just held the anti-trust act of that State unconstitutional because it attempted to make a similar exception.²

The important statutory provisions of the State upon this general subject are not, however, contained in these provisions of the Penal Code, but in a statute passed at the last session of the Legislature.³ This includes various provisions regarding monopolies. The term "monopoly" has done yeoman's service in political discussion; but its scope in the field of jurisprudence is very limited. A state of facts which constitutes a monopoly in the eye of the law is exceedingly rare⁴; and these provisions add little, if anything, to the previous rules of law upon the subject.

¹ *Chicago Co. vs. Chicago*, 166 U. S., 226, 233, 234.

² *In re Grice*, Feb. 22, 1897, 79 Fed. Rep., 627.

³ *Laws of 1897*, Chap. 883, passed May, 1897.

⁴ *Lough vs. Outerbridge*, 143 N. Y., 252.

But this statute goes much further than the subject of monopolies. It declares to be illegal and void every contract, agreement, arrangement, or combination whereby competition in this State in the supply or price of any article or commodity of common use is, or *may be*, restrained or prevented. The statute covers, therefore, not merely contracts or arrangements *for the purpose* of restraining or preventing competition, or *necessarily* having that result: its terms extend to every contract or arrangement which may *possibly* have that effect.

That these provisions are not directed especially against combinations, is shown by the fact that the most ordinary and customary contracts or arrangements *may* incidentally restrain or prevent competition, although that may be only remotely, if at all, their object. As instances, may be suggested: All organizations of mechanics engaged in the same line of business for the purpose of limiting the number of persons engaged in the business, or of maintaining high rates of wages; a covenant in a deed restricting the use of real estate; the formation of a corporation to carry on any business upon a large scale; a contract of partnership between two persons previously engaged in the same line of business; the appointment, by two producers, of the same person to sell their goods on commission; the purchase, by one wholesale merchant, of the product of two producers; the lease or purchase, by a farmer, manufacturer, or merchant, of an additional farm, manufactory, or shop; the withdrawal from business of any farmer, merchant, or manufacturer; the cessation of production of any agricultural or manufactured product, or the suspension of mining, because of lack of demand; a sale of the good-will of a business, with an agreement not to destroy its value by engaging in similar business. In fact anyone who suspends or withdraws from business, by that very act will, in some degree, restrain or prevent competition. Equally, anyone who enlarges his business will restrain or prevent competition by crowding out others. Examples might be multiplied indefinitely.

While the function of the courts has hitherto been to adjudicate as to past or present facts, under this statute they are to sit in judgment regarding future possibilities. The Act makes no claim that it has been passed to meet some requirement of the public health or welfare. As an expression of the legislative judgment concerning the manner in which private affairs are to be conducted, it baldly pronounces illegal a large number of the contracts and arrangements which have been always usual in the affairs of life, and which, in great part, give to liberty and property their substantial value. But the Legisla-

ture has no general power to prescribe rules, dictated merely by its fancy, regarding the manner in which persons shall exercise their rights; therefore, unless the courts find that action by the Legislature in limitation of these rights is, not in form merely, but also in fact, dictated by regard for the security and welfare of society, they must hold such action to be in excess of the legislative power and, therefore, unconstitutional and void. "Where rights of property are admitted to exist, the Legislature cannot say that they shall exist no longer; nor will it make any difference, although a process and a tribunal are appointed to execute the sentence."¹ The point upon which the constitutionality of this statute must turn is, therefore, whether the fact that a contract or arrangement—whatever its purpose or character—may *possibly* restrain competition, renders it, in any degree, injurious or prejudicial to the welfare or security of society.

The decision of this crucial question presents no difficulty: it has already been settled in the negative by the highest authority. This was ruled by the Court of King's Bench also as long ago as 1711.² The same thing is held in numerous recent and controlling cases.

Thus, the Court of Appeals of New York has held that a contract not to pursue a specified calling is not injurious to the public interest:—

"It is clear that public policy and the interests of society favor the utmost freedom of contract within the law, and require that business transactions should not be trammelled by unnecessary restrictions. . . . If . . . there is one thing more than any other which public policy requires, it is that men of full age and competent understanding shall have the utmost liberty of contracting. . . . We suppose a party may legally purchase the trade and business of another for the very purpose of preventing competition."³

The same court has held that parties engaged in the same line of business may agree that the business shall be discontinued by one, in consideration of continuing money payments to be made by the other; arguing that such contracts could not be "considered objectionable on the ground that they restrained competition," and adding that it did "not think that competition is invariably a public benefaction; for it may be carried on to such a degree as to become a general evil."⁴ The same court has held, further, that parties to an agreement for the purpose of supplying their necessities of a certain character may

¹ *Wynehamer vs. People*, 18 N. Y., 378, 393.

² *Mitchel vs. Reynolds*, 1 Peere Williams, 181.

³ *Diamond Match Co. vs. Roeber*, 106 N.Y., 473, 482-483.

⁴ *Leslie vs. Lorillard*, 110 N. Y., 519, 533, 534.

stipulate that they will not supply those necessities to persons not parties to the agreement; saying that this is most appropriate in order to "suppress competition in such chosen field among themselves."¹ Again, the Court of Appeals has held that it is lawful, for the express purpose of driving competitors out of business, to agree that those dealing exclusively with the parties contracting shall have lower prices.² Still further, the same court has very recently held that the organization of working-men, for the precise purpose of obtaining an advance in the rate of wages, or compensation, or maintaining such rate, is not contrary to public policy.³

These authorities are stated somewhat in detail because they are recent decisions of the highest court of New York, and are, therefore, controlling as to the statute now under consideration. But the same principles are laid down also in numerous cases in the highest courts of other States, and in well-known cases in the Supreme Court of the United States,⁴ and in the English House of Lords.⁵ Indeed, no court of last resort has ever held that the mere fact that contracts or arrangements may *possibly* restrain or prevent competition, renders them, in any degree, prejudicial to the security or welfare of society.⁶ The contrary has been ruled by overwhelming authority.

"When rights of property are admitted to exist, the Legislature cannot say they shall exist no longer."⁷ It is readily apparent that, unless the fundamental guarantees of liberty and property are enforced in the future as they have been in the past, they will be worthless. All persons will hold their liberty and property as a matter of legislative favor, and not of constitutional right.

It should be observed still further that the statute attempts to declare illegal contracts made outside the State, and to prohibit within

¹ *Matthews vs. Associated Press*, 136 N. Y., 833, 841.

² *Lough vs. Outerbridge*, 143 N. Y., 271.

³ *Curran vs. Galen*, 152 N. Y., 83, 86.

⁴ *Oregon Navigation Co. vs. Winsor*, 20 Wallace, 64, 68, 69; *Gibbs vs. Consolidated Gas Co.*, 130 U. S., 396, 409; *Fowle vs. Park*, 131 U. S., 88.

⁵ *Mogul Steamship Co. vs. McGregor*, App. Cas., 1892, p. 25; *Maxim Co. vs. Nordenfelt*, App. Cas. 1894, p. 535.

⁶ It seems proper to say that in the recent much-discussed case, *United States vs. Trans-Missouri Association*, 166 U. S., 290, the court confined itself to considering the meaning of the terms of the Federal Anti-trust Act. Whether Congress has the constitutional power to limit the right of freedom to make contracts, as therein attempted, was not discussed, nor decided. Moreover, the court held that, in order to bring a contract within the Act, it must appear that restraint of trade or commerce is its necessary effect.

⁷ *Wynehamer vs. People*, 13 N. Y., 378, 393.

the State action pursuant to such contracts. The Supreme Court of the United States has recently decided that such an enactment is beyond the constitutional power of the Legislature.¹ Under familiar rules, the presence in the statute of these various unconstitutional provisions vitiates the entire Act.

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From another standpoint also, the procedure sought to be established by the statute radically offends against constitutional rules. The statute provides that, "for the purpose of determining whether an action or proceeding should be commenced hereunder," the Attorney-General may examine witnesses. Whenever he deems it necessary or proper to do so, he may present to any justice of the Supreme Court an application in writing for an order directing such persons as the Attorney-General may name to appear before a justice of the Supreme Court, or a referee designated in the order, and answer such relevant and material questions as may be put to them concerning any alleged illegal contract, arrangement, agreement, or combination in violation of the statute. If a referee be appointed, he is given power to rule as to the materiality and relevancy of questions, and to commit the witnesses for contempt in case of failure to answer the same. The Attorney-General may, by notice to the witnesses, require them to produce all books, papers, and documents in their possession, or under their control, relating to the subject of the examination: the depositions taken are to be signed by the witnesses and delivered to the Attorney-General. The Act thus provides for an unlimited examination by the Attorney-General into the affairs of whomsoever he may select, and for the production of whatever books or papers he may wish to inspect.

It is an elementary principle of constitutional law that the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government are coördinate and distinct. Neither can have power to perform functions appertaining to either of the others.² Upon judges, as such, no functions can be imposed except those of a judicial nature. These principles have been frequently applied when the Legislative Department has sought to impose upon the Judiciary non-judicial functions, such as taking testimony for the use or information of administrative officers.³ It is clear

¹ *Allgeyer vs. Louisiana*, 165 U. S., 578.

² *Kilbourn vs. Thompson*, 108 U. S., 168, 190, 191; *People ex rel. McDonald vs. Keeler*, 99 N. Y., 463, 480.

³ *Hayburn's Case*, 2 Dall., 409; *United States vs. Todd*, 18 How. U. S., 53; *Gordon vs. U. S.*, 117 U. S., 697; *Interstate Commission vs. Brimson*, 154 U. S., 447; *In re Pacific Railway Commission*, 32 Fed. Rep., 241; *People ex rel. Decker vs. Waters*, 4 Misc., 1.

that the functions sought by this Act to be imposed upon the justices of the Supreme Court are of that character. The Attorney-General takes the testimony "for the purpose of determining whether an action or proceeding should be commenced hereunder." But the courts do not exist, and the justices do not hold office, for the purpose of aiding a possible litigant in determining whether an action should be commenced. A determination of that character by a public officer is a mere administrative act. The function of the courts is to determine actions and proceedings which have been in fact begun. Under the present statute the justice makes no determination upon any subject: the Attorney-General does that. The justice of the Supreme Court acts merely in an ancillary and advisory capacity in aiding the Attorney-General to make up his mind. This, clearly, is not an exercise of judicial power, and, therefore, is not a function which can be imposed upon or exercised by the justices of the Supreme Court. In the first proceeding instituted under this statute, Mr. Justice Chester, of the Supreme Court, has held the Act unconstitutional for the reason just stated.

The provisions requiring witnesses to submit to examination are unconstitutional also because they deprive of liberty, without due process of law, persons to whom they apply. The statute is penal in its character. The title of the Act includes, among its objects, penalties for violations of its provisions; and severe penalties are, in fact, prescribed for such violations.

The question is, whether the Legislature can, for the purpose of enforcing a penal statute, confer upon an administrative officer power to subject a citizen to a general inquiry into his private affairs. It is well settled that the constitutional guarantees of liberty contained in both Federal and State Constitutions forbid the Legislative Department itself to take such action. It has no power to investigate, save with reference to prospective legislation, or upon questions concerning its own membership. Still less, naturally, can the Legislative Department confer any power of general investigation upon mere administrative officers. These rules are thus stated by the Supreme Court of the United States in a recent well-known case:—

"Neither branch of the Legislative Department, still less any merely administrative body established by Congress, possesses or can be invested with a general power of making inquiry into the private affairs of a citizen. . . . Of all the rights of a citizen, few are of greater importance or more essential to his peace and happiness than the right of personal security; and that involves not merely protection of his person from assault, but exemption of his private affairs, books,

and papers from the inspection and scrutiny of others. Without the enjoyment of this right, all others would lose half their value."¹

Again, one of the provisions of the Act is that no person "shall be excused from answering any questions that may be put to him on the ground that it may tend to convict him of a violation of the provisions of this Act." The statute thus seeks to withdraw from witnesses the right to decline to answer questions upon the ground that the answers may subject them to prosecution. It is clear that this provision violates the constitutional provision, that no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.² Apparently, an attempt to avoid this result has been made in the Act, by providing that the testimony of a witness shall not be given in evidence against him in any criminal action or proceeding. It is, however, now held by controlling authority that a witness cannot be compelled to testify to facts showing a violation of law upon his part, unless absolute immunity from prosecution regarding the subject-matter as to which he testifies is secured to him.³ Further, the statute requiring the production of books and papers for the purpose of enforcing a penalty or forfeiture, also violates the constitutional provision, that no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.⁴ Upon this ground also, the Act has recently been held unconstitutional by Mr. Justice Chester.

In still other respects, these provisions as to procedure offend against constitutional rules. These features generally constitute a novel attempt to ignore the limitations upon absolute power,—by whomsoever sought to be exercised,—which the Anglo-Saxon race has established as the result of centuries of effort, and which, in this country, at least, have become fundamental and universal guarantees of the rights of the person. In accordance therewith the Constitution of New York⁵ provides in terms that no one shall be tried for crime unless on presentment or indictment of a grand jury. Proceedings upon the "information" of the prosecutor have no place in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, except in preliminary examinations before a magistrate, where the accused is advised of the nature of the charge, is entitled to counsel, can make or refrain from making his own state-

¹ *Interstate Commerce Commission vs. Brimson*, 154 U. S., 447, 478, 479.

² *Constitution of New York*, Art. 1, Sec. 6.

³ *Counselman vs. Hitchcock*, 143 U. S., 547; *People ex rel. Taylor vs. Forbes*, 143 N. Y., 219, 229.

⁴ *Boyd vs. United States*, 116 U. S., 616.

⁵ *Art. 1, Sec. 6.*

ment, and where bail or commitment to await the action of the grand jury is the only result.

On the continent of Europe, indeed, the King's Inquest—in which the grand jury originated—was travestied, on the one hand, into the canonical Inquisition,¹ and, on the other, into the *Enquête Préliminaire* of the civil law. As is well known, in the latter proceeding the magistrate is permitted in his secret chamber to browbeat and intimidate a suspected person, who is not allowed counsel, who is entrapped into false admissions of guilt, and is frequently convicted by natural inconsistencies in his statement.² But this procedure has proved so oppressive that even now the French *Corps Législatif* is enacting measures to ameliorate these preliminary inquisitions in important respects, among which is the establishment of the right of the party under examination to the aid of counsel.

This statute of the State of New York indeed seeks to revert to inquisitional methods which have been abandoned in Anglo-Saxon countries, and to transform the Attorney-General into a *juge d'instruction*. The language of the Supreme Court of the United States fitly characterizes the attempt:—

“Any compulsory discovery, by extorting the party's oath, or compelling the production of his private books and papers, to convict him of crime or to forfeit his property, is contrary to the principles of a free government. It is abhorrent to the instincts of an Englishman; it is abhorrent to the instincts of an American. It may suit the purposes of despotic power; but it cannot abide the pure atmosphere of political liberty and personal freedom.”³

It is surmised that these anti-trust statutes are passed in the interest of some classes of the community as opposed to others. Thus, the exigencies of political declamation give rise to much talk about the existence of distinct classes in the community, and their favorable or unfavorable treatment by legislation. But this has no relation to the actual state of things. Since the enactment of the great constitutional amendment which embodies the results of the Rebellion, there have been no classes in the eye of the law: all persons are guaranteed “the equal protection of the law . . . the protection of equal laws.”⁴ Sooner or later, these statutes, like all efforts to undermine this constitutional guarantee of equality before the law, must give way. As stated at the outset, they are merely efforts to obstruct the march of events, which is

¹ POLLOCK & MAITLAND's “History of English Law,” p. 654.

² LIEBER's “Civil Liberty,” 3d ed., pp. 451-457.

³ *Boyd vs. United States*, 116 U. S., 616, 681, 682.

⁴ *Yick Wo vs. Hopkins*, 118 U. S., 356.

always controlled by the working of natural, not statute, laws. To have value and efficiency, statutes must be based upon the wisdom of experience. But experience has shown that the development of this country has been due to the freedom of all persons to live and pursue their avocations as the necessities of the time seemed to require. As the Court of Appeals of New York has lately said :—

“Our government was established by the people for their own protection and welfare. Their policy was to foster and protect individual industry and enterprise. To such policy we owe our advancement as a nation ; and to such we must look for our future prosperity.”¹

Civilization has resulted mainly from voluntary union of the unorganized efforts of individuals, and their harmonious direction to accomplishment of the same ends. This lies at the base of all social and material progress. The present great aggregations of capital and labor, working harmoniously for the same purposes, are merely one illustration of this principle upon which civilization itself depends. And it is idle to speak of them as furnishing any evidence of the existence of distinct classes in the community. They consist of thousands of individuals,—some interested merely in capital, others merely in labor, and many in both. For anyone who so desires is at liberty to become an owner of capital.

The true interests of both labor and capital are served not by those who talk about them, but by those who furnish them with profitable employment. The great aggregations of capital, whatever may be their form, are the great employers of labor. And wherever there may be found a large union of capital and labor, the revenue produced goes principally to paying wages to a great number of employees, and only secondarily to paying dividends and interest upon the capital invested. This is illustrated by figures recently published regarding the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. In the year 1896, the total amount paid out by the Company for labor was \$9,189,084. The number of employees among whom this sum was divided was 18,500. In the past five years the Company has paid out to its employees the total sum of \$44,041,687. The capital stock of the Company, on the other hand, consists of \$35,000,000, divided among 4,335 holders, and its outstanding bonds amount to \$5,000,000, in the hands of 400 holders. Thus, the total capital in the business is \$40,000,000, owned by 4,735 individuals ; and the average interest of each is \$8,447.80. In the year 1896, the total payments for interest and dividends upon this capital amounted

¹ *Sun Assn. vs. Mayor*, 152 N. Y., 257, 272, 273.

to \$2,800,000. In the past five years the total payments to stock and bondholders for dividends and interest have amounted to \$14,051,590. In that period, therefore, the Company has paid for labor more than three times as much as it has paid for the use of capital. Indeed, it has paid for labor a sum more than \$4,000,000 greater than the principal of the entire capital invested in the business. During the present year, the expenditure of the Company for wages will be approximately \$9,250,000, divided among 18,500 persons; while its payments for interest and dividends upon capital will be \$2,100,000 divided among 4,750 persons. The average sum paid to each person contributing labor, therefore, will be about \$500; while the average amount paid to each person contributing capital will be about \$440. These figures are a fair example of the ordinary state of things, save that the returns to the owners of the capital invested are not infrequently smaller in proportion to the payments to employees.

As these aggregations of capital are also the largest and the steadiest employers of labor, all classes are deeply interested in their continued success. That success must depend upon their ability to conform to the requirements of the natural laws of trade, and to carry on their business with reference to conditions which vary from time to time. This is essential, not merely to their prosperity, but to the security and welfare of society as well.

DAVID WILLCOX.

IS THE CUBAN CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT?

It is alleged by Spain that the Cubans, now struggling for liberty, are not worthy of its blessings, nor fitted to govern themselves. In *Æsop's* time an aged serpent might thus have argued against the rescue of a healthy youth held captive in its coils.

It is not love for the soil of Cuba, its colonial institutions, and its people, nor interest in the intellectual and moral welfare of the Cubans, that causes Spain to continue the desperate effort she is making to retain her rebellious subjects in political slavery. The Spanish government, by its refusal to provide schools, has shown its indifference to the mental improvement of the colonists: by its failure to punish or curb the rapacious and brutal acts of its officials, it has demonstrated its purpose to prevent its subjects from enjoying the fruits of their brains, industry, and skill.

In her rule of four hundred years Spain has done nothing to develop Cuba. It is true that education was made compulsory by the Law of 1880, and that the Budget for 1894 appropriated \$137,760 for educational purposes. The difference between law and fact, frequently observable in Spanish countries, obtains in this instance. No part of the school money is expended on any grade of common schools; the municipalities being supposed to pay school expenses. The proportion of children attending the common schools is 1 to 45 of the population,—as with few exceptions, the Cubans teach their children at home or in private institutions at their own expense,—and, if those receiving instruction in public institutions of higher grade be included, the ratio is 1 to 40. In Spain the proportion is 1 to 9; in the United States, 1 to 5.

During the last twenty-five years not one foot of highroad has been constructed in Cuba, nor one yard added to the telegraph lines; and the harbor of Havana has been so neglected that its accumulated filth causes a yearly epidemic of yellow fever, and constitutes a menace to the health of the United States. The Cubans are taxed every year to the extent of \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000, of which \$700,000 is appropriated for internal improvements. One half of the appropriation is

paid to officials for salaries; and I think it would be safe to say that fully a quarter of the remainder is stolen.

The administration of Spain has obstructed progress, thwarted reforms, and prevented the industrial growth, by restrictive taxation. If the Cubans are barbarians, fond of political anarchy, and incapable of living like civilized people, Spain alone is responsible. She has neither aided them to improve, nor set them a good example in her management of public affairs in the mother-country or on the island. Her own history as a monarchy, and that of her children who have attempted self-government, excite more mistrust as to the outcome of Cuban independence than the record of her insular descendants who have not yet had an opportunity to show how well they can shape their own destiny.

It is their Spanish blood that is feared by the thinking and sympathetic Americans who are watching the efforts of the Cubans to establish a republic. Its tendency to make the ruler of the hour a despot, and its ignorant possessors content with national stagnation, and its ferocity when a new tyrant, ambitious for power and riches, stirs them to fraternal strife, are well known. For these reasons, the aid, which would otherwise be extended to the Cubans, is withheld by our people, who realize that to maintain a government of, for, and by the people requires a high order of intelligence, submission to law, and reverence of civil authority. The conviction that these qualities reside in the Cuban would long since have caused the American people to interfere, in the interest of human liberty and human progress, between Spain and her colony. But the people of the United States do not desire the establishment, close to their shores, of another republic, in which frequent revolutions may disturb their peace, and make less profitable their trade and commerce.

Spain has assured the world that the Cubans cannot govern themselves. She predicts, in their success, another negro republic. In thus representing to the nations of the earth that the independence of her colonists would mean a relapse into barbarism, constant revolutions, and a loss to civilization, Spain both condemns herself and pleads for her own salvation. Cuban revenues are the life-blood of Spain. The Spanish people, loyal, patient, and proud of their country's martial glory in the dim past,—which is still bright to them,—cannot endure heavier burdens of taxation, nor submit to greater drafts upon their patriotism. They have gladly poured out their savings, that Spain might live; they have freely given their lives, that the national ter-

ritory of their beloved country might be held intact. In spite of the patriotism, self-denial, submission, and suffering of the common people, Spain has gradually lost one rich colony after another, through insurrections caused by the inordinate greed of officials sent to govern them, and by the refusal of the more intelligent colonists to be robbed and persecuted by these mercenary servants of the Crown. Cuba—a small fraction of what was once possessed by Spain on this hemisphere—is the last colony thus to revolt. Its triumph will be far more serious to the Spanish nation than were the losses of all its South-American dependencies early in the century. Then Spain was rich: to-day she is bankrupt. Her debt is enormous and pressing; her expenses are far beyond home revenues; her resources are mortgaged; her people, impoverished by taxation and on the verge of revolution. If Cuba should be lost, and the Spanish people should be asked to supply its vanished revenues, the latter would certainly rise against those who have kept them in want in order to support an extravagant and impotent monarchy; and they might declare themselves in favor of popular government. The contention of Spain, that the Cubans—after Spain's long and vicious reign—are not fit to govern themselves, is, therefore, at this juncture entitled to very little consideration. It is to the Cubans themselves that we must look for evidence.

The failure of many Spanish-American republics to maintain a steady and permanent government has been due largely to religious fanaticism. Spain herself has always needed an iron hand. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," argues that the submission of the Spanish to church and king is the great vice of that people. Neither of these influences is powerful in Cuba. The Cubans are extremely liberal in religious matters. Freemasonry has had a wonderful growth; and the children of the island are taught to be tolerant of all beliefs. Religion does not enter into the present struggle, nor has it ever caused disturbance in Cuba.

There is no love of king or royalty in the Cuban heart. The aim of all the revolutions in which the Cubans have been engaged has been to establish democratic institutions. The Cuban is not to be found in the ranks of those who, in other Spanish-American republics, seek to reestablish the rule of kings, or to enthrone a dictator upon the ruins of a popular government. In other countries once possessed by Spain, the various provinces speak different languages: they have not welded. This is not true of Cuba. It has one language and one history: it is homogeneous. Cuba is more national in spirit than is Spain itself.

The disturbances in Spanish-American republics are, to some extent, due to topographical conditions, a diversified population, a want of knowledge of and experience in republican institutions, and church influence upon the management of the state. A country, thinly populated, and with no means of communication or community of interest between sections separated by wide rivers and unbroken forests, is prone to disturbance when suddenly emancipated. The chief of each department considers himself a power; jealousy arises between the different provinces; and the ambitious men of the sea-coast readily go to war with those of the interior towns. Such struggles are not likely to occur in Cuba, the country being long and narrow, and successive revolutions against a common foe having brought the people of the different provinces into close touch with each other. Railways have united the interior towns of importance to the ports; and coastwise steamers unify the interests of the different sections. The building of railways and the establishment of steamboat lines have done much to discourage revolutionists in countries where they once flourished. Mexico, by this means, has prevented many rebellions, and secured peace. Federal forces can be quickly concentrated by rail at points remote from the capital. With Cuba free, the scattered lines of railway running up and down the island would soon be connected into an iron backbone, with branches or ribs reaching from one end of the country to the other, and gridironing its sides. A revolution could then be easily quelled. Had the Spaniards constructed such a railway, the present war would have been of short duration.

In San Domingo, Venezuela, and other Central-American republics, the heterogeneous populations have been led to uprisings by petty chiefs; and unrest and failure to maintain constitutional law have frequently resulted. This is not so likely to occur in a country where, as in Cuba, the race has been kept pure. The census of 1887 shows that 61 per cent of the population of that island is pure white, and that 39 per cent includes people of all shades of color. This predominance of the whites has made Chili, the Argentine Republic, and Costa Rica the best governed of the free countries of South America. In Cuba the colored element is even more peaceful and law-abiding than in those lands or in the United States. Considering its environment, it has made greater strides toward culture; and it has poets, musicians, journalists, lawyers, and military men, whose fame has passed beyond the limits of their native island.

In the event of independence, there is little danger of a race war in

Cuba. The revolution of 1868 made the relations of the races cordial; and to-day they are united against Spain. There is not in Cuba an inert mass of Indians, as in Mexico and all Central America, where, except in Costa Rica, Bolivia, and Venezuela, they are worse than slaves. The supremacy of the negro element in Cuba is impossible. It has occurred in San Domingo and Haiti, because in the former the population is almost entirely negro, and in the latter, only about one-sixth is white. It would not be the Cuban negro's disposition to struggle for control. During the revolutionary history of Cuba no low motives have been evinced by the colored men: they have demanded from the whites only justice and equal political rights. There is no province in which the negroes have a majority; and the census shows that their number is diminishing.

With Cuba free, the fertility of the island would attract thousands of people from the United States who, would develop its resources and make stable its government.

Many of the Cubans have studied and lived under republican institutions. In the first quarter of the century the banishment of the native began. In 1828 Spain was alarmed at the ideas of liberty and republicanism which the Cuban young men were obtaining abroad, and, by a royal decree, ordered them to return to the island. The present revolution caused thousands of Cubans to fly to the United States, as did the outbreaks of 1848, 1851, 1868. They saw the benefits of, and practised, self-government. The return of a large percentage of these students of democracy had an important influence upon the character of the Cuban people. Schools were started on the American plan; the Constitution of the United States was taught to the children; the history of the American people was instilled into the youth; and the fathers and mothers of the race prayed daily for the time when Cuba should be free and independent, like the United States.

The Cubans have more of a practical and less of a theoretical idea of a republic than other Spanish Americans. With them liberty is not a mere literary notion. They have been fighting and preparing themselves for it for many years. They have increased in intelligence, grown fond of culture, and worked hard to prepare themselves for liberty, which they are determined shall be theirs. Their revolutions prove that they are peaceful. During the intervening years, the Cubans, in the hope of obtaining liberty by law, have waited patiently. Having exhausted peaceful means, they have again appealed to arms. They are not cruel: their treatment of prisoners shows this. In slav-

every day the Cuban proprietors proved their kindness to the oppressed; the slaves fought side by side with their masters in 1868; and the descendants of both are fighting to-day as one people.

The love of the Cuban for law and order is manifest. The movement in 1848 had its civil *junta*. In the revolution of 1868, the first things done—as soon as the provinces rebelled—were the establishment of an assembly, the drafting of a republican constitution, and the election of a president and state officials. The military organization was straightway made subservient to the civil power. For two years the constitution was in force. Gen. Quezada attempted to make himself dictator, and was promptly deposed. Gen. Gomez was deprived of his command before the whole army for disobeying an order of President Céspedes; and the army promptly recognized the supreme authority of the civil power. When President Céspedes himself tried to enlarge his authority beyond constitutional limits, and there was fear of his becoming dictator, Congress interfered, and deposed the “father of his country”; and the people cried “Well done!” This revolution, from its very inception, was conducted by the people, through their constitutionally elected representatives.

The Cuban revolutionary party to-day is based on the rule of the majority. Its officers are elected by ballot; and its military arm submits to civil control. The elections have just been held in accordance with the constitution adopted at the outbreak of the revolution, when the present officers were chosen by ballot.

If the history of the Cubans on the island shows that the civil power is paramount with them, and that their respect for civil law is greater than their love of military glory, their record abroad demonstrates still more clearly their peaceful inclination, their ability to govern themselves, and their fitness for independence. After the Ten Years' War the leaders and many soldiers, going into exile, became workers with their hands and brains. The building up of the American municipalities of Key West, Tampa, West Tampa, and Ybor City is due to them. These cities are hives of industry. Crime is little known in them; and a Cuban tramp is never seen. In Key West the Cubans control the city. Cuban mayors have been elected, and have governed well. It is such an orderly, progressive, and industrious community that an arrest is rare. For two years Fernando Figueredo, a Cuban, was mayor of West Tampa; and he is now president of the city council. This city of 4,000 people is a Cuban colony composed of former residents of Key West. An English word is seldom heard in the

streets. The clerk, treasurer, assessor, collector, marshal, and three-fourths of the council are Cubans. For a year the city was unincorporated. Even then, when there was no local government, its record was admirable. As a Cuban expressed it, "The respect of the community ran the city."

West Tampa now has a perfect municipal government, under which there have been erected creditable public buildings, including a graded high-school nine-tenths of whose pupils are Cubans. It has also a primary and an intermediate school, which are largely attended by Cuban boys and girls; and there are at least twenty private schools maintained by wage-earning Cuban parents who are determined that each of their children shall be specially taught. There is one bar-room in the city. The three policemen have little to do. During the last two years the arrests have numbered less than fifty; and of these, five only were of Cubans. The city is extremely moral. No crime of great seriousness has been committed there; and street brawls and disputes are infrequent. Politically the Cuban residents are divided into Republicans and Democrats. A large proportion of them are naturalized American citizens; and they take intense interest in all elections. They contribute liberally to moral and educational projects, and devote attention to improving the commercial and trade interests of their city. The Board of Trade is composed largely of Cubans, and is an active and intelligent body. The three newspapers published in the city by Cubans are well supported.

Even a better record for the Cuban, so far as his ability to govern himself is concerned, is furnished by the statistics of Tampa. Mayor M. E. Gillett wrote me recently as follows:—

"I frequently hold court, in the absence of the judge, and have had a great deal to do with the enforcement of law and order. In all the time that I have held office I have had but one or two Cubans brought before me for crimes of any kind; and those were minor offences. I consider the Cuban an orderly, law-abiding citizen. He drinks wine, but not liquor. It is an uncommon thing to see an intoxicated Cuban. They are very attentive to education. The schools here are filled with their children. I think the impression of most people who are well acquainted with the race is, that the Cubans are excitable by nature, and very much like children in matters of government. Perhaps it would not be well to entirely turn into their hands all state and municipal matters. Yet, if this responsibility were thrust upon them, they might be able to assume it, and conduct everything satisfactorily. However that might be, I doubt not that, if they attain their freedom in Cuba, leaders can be found who are capable of competently governing a republic, and of controlling disturbing elements at all times."

Ybor City is a part of Tampa. Its population is a mixture of

Americans, Spaniards, Italians, and Cubans. Its record is not so good as that of the cities where the Cuban has practically undisputed control. But even here the Cuban, while in the majority in the census, figures far less often in the police court than the Spaniard, the Italian, or the American.

The history of these Cuban-American cities shows clearly that the first thing done by the Cubans, when opportunity offered, on free soil was to establish schools for their children, and that the next was the creation of local governments in accordance with the civil laws of their adopted country. The statistics from these cities show that, as regards morality and respect for human law, their citizens compare favorably with those of cities of like size anywhere in the United States.

In the public schools of New York there are hundreds of Cubans; and they abound in the colleges and universities of the whole country. This is true of Europe also. In American politics the Cubans are making headway. There are three in the Florida legislature; and many hold office in several of the Southern cities and States. Severino Heredia, a native of Matanzas, was once mayor of Paris; his cousin, José Maria de Heredia, was elected in 1894 to a seat in the French Academy. Suñer, a Cuban, is a distinguished dramatist of Italy. In nearly every capital of Europe, Cubans can be found occupying prominent positions as chemists, physicians, jurists, and professors of music. In the United States the names of Cubans are known to students of history and general literature. The natives of the island have here become eminent specialists in pathology, and rank high as civil engineers. Dr. Guiteras, Luis Mantilla, Aniceto Menocal, Ignacio Varona, Emilio Agramonte, Rafael Navarro, and Francisco Sellen are a few of the many Cubans famous in their respective professions. In Mexico, and other Spanish-American countries, Cubans have been members of national congresses, and prominent in the diplomatic and judicial departments. They are at the head of the leading industries and of the commercial companies and banking institutions of Spanish America. They have also constructed railroads and public works in many countries.

It may seem strange that, with this record, the Cuban has not been able to work out his own salvation at home by his brains, industry, and natural diplomacy. The explanation is that, while he has been given some voice in the local government, there has been kept over him a captain-general, clothed with such unlimited power, that it has been impossible for a native to disregard his will, or progress beyond the limits

set by his edicts. On March 28, 1825, a royal decree was issued at Madrid, giving to the captain-general

“the most complete and unbounded power not only to send away from the island any persons in office, whatever their occupation, rank, class, or condition, whose conduct, public or private, may alarm you, replacing them with persons faithful to his Majesty, and deserving of all the confidence of your Excellency, but also to suspend the execution of any order whatsoever, or any general provision made concerning any branch of the Administration as your Excellency might think most suitable to the royal service.”

This decree has never been revoked, and is still in full force. It is the law by which the Cuban people are ruled to-day; and no brilliancy of intellect, no honesty of purpose, no craving for liberty, no ability to govern, can prevail against it.

The Spaniards themselves have more than once given testimony to the varied talents, amiable disposition, and many virtues of the Cuban people. General Vargas once said: “I know of no people so easy to govern as the Cubans. Treat them courteously and kindly, and let them go unmolested about their business; do not interfere with their amusements; and you can do with them almost anything you like.” A more recent witness in favor of the Cuban is the Colonial Office at Madrid, which recently issued a pamphlet, widely circulated by the Spanish Legation at Washington, entitled “Spanish Rule in Cuba.” The pamphlet was written to make it clear that the Cubans have nothing to complain about, and that the law deprives them of no right to hold public office under Spanish rule. From the Spanish point of view, it proves that the natives are ingrates, and utterly lost to all sense of appreciation of the beneficent rule which Spain exercises over them. It goes further. It shows that the Cuban is not the ignorant, turbulent, half-civilized being that the pamphlet declares him to be when the question of his self-government is forced upon the minds of the American people by the heroic efforts he has made to free himself. Under the caption, “Cubans in High Office in Spain,” the pamphlet gives a list of six Cubans who have been ministers to colonies, or held office as under-secretary of the Province of Madrid, vice-president of the chamber of deputies, etc. It is mentioned that in the diplomatic service there are a number of Cubans, and that one of them represented Spain in Mexico. Then follows a long list of employees of the colonial civil service, which contains the names of many natives of Cuba. It is said that “in the Post-office Department one-half of the total number of officials are Cubans.” The pamphlet continues:—

"The Department of Education may be said to be in the hands of the Cubans. The director of the University of Havana, the vice-rector, the secretary-general, the deans of all the faculties, and the directors of the Botanic Gardens are Cubans. Of the eighty professors of the University sixty are Cubans. The director and eight other professors of the School of Technology are Cubans. Of the three instructors of the School of Painting and Sculpture only one is a native of the Peninsula, the director being a Cuban. The total number of professors of all the institutes of the island is fifty-eight, and of that number thirty-five are Cubans.

In the Department of Justice of the island nearly all the offices of lower rank are held by natives: with extremely rare exception, the municipal judges and district attorneys are Cubans. . . . Of forty-one justices of the Supreme Court, ten are Cubans; of twenty-four judges of the Court of Criminal Appeal, seven are Cubans; of thirty-six District Court judges (*de termino*), twelve are Cubans; of forty-four District Court judges (*de ascenso*), thirteen are Cubans; of sixty-two District Court judges (*de entrada*), twenty-three are Cubans; and in the Philippine Islands seven Cubans hold judicial offices. There are therefore in the judicial profession in the colonial provinces seventy-eight natives of those provinces; that is to say, thirty per cent of the total."

This is Spanish testimony as to what the Cubans can do under the most despotic and discouraging conditions. They have not done better, because they have not had more opportunities. They have, however, progressed so much, and have given such strong manifestations of the qualities necessary to successful self-government, that even the so-called loyal Spaniards in Cuba do not look with real apprehension upon the rainbow of Cuban promise that is slowly arching itself over the war-racked isle. They would much prefer annexation to the United States to submission to Cuban domination; but they would welcome either rather than the continuance of the rule of Spain, which they privately acknowledge cannot be maintained without continual revolution and bloodshed. The Spaniards in the island know that in the near future *Cuba must and will be free*. The prospect need not alarm those Americans who fear the establishment at our door of another republic like San Domingo or Haiti; for the better class of Spaniards upon the island will, when victory perches upon the Cuban banner, join hands with the more intelligent of that race, and give form, stability, and permanence to the new republic.

The Cubans cannot rule their country as badly as the Spaniards have ruled it. Their readiness to absorb and make use of knowledge, their admiration for the United States, as shown in their adopted constitution, and their love of peace, liberty, and progress, augur well for the rapid advancement of their country in material prosperity under the flag of a true republic, vigilantly maintained.

THOMAS GOLD ALVORD, JR.

The Forum

OCTOBER, 1897.

ENGLAND, TURKEY, AND INDIA.

ENGLAND, so long the friend and protector, is now the avowed enemy and intending destroyer, of Turkey. How it is that a change so extraordinary has come about, during one generation, in the secular policy of that country; whether the change is due to the wisdom or to the folly of its statesmen, or is merely owing to their attempts to reflect the changing phases of popular opinion; or whether, in any case, it is consistent with that principle of the continuity of foreign policy which is so often invoked,—these questions may for the present be left aside. All I am concerned with now is to affirm and to establish the fact, and to point out some of its consequences.

The fact itself is, indeed, veiled under various forms and conventionalities; but, at the first touch,—nay at the first breath,—these disappear and leave the fact naked. Mr. Gladstone's form was that his enmity and intended destruction were directed, not at the Turkish people, but at the Turkish governing classes,—the Pashas, Bimbashis, Onbashis, Kaïmakams, Zaptiehs, and representatives in general of Turkish authority, whom he would have turned out of Europe and kept out of it by force. Even now his hatred is reserved for these same classes, whom he personifies in the individuality of the Sultan,—“the Great Assassin,” Mr. Gladstone is not ashamed to call him, even before the memory of Gordon has wholly faded from men's minds, or the conduct of the Prime Minister who abandoned him and left him to his death has been forgotten.

So, too, others—probably even the English members of the Ar-

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menian Committees, and certainly the average Englishman—would shrink from the idea of exterminating, or even expatriating, five millions of Turks, and would content themselves with deposing the Sultan and replacing him and his system of government by some other. What these good people,—most of whom are only ignorant and not wicked; who are, that is to say, the most mischievous kind of people in the conduct of any affairs, whether public or private,—what they ignore, or perhaps would even deny, but what is known to be an indisputable fact by all who know Turkey at all, is that the Sultan *is* Turkey; that he cannot be attacked without attacking all Turkey; that, so long as he remains Sultan, he and Turkey are one; that the Turks in general make his cause their own; that they feel praise and blame, approbation or insult, addressed to him as though addressed to themselves; that they are not less, but more, one with their monarch than any other European people, not excepting any people whatever; and that they would as readily take up arms at his call to fight, and if need be die, in his quarrel and for his cause as Britons would for their own beloved sovereign. His system of government may be bad,—in my own opinion it *is* bad, though with a wholly different badness from that believed in by those who have never seen it at work,—but he is the Padishah: he is even something more and greater; he is the Caliph. He is at once the temporal ruler of the state, and the spiritual head of that Islam which, perhaps alone of all the religions of Europe, is really believed and practised by those who profess it. He unites those temporal and spiritual powers which everywhere else in Europe have been dissevered; neither is there anywhere else in Europe, nor has been since the Pope was deprived of his temporal dominions, so complete, so undisputed an authority over soul and body as his. Enmity and the intent to destroy, directed at the Sultan, are, therefore, as much directed at Turkey and the Turkish people in general, even when these latter are expressly excepted by the enemy and the destroyer, as though no such exception were made; and it avails nothing to say that a statesman furnished with power, or a politician provided with words, would not injure Turkey or the Turks, but would only injure the Sultan. For Turkey and the Sultan are one; and every Turk is persuaded, to absolute conviction, that the day which sees the destruction of the Sultan by foreign arms, sees also the destruction of Turkey itself.

But if the form of separating the sovereign from the state, and of avowing a deadly enmity to the one while professing amity to the other, be vain and futile, much more so must be that other form which

now seems to have come into fashion, as though it were some improvement on Mr. Gladstone's. The solemn guarantee of the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire by Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Germany, and Italy in common, contained in Article 7 of the Treaty of Paris of 1856, as well as the equally solemn repudiation in Article 9, by the same six Powers, of any right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of the Sultan with his subjects, or in the internal administration of Turkey,—these stipulations have for forty years been part of the public law of Europe; and they were revived and reaffirmed nineteen years ago by Article 63 of the Treaty of Berlin. The latter treaty did indeed recognize the effect of the preceding war and conquest, by detaching provinces from the Ottoman Empire; and, to that extent, did recognize and accept the interference with its integrity effected by and resulting from the war: but, none the less, it guaranteed the integrity and independence of such of the Empire as remained, and none the less maintained the prohibition of interference by the Powers in the internal concerns of the Empire. This being so, a new form was sought whereby the public law of Europe and the treaty engagements of Great Britain might be reconciled with the enmity to Turkey, and the desire for its destruction, which were believed to animate a large number of those electors who make and unmake ministries. The form found was remarkable enough; and, being perhaps the most wonderful achievement of that very wonderful department of state, the British Foreign Office, it is fortunate that it has been set forth and explained in the plainest terms by the most indisputable authorities entitled to expound the views of that office: by Mr. Curzon, speaking as the mouthpiece of Lord Salisbury, and by Lord Salisbury himself.

Mr. Curzon's very frank account of it was given to a meeting at Southport on April 3, 1897, in the following words:—

“People are frightened of the bogey of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. . . . I ask, and if I were appealing to any other audience of my fellow-countrymen at present I would say, ‘Do not magnify the formula, “the integrity of the Ottoman Empire,” or conjure it up as a spectre and then run away from it. Let us closely examine it; and then, perhaps, we shall not find it so formidable or menacing as we are given to understand . . .’ What that integrity means is this—*that the distribution of the Ottoman Empire, as piece by piece it breaks up, must be undertaken by Europe*, and that it must not be in the power of any individual state to snatch what it thinks should be its share of the spoils . . . It is the most elastic formula in the world . . . It means that *the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire is to be slow*, that when it takes place it shall be effected by a peace-

ful and not a violent process, and that neither the irregular ambitions nor the greed of aggrandizement of any individual Power shall be allowed to precipitate the issue or plunge the Continent into a general war."

This then is the form: That the integrity of the Ottoman Empire means the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and its distribution piece by piece, provided only that the dissolution be slow and that it be undertaken by Europe.

Dissolution is the destruction of integrity. Distribution, piece by piece, can only come when integrity is gone and dissolution achieved. But, says Mr. Curzon, dissolution, if slow, is no dissolution at all, but a maintenance of integrity; distribution, piece by piece, if made by Europe, is no distribution at all, but a maintenance of integrity. In short, integrity and disintegration, integrity and dissolution, integrity and distribution are one and all the same thing!

It would be very improper to smile at this most profound and statesmanlike declaration; for it has received a full confirmation and a larger explanation from Lord Salisbury himself, who has declared that in 1854, when choosing between the proposals of Russia and the defence of Turkey, England "put her money on the wrong horse." Now the proposals of Russia were proposals to agree to a partition of Turkey, whereby Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria were to be detached from the Ottoman Empire and declared independent under Russian protection; while Egypt and Crete were to be handed over to England.

The disclosure of these proposals, which had been made secretly in 1853 to the English Ministry by the Czar, was challenged by the St. Petersburg "Journal" of March 2, 1854; and this challenge led to the publication, by the Ministry of Lord Aberdeen—Lord John Russell being its Foreign Secretary—of Sir Hamilton Seymour's despatch of January 22, 1853, in which they were embodied. Lord Salisbury holds therefore that, instead of refusing and opposing, Great Britain should have accepted these secret proposals for a conspiracy to partition Turkey. Whether to entertain such proposals would have been consistent with the honor of a British Minister, or whether, if entertained, they could have been carried into effect, may well be doubted. But those questions need not now be examined. What is established is, that in this present year Mr. Curzon looks forward with approval to the slow dissolution and the distribution, by Europe, of the Ottoman Empire, and that Lord Salisbury thinks Lord Aberdeen and Lord John Russell were wrong in refusing, so long ago as 1853, to attempt to bring about its rapid and immediate dissolution and its distribution by Eng-

land and Russia alone. The present Ministry, in short, avow as plainly as possible that, in spite of the Treaties of Paris and Berlin, they contemplate, they expect, they are not prepared to oppose—nay, they are prepared to encourage—the destruction of Turkey, and regret only that this destruction was not achieved in 1853 by Lord Aberdeen.

Were any further proof required of this new attitude of hostility toward Turkey, assumed and avowed by Great Britain, it would be found in the conduct of Sir Philip Currie, the British Ambassador at Constantinople. For three years, beginning under the late, and continuing under the present, government, Sir Philip has made it his business to display British hostility to Turkey,—not less by his overbearing demeanor and attitude toward the Turkish Sovereign and government, than by his fertility in the invention of schemes of interference in Turkish internal affairs. In December, 1894, he had already considered; on January 19, 1895, he sent home the first sketch of; and in April, 1895, he propounded, a brand-new constitution, in sixteen clauses and thirty-two articles, for Armenia. This constitution was accepted, sanctioned, and promulgated by the Sultan, and has since been brought into execution, so far as its provisions—many of them absurd and some impossible—allowed. This was held to be so great an achievement, that on October 18, 1895, Lord Salisbury telegraphed to Sir Philip his “heartly congratulations on the success obtained.” Those congratulations would hardly be repeated now, either by Lord Salisbury or by anybody else; for the plan has admittedly failed.

Sir Philip's next plan, proposed to his fellow-ambassadors on December 10, 1895, was the appointment of an international commission to investigate, and devise means for the reparation of, the troubles in that very Armenia which he had so recently endowed with a new constitution. This second plan was, however, promptly put aside by the Russian Ambassador, and ended, like the first, in failure; nor did any better fate attend Sir Philip's suggestion to Lord Salisbury, that the latter should “make some proposal to the Powers” in the sense of the plan. A third plan, however, was soon conceived by the busy brain of the Ambassador, who, on December 18, 1895, proposed “the establishment in Turkey of a responsible ministry.” This plan was at once denounced by the Austrian Foreign Minister as “highly dangerous”; and it failed, like its predecessors,—only, however, to be followed by a fourth, the most ambitious of all. This fourth plan was born on December 19, 1895, when Sir Philip proposed to Lord Salisbury, in so many words, “interference on the part of the Treaty Powers.” The

plan, as is known, was very summarily stamped upon by Prince Lobanoff, who, on behalf of Russia, declared it, on January 25, 1896, to amount to nothing less than "an infringement of the principles of European public law"; nor did the fourth plan ever show its head again. Since then there has been the Cretan plan and the plan for making a Treaty of Peace by a Conference of Ambassadors, between Turkey and Greece.

What it imports to remark here is, that these plans of the British Ambassador were all in themselves highly ambitious, completely revolutionary, entirely subversive of the Sultan's authority in his own dominions, contrary to the Treaties of Paris and Berlin, and equally inimical to the Sultan and to Turkey.

Thus the hostility of Great Britain to the Sultan, and her desire for the destruction of Turkey have been made manifest to all the world, and to none more plainly than to the Sultan and to the Turks themselves. Whether the partition of Turkey can indeed be effected, or what, if effected, would be the results thereof to Europe, need not be here inquired. What we are dealing with now is the new attitude of Great Britain, and its immediate consequences to herself,—consequences which there is too much reason to fear will prove, nay, have already proved, to be of the most momentous and injurious character.

Is it to be supposed that, confronted by this hostility on the part of Great Britain, the Sultan will not take such means as he possesses to defend himself? Is it to be supposed that the maligned and vituperated Moslems of Turkey regard with equanimity or unconcern the unparalleled violence of the abuse so long heaped upon them? Is it to be supposed that the 50,000,000 Moslems of India, who, equally with those of Europe, acknowledge the Caliph and weekly pray for him in their mosques, will fail to sympathize with their coreligionists in their indignation at the unmeasured denunciations of all Moslems and of Islam itself? Unless all these things are to be supposed, Great Britain must expect, sooner or later, to bear some very serious consequences of the hostility to Turkey and to Islam, now avowed by her statesmen and ministries.

Long ago, a warning note was sounded from India. In the "Times" of December 28, 1896, in an article setting forth the view taken by Indian Moslems on this subject, this passage occurred:—

"In the eyes of the orthodox Mussulmans the Sultan is not merely the 'Commander of the Faithful' throughout the Mahomedan world, he is also the represent-

ative of the wide conquests and once glorious traditions of Islam, the embodiment of the earthly supremacy of the faith in which Moslems live and die. . . .

The Indian Mussulmans recognize that the secular element in the position of the Sultan subjects him to secular influences and may compel his submission to secular restraints, very much as the princes of medieval Europe felt that the territorial claims of the Pope might involve him in war. It was a regrettable fact, but it was a fact which had somewhat to be reconciled with his religious headship; and, as a matter of history, it was reconciled alike by the Mahomedan Powers in regard to the Caliph or Sultan for the time being, and by Christian princes in regard to the Pope. They might often have to fight the secular ruler; but they generally spoke respectfully of the spiritual chief. The Indian Mussulmans were at one time willing to *take this reasonable view of the situation.*

What they complain of is that they have been driven, by the vituperation heaped on the Sultan by British agitators, to pay back unreason with unreason, and insult with insult. To most Englishmen with a sense of self-respect and a just regard for the national dignity, it must seem unworthy of a great people to hoot, as 'an assassin' and 'a ruffian,' a sovereign whom our Government professes to consider a friend. To the Indian Mussulmans it seems scandalous. They can understand the abuse of a declared enemy. *What they cannot comprehend is, that we should be addressing the Sultan at Constantinople in terms of polite remonstrance, and reviling him in England in terms of the grossest insult.*

The Indian Mahomedan newspapers which have reached this country during the past months have *gone through an ascending scale of protest, recrimination, and fierce menace, rising almost to threats.* This conversion of a great and powerful community, late among the most loyal subjects of the Queen, into angry malcontents, has been viewed with concern by those responsible for the welfare of India."

This warning of ten months ago may opportunely be recalled now, when Englishmen are asking, not without anxiety, what are the real feelings toward Great Britain of the Amir of Afghanistan and of the Afghans themselves—all, be it remembered, strict Moslems of the strictest Sunni sect. And he would be a bold man who would undertake to say that the British campaign of abuse of the Caliph, and the British avowal of enmity to Turkey, will not play, or have not already played, a part in determining the sympathies of the Afghan Amir, and still more of the Afghans themselves, against the avowed enemies of their faith and of its spiritual head.

But there may be, there probably is, more than this. Of the Turk it may be said, as the French school-book said of the badger, "*cet animal est fort méchant—lorsqu' on l' attaque il se défend.*" If the Sultan has used and is now using his Caliph's authority in order to stir up in India among the seething elements of discontent there, trouble for the Power which avows its enmity to him in Europe; if, feeling weakness at home, he has entertained the suggestion that he should use the power he has of thus defending himself abroad; if he has accepted the view that it would be politic to give Lord Salisbury's government something

to do in India in order to prevent it from continuing to do quite so much in Turkey; if he has been persuaded to play off Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, against Sir Philip Currie, Ambassador at Constantinople, and to make the former regret the days when the Sultan's authority as Caliph was a strong bulwark of the British Rule,—if all this has happened, who can blame the Sultan, or deny his right thus to act toward those British statesmen who have forsaken all the old British traditions of Eastern policy out of personal hatred to himself and settled enmity to his country? Like the wicked badger, when attacked, he is apt to defend himself.

It is not necessary, moreover, to suppose that the Sultan has himself initiated the preaching of hostility to Great Britain among the Moslems of India. Those Moslems themselves, as the extract from the "Times" shows, had begun to feel and to show disaffection, and to utter "fierce menace, rising almost to threats" at least ten months ago; and there can be no doubt that the Moslems of Turkey, sensible as they now are—in common with all Turks—of British hostility, would not be disposed to check, but rather would be disposed to encourage, this disaffection. The close and constant connection and correspondence between the Moslems of India and those of Constantinople, which are well known to exist, authorize the belief that this at least has occurred—what more we know not.

The Sultan needed not to move in the matter. It was only necessary for him to stand aside and to refrain from that constant action among Indian Moslems in support of British rule in India, to which Great Britain has long been indebted. She received the support derived from this action because she was believed to be a sincere friend to Turkey: she can no longer reasonably expect to receive it, now that she proclaims herself Turkey's enemy.

The continuity of British policy in the East has been rudely broken; in fact, the policy itself has been reversed. The traditional policy was friendship to or maintenance of Turkey; not because British statesmen loved the Turk, but because—with Metternich, who said, "if the Turk did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him"—they believed him to be a necessity to Europe and to India. The modern policy is hatred to and destruction of Turkey, whatever may result to Europe or to India. If this policy be persevered in and carried out to the end, its effects in Europe and in India will be more momentous, more unexpected, and more startling than even in Turkey itself.

THOMAS GIBSON BOWLES.

NOTABLE LETTERS FROM MY POLITICAL FRIENDS.

THE following letters have been selected from a large number received by me from personal and political friends during a period covering more than forty years ; and, despite the lapse of time, they appear to me to retain their interest. Although some of them may have been written confidentially, many of the authors are no longer living ; and it is believed that the publication of the letters will cause no regret to anyone.

I have added brief biographical and explanatory notes as occasion seemed to require. The letters, in many instances, deal with topics not yet become altogether obsolete ; and it will be seen that most of the writers are still remembered as having been potential in the great crises of the Republic.

The present series includes letters from Henry Winter Davis, Thaddeus Stevens, Joshua R. Giddings, George Bancroft, and Henry C. Carey. My next contribution will include communications from a larger number of writers, including Horace Greeley and Charles Sumner.

HENRY WINTER DAVIS, born August 16, 1817, was elected a Member of the House of Representatives in 1854, the year of my election, and he was reëlected to the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, and thirty-eighth Congresses. He was an exceedingly brilliant and attractive man, classically educated, learned in the law, and, as I thought, the most eloquent speaker in the House of Representatives. With Senator Ben. Wade of Ohio, in 1864, he made the mistake of being a "kicker" against the renomination of President Lincoln ; thinking the President was too slow in conquering the Rebellion. He was a distinguished member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and, with Wm. A. Howard, of Michigan, and myself, was a member of the sub-committee on the Tariff ; doing excellent service.

Although not a Member of the House of Representatives when he died, in 1865, a eulogy was delivered upon him in the House of Representatives, and at their request, by his former colleague, Hon. A. J.

Cresswell. This is, I believe, the only instance where a private citizen has been thus honored.

I have many of his genial letters; but nearly all are so personal, having been written for me only, that I shall offer but a few for publication. After a service of four years, Mr. Davis was at home for two years (1861-1862) before he was again reëlected. Our conduct then of the war not being, at first, very successful, made our friends in the border States, such as Mr. Davis, of Maryland, very sensitive and, when neglected, provocative of criticism.

BALTIMORE, 1861.

MY DEAR MORRILL,

I shall feel greatly honored if you come over and spend a night with me, or as many nights as you can spare, and the more the better—before you leave Washington finally for home.

I shall be here till the 15th of August, and am all alone with a big house and nobody in it, but myself and the servants, and always ready to receive you. I dine at four, and if you come on the first afternoon train you will be in time for potluck.

I condole with you over the disgrace of Bull Run—but they who caused it will be retained in power for more mischief: and the country will have to supply their lack of brains with double streams of blood and money.

One hundred thousand men at Manassas a month later would have ended the struggle if they had had a *leader*. The failure was lack of Generalship in McDowell, not overwhelming force; but our force, if successful, was inadequate to improve a victory, if won. However we will talk these things over I trust shortly.

I should have been to Washington to see you and other friends whom I hold in green remembrance but I have special reasons for *not* going there. Please remember me kindly to inquiring friends, and say I trust if in Baltimore they will not pass me by.

Sincerely yours,

H. WINTER DAVIS.

MY DEAR SIR :

I confess that I am by no means satisfied with my silence touching Marshall's¹ speech. I had resolved to reply, but friends who had elec-

¹ Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky, then a prominent Union Member of Congress, was elected, as was Mr. Davis, by the American party, and, though educated at West Point, he took part in the Rebellion as a general of volunteers.

tions approaching begged me to keep silence, since I should be quoted against them and might embarrass their canvass. I am always ready to take any responsibility touching my own interests, but I did not like to trouble friends, and I was silent. The speech produced its bitter fruit in Kentucky.

The same spirit is now at work to force a repetition of the follies of 1856 on us. Some men in the South, ambitious of defeat, or calculating on the election going to the House, and everybody going to them there, are trying to forestall public opinion in favor of certain aspirants to be called opposition, but to be made as Mr. Fillmore was made after driving off all the North, and hope to accomplish success in the mode above indicated. I fear the New Yorkers are as bad and impracticable on the other side. May I venture to hope for once the "extreme waywardness and perversity of men," which grieved Mr. Webster so much, will not plague us with the democratic yoke for another term.

There seems to be a good feeling in the North-west where the battle must be decided, but we can tell nothing until men get together in Washington.

Yours truly,

H. WINTER DAVIS.

Aug. 1860.

BALTIMORE, 1861.

MY DEAR MORRILL,

Alas! for in this world, as in the next, to those who ask it shall be given: and it is not less true that, to men who do not ask, nothing will be given. Therefore nothing was tendered me at all. I presume no application was made on my behalf, for each person had his own friends to take care of, which was all very natural and very right.

If a cabinet appointment had been offered I should have accepted it, not for the honor, but for the work and responsibility. But that was prevented by Maryland friends—I mean what I say—it was my Maryland friends—i.e., those who professed to be so, and thereby got the credit of telling disagreeable but sad truths against me which determined that matter. Fortunately I made no application and entered into no contest and took no pains to remove false impressions, and I am quite content with the result.

A mission I did not wish, for I did not wish to be out of the country at this time. . . .

Personally I am content; but no language can describe the irretrievable blunder of the Administration made in conferring its appointments abroad to gentlemen from one region of the country. The persons are

generally the ablest we have had to represent us for many long years: but what reason is to be assigned for this senseless greediness which has excluded from high honors everybody from the Slave States, where the President needs strength and where such a distribution would have averted the disaster in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Can they open the eyes and ears of men at Washington—and must they meet with utter overthrow in 1864 before they will understand that it is impossible for one half of the country to govern the other half?

Till the 4th of March the Republican organization was perfectly defensible: for the question was forced on you—the Southern whigs deserted you, you were obliged to submit or resist alone, and you rightly resolved on resistance. That it was successful, is to me an unspeakable happiness. In my humble way I aided in the great defensive stand over the ancient ways of our fathers. But it was always said that victory would be used to consolidate and reunite the solid masses of the two great regions who agreed in everything but the Negro Question, which was necessarily ended by your triumph. Circumstances unlooked for made this policy unexpectedly easy and more wise; for the Administration was forced into being the symbol of the National Convention: to it everybody was bound, however he might think on the Negro Question, who was resolved to maintain the existence of the Government. This element of power has been thrown away.

In Maryland I cannot tell how we shall get along. We can carry the State and substantially sustain the Administration if the people at Washington will follow my counsel in doling out local patronage. But that will not be done. The most I have any right to expect will be a division between the small squad of men who call themselves Republicans, and they are as injurious here as a Garrisonian is in your country, and the Union masses of the State. Still, if the prominent offices which attract the public eye are rightly disposed of, I can answer for the result. Of this even I am not assured: but at Washington men are consulted who mean to oppose the administration after the fashion of Harris, and Webster and Swann—and where that will lead you know. I trust my fears will not be realized.

Your offers to help me are very kind and highly appreciated: but I must stay at home and reason with this wicked and perverse generation, and struggle almost alone and unaided against the current which runs towards uniting our people with Northern Democrats in opposition to you. I shall always be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

H. WINTER DAVIS.

P.S. They still hack away at our bill. I amuse myself every now and then by picturing your disgust at some of the attacks on it. But I am convinced it will substantially stand the test. I do wish you would write a few articles exposing the ignorance and falsehoods combined misrepresenting it, and publish in the "Tribune" or "Times," and let me know when they appear. It is essential something of the kind be done. Give people some accurate idea of the percentage of the duties on the main articles, the policy of the discriminations, and point out the few really bad points in the bill, so that the people may discriminate.

H. W. D.

THADDEUS STEVENS was born in Danville, Vermont, in 1792. He was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1814, and subsequently removed to Pennsylvania, where he became prominent as a lawyer and a politician. Mr. Stevens was elected to Congress in 1848 and 1850, as a Member of the House of Representatives, and again in 1859, and there continued to be a Member until his death in 1868.

Physically he was a man of above the medium size, with a head and face indicative of marked character; but, like Byron, he had one club-foot which forced him to limp at every step, and sometimes, perhaps, added a sting to his temper.

His anti-slavery opinions were most conspicuous; and from 1863 to 1868 he was the radical leader, if not the dictator, of the House of Representatives, being equally able in argument, wit, and satire.

The antagonistic forces of freedom and slavery in 1859 and 1860 appeared to be sharpening their swords and implements for the impending great civil war. One day I heard Mr. Spinner, afterward appointed Treasurer by President Lincoln, offer to make a wager that there were not less than three hundred loaded pistols in the hall and galleries of the House.

It was a standing rule of the House that Members must speak from their seats. One day Mr. Stevens, while making a speech that was very unacceptable to Southern Members, had wandered into the aisle and far down toward the area in front of the Speaker's chair. He was at once loudly called to order by those he had offended, several leaving their seats and approaching him as if to drive him back. Whereupon some of our side of the House rushed up to his support. Being not far away, and thinking he might be unmindful of the rule, I got near enough to advise him to return to his seat. "I shall," said he, "when the Speaker gives the order; but I do not obey the order of slave-masters."

The next day it was reported that an opposition Member of the Committee of Ways and Means, of which Mr. Stevens was then chairman, had got near to him with a sword-cane in his hands, but, upon the remark of some one that a murderous intent was incredible, Mr. Stevens exclaimed, "Perhaps so, but d—n his propinquity."

His manner and matter are illustrated in this note:—

GRAEFENBURG, Oct. 19th, 1866.

HON. J. S. MORRILL,

Dear Sir: Being still unhung, it seems to be our duty to look a little after the hemp. It seems to me essential that we should hold a caucus not later than the Wednesday before we meet, Thursday at farthest. Now as you are chairman, may I ask you to notify our friends of a caucus on Thursday before Congress meets.

We have certainly grave things to consider and stern things to do, if we are brave enough. If we are brave enough! Yes, there is the rub. And how few brave men there are! I hope you are all well. I am not quite so yet.

THADDEUS STEVENS.

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, born in 1795, was one of the earliest pioneers of political anti-slavery, and was elected to Congress in 1838, where he coöperated with such Members of the House as John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, and William Slade, of Vermont. The rules of the House then forbade the discussion of slavery; and petitions only agitated its abolition in the District of Columbia and the Territories. My earliest service in the House was on the Committee of Territories, with Mr. Giddings and Mr. Grow of Pennsylvania—at a time when the Kansas question was uppermost.

In 1841, the "Creole," an American ship, sailed from Virginia for New Orleans with a cargo of one hundred and thirty-six slaves. The slaves on the voyage rose upon the master and crew; and after a brief conflict, in which they killed one man, they took the vessel into the British port of Nassau, where their right to freedom was conceded and protected. Great excitement followed. Mr. Giddings introduced a resolution in the House declaring that "Slavery was an abridgment of natural rights, and could have no force beyond the territorial jurisdiction that created it." Mr. Botts, of Virginia, thereupon introduced a resolution declaring the conduct of Mr. Giddings "unwarranted and deserving the severe condemnation of the people of this country, and

of this body in particular." By moving the previous question, Mr. Giddings was shut off from any defence; and the resolution was passed by one hundred and twenty-five yeas to sixty-nine nays. Mr. Giddings at once resigned his seat and appealed to his constituents to pronounce judgment on the case. He was reëlected by a large majority and sent back to his seat in less than six weeks.

The treaty of reciprocity with Canada (1854) was subject to termination after ten years; and I had introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives, giving the notice of one year required for its termination. Mr. Giddings was then our Consul-General at Montreal, having been appointed by President Lincoln. I had informed him of the resolution, and that I intended to support it with a speech. Thereupon I received the following letter:—

· MONTREAL, Oct. 29, 1863.

MY DEAR MORRILL,

Mr. Howes handed me your letter of the 31st August relating to our reciprocity treaty.

As you are aware I was warmly in favor of that treaty, not from any pecuniary advantage to our people, but from a belief that it would increase our intercourse with Canadians and promote the feelings of good neighborhood and mutual friendship. But, so far as this object is concerned, the treaty has proven a perfect failure. The Canadians were as ready for war on the subject of the "Trent" as were the people of England. They greeted the traitors from the South as heartily, sustained the British ministry in permitting the "Alabama" and other pirates to go to sea and make war upon our commerce, as fully as the people of England.

It is a fact that while we were admitting the Canadians to our war markets free of goods they were sustaining the policy of the British ministry in sending the "Alabama" and other piratical ships to destroy our Atlantic commerce. Now God forbid that we should thus turn our cheeks to those who smote us so severely. True some papers say that this feeling was a little more frequent here, than in our free States, but although we had many good friends here, they dared not even send a petition or protest to England against this outrage upon justice as well as international law. And many of those friends say that if we would be respected we must show these people that we are as independent of Canada as Canada is of us.

I hope that a resolution requiring the Executive to give notice for

the abrogation of the treaty will pass, and that you will publicly avow the facts which I have stated as reasons for the abrogation. I also hope you will declare that as an American statesman you have no disposition to see the Canadas, with their mixed, mongrel population of French, Scotch, Irish, English, and American, annexed to the United States, until they cultivate a feeling of self-reliance and independence which shall accept of that separation from the mother-country which England is so anxious to establish.

And while I would not at present advise a repeal of the warehouse and bonding system, I would advise the introduction and discussion of a bill for that purpose in order to let the Canadians understand that we have it in our power to shut them up from all exports and imports during the six months of winter when navigation is impracticable.

I speak the opinions and feelings of many of our best friends resident here, not Americans merely, but English and Scotch. They feel that Canada will never prosper until she becomes self-reliant and develops her own statesmen and forms a character of her own.

I am desirous that you speak on this subject in such a manner as to maintain our own dignity and at the same time not offend Canadians, who should receive our pity rather than contempt. Let me know if I can furnish any particular facts.

Truly your friend,
JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

HON. JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

GEORGE BANCROFT, born at Worcester, Mass., October 3, 1800. graduated at Harvard University in 1817, and then went abroad, where he remained for five years, studying German and Italian literature, Plato, and theology. Returning to America in 1822, he was for one year tutor of Greek in Harvard University, and occasionally preached in neighboring pulpits. He also gathered materials for a history of the United States. If he ever entertained the idea of entering the clerical profession, however, he soon abandoned it.

In 1826, in a public address, he let it be known, that he was an uncompromising Democrat. Subsequently he was appointed, and served with honor, as Secretary of the Navy, and as Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to England, and to Germany. His reputation, however, was mainly achieved by his "History of the United States," written with much elaborateness and great wealth of learning.

In the later years of his life he was a highly appreciated resident of Washington, during the winter season. Having a large acquaint-

ance with distinguished men, both at home and abroad, he was everywhere a welcome guest. He was a good conversationalist, having a wide range of subjects, and it was always a pleasure to me to receive him at my house, where he was a not infrequent visitor. His interest in the work of Congress never seemed to abate.

New Jersey had sought to increase its revenue by the taxation of railroad travel and freight when passing through the State. This ill-timed economy was long ago abandoned, but the following letter of Mr. Bancroft will show how it fretted the public in 1865:—

NEW YORK, Jan. 14, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,

In case the Madison Papers remained unpublished, you were so good as to bid me write to you, that you might make their publication certain.

I hope your influence will be exerted to secure the passing of the bill you sent from your house to the Senate against the New Jersey system of railroad monopoly and taxation of travel and freight through New Jersey. It is the most important question before Congress, next to slavery and secession. For if a State can tax at will all through freight and travel, farewell to any unity of the country. The subject is more weighty than has been thought: the right decision is essential to our union. Even the members of Zollverein in Europe are never suffered to tax travel and property *in transitu*. The power to do so is a power to break up our commercial system of mutual equality of States,—and uninterrupted commercial intercourse.

Very truly yours,

GEO. BANCROFT.

HENRY C. CAREY, son of Mathew Carey, born in Philadelphia, December 15, 1793, was in early life a successful business man, and afterward an eminent and voluminous author on the principles of political economy, and of social science. He did not agree with Adam Smith and other "free-trade" authors, but was an earnest Protectionist. He denied that political economy was the science of wealth, and insisted that its chief claim to attention was that it sought the promotion of the happiness of nations. Every improvement in the mode of production, as he taught, lessens the value of commodities. In all progressive countries, accumulated capital constantly falls in value when compared with labor. In America, labor has been constantly growing

in power to command capital; and the power of capital over labor has concurrently diminished.

Mr. Carey, it should be confessed, had superb confidence in his own opinions, and a scanty respect for such as differed from him. Sometimes he praised Members of Congress; but he seemed to scold with ease, claiming that they held "the essential duty of statesmen to be limited to the selection of tide-waiters and postmasters."

Lacking the compactness of statement and the felicity of language of Adam Smith, Mr. Carey is likely to have a permanent reputation. His high rank as a political economist is conceded on the continent of Europe; and in America he has such partisan antagonists as thrive on British theories, but no equal as an authority on the subject. He wrote me long and frequent letters—difficult to read but not difficult to understand, and always of more or less importance.

After the Tariff Bill had passed the House of Representatives, in 1860, Mr. Carey was very impatient at its long delay in the Senate. I knew it could not be passed so long as a majority of the Secessionists remained there. Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, was chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, and rather reluctantly joined the fire-eaters of South Carolina; but Southern Senators, preferring allegiance to their own States rather than to the Union, were now rapidly deserting the Senate. I therefore wrote to Mr. Carey that he could urge the matter, if he chose to do so, by writing to Senators Wade and Wilson, which he did. They assured him that their anxiety was quite equal to his, and that the Tariff would be passed as soon as the Senate had the power.

Mr. Carey took a very deep interest in the passage of this Tariff law, because the duties were largely specific and also surely, but moderately, protective. The day after its passage in the Senate, and prior to its approval by President Buchanan, Mr. Carey sent me the following rather effusive note:—

DEAR SIR:

Accept my congratulations upon the happy termination of your tariff labours. You have now connected your name with what is destined, as I think, to prove the most important measure ever adopted by Congress.—With great regard

Yours very truly

HENRY C. CAREY.

Phila., Feb. 27/61.
HON. MR. MORRILL.

Mr. Carey was very impatient about the action or non-action of the Secretary of the Treasury, and wrote as follows:—

DEAR SIR:

Nothing less than a dictator is required for making a really good tariff.—Would to heaven you or I could fill the place for a week.

Pray let me know who it is that makes the present iron difficulty, and what, exactly, it is about. Perhaps I may assist in having it removed.

Cobb [of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury,] could do all that is needed as well in 60 days as he will do it if you give him 600. He would do it, too, for California as well as for Boston.

I had an account, two days since, of the state of affairs among the poor people who have been driven out to Iowa, and it is far beyond anything that you could well conceive of. Half of them would return, if they had the means of so doing. Think of men walking barefooted, six or eight miles in search of a day's employment! Is it wonderful that immigration is at an end? Is it wonderful that ship owners and railroad owners are being ruined? Or is it wonderful that Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, and Illinois are so completely down that New York merchants have refused to sell to those States except for the cash paid down before the delivery of the goods? I think not.

Yours truly,

HENRY C. CAREY.

Phil. Ap. 18/60.
HON. MR. MORRILL.

Mr. Carey, like Mr. Bancroft, was a Sound-Money man, and, in 1862, opposed to paper legal-tender money.

DEAR SIR:

Many thanks for your excellent speech just now received and now re-read. With nearly every part of it I agree most thoroughly, having had the greatest dread of the legal-tender experiment. Happily, in the four weeks that have since elapsed there has been a total change in our prospects, giving reason to believe that your predictions as to the duration of the war, though made in the darkest day we have ever seen, are about to be realized, and that we have at length arrived at "the beginning of the end"—Heaven grant that such may prove to have been the case!

There is one tax that I have long wished to see imposed, and would

now urge upon your committee, if I could see how it could be collected—and that is a tax on the estates of absentee owners, of from five to ten per cent of the incomes. Our whole system, for nearly thirty years, has tended to the production of absenteeism, one of the greatest curses that can afflict a land, and the result exhibits itself in the fact that from ten to fifteen millions are annually required for the support of our own people domiciliated abroad. One man from this city receives, as I believe, \$150,000, all of which he expends in Paris, while leaving to us all the care and all the expenditures required for preserving his property for his use. Were I dictator I would make him pay one-half of it into the public treasury, but as I cannot, I would be content with a little of it. Pray think of this matter. If there was any way of accomplishing it you might get millions a year at the least, from this source. . . .

The terribly long bank-bill, which has been printed *will not work*,¹ if enacted into a law as it now stands. It is full of things that banks are *to do*, but there is not a word in regard to things that they are to *get* in return. Of all the questions in political economy there is no one that is more simple than that of money, and yet it is so bedeviled by men who fancy themselves economists, that it is made already incomprehensible. Did you ever read a tract of mine called "Money"? I think I sent you one, but if not, will now do so, if you have any desire to see how simple are the laws by which the medium of precious metals is formed.

Is there any chance of a bankrupt-law? It should be passed. I congratulate you on the general improvement of our condition. I remain with great regard,

Yours truly,

HENRY C. CAREY.

Phil' March, 3^d 62.

HON. MR. MORRILL

DEAR SIR:

With sufficient and assured protection, we should in ten years, have iron so cheap that it would be exported in place of gold. To that end, investments would be required, to the extent of 60, 70, or perhaps 100 million of dollars. To secure the makers of such investments, confidence must be produced among those who have capital—but the confidence will never arise so long as Congress shall deem it necessary to

¹ But the Bank Bill did work, and worked remarkably well.—J. M.

insert in our tariff-bills provisoes like that in regard to iron which finds a place in the bill that you have just reported.

Whatever may be the number of years now remaining to me I would this day give one half of them if I could persuade my countrymen to look at the iron question in the light in which it merits to be viewed. All the power which the government is now exerting is derived from the coal and iron mines, and yet, coal is selected from among all other raw materials to be saddled with a tax, that will be most injurious, and iron is selected from among all manufactures to have protection granted by the shortest measure. Such would not be the case, could it once be seen that coal and iron are great national questions, and not merely of interest to miners and manufacturers.

What I desire to see is the adoption of a policy that will fill the hills and mountains of the South with miners of coal and ore, and makers of iron. Let that be done and you will tie the Union together in such a manner that nothing can ever rend the parts asunder, and you will place Slavery so entirely under your feet that it can never again raise its head. That, however, will never be accomplished so long as you shall continue to believe in the advantage of such provisions. Pray think again of this matter.

Having done us all the mischief in his power, John Bull is now, as I fear, to be repaid for all his mischief by permission to open again his retail warehouses in New York, paying his duties at any time within three years. Rely upon it, this is a sad mistake, as you will yourself believe before the lapse of many years.

I am very glad that you have taken care of my poor pen-making friend. Let the duty stand as you have fixed it, and the whole of that, apparently small, but really great, branch of business, will be transplanted to this side of the Atlantic.

Thus far, we have been tools in John Bull's hands, and the effects exhibit themselves in the necessity for fleets, armies, and heavy taxes. The one way to get clear of him is to pursue such a policy as will develop the natural resources of the earth. . . . Excuse me for troubling you with this and believe me, with great regard,

Yours very truly

Phil., June 22, 1862.
HON. MR. MORRILL.

HENRY C. CAREY.

More letters of Mr. Carey might be submitted, but those of others more familiar to the public will hereafter be presented.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

OUR NEED OF MERCHANT VESSELS.

SIGNS and conditions hold out the promise that in a relatively short time the United States will again engage on a large scale in the business of ocean transportation,—so long neglected that, to two generations, our former prominence in this honorable trade is only a tradition.

The most important condition essential to the restoration of our merchant navy has been a supply of the chief material of modern marine construction—steel—at a cost which would enable our shipbuilders to enter into competition with foreign shipbuilders in the unrestrained rivalry which necessarily obtains on the high seas. When wood was the chief material used in shipbuilding, our forests gave us such an advantage that the United States was rapidly becoming the first maritime power. During the forty years between 1820 and 1860, the tonnage of the United States registered for foreign trade increased fourfold,—from 619,000 tons to 2,550,000 tons,—while in the same period the tonnage of the British Empire only doubled—from 2,650,000 tons to 5,710,000 tons. The increased use of iron and steel for structural and other purposes, on the land as well as on the sea, has revolutionized many industries. Especially has it closed shipyards in some places, and stimulated or established them in others, regardless of national limits of territory and of the legislation of nations.

Thirty-seven years of the era of steel, the beginning of which in this country may be roughly fixed at 1860, have elapsed, and during this time the tonnage of the United States registered for foreign trade has shrunk to barely one-fourth of its proportions before the war of the Rebellion: during the same period, the tonnage of the British Empire has more than doubled. But Great Britain's preëminence as a producer of bountiful and cheap steel, to which she owes the foundation of her rank as the first of shipbuilding nations, is now not only threatened, it is surely and rapidly passing away. Her area of production is necessarily limited, and the inventive powers of her people must be kept at high tension in devising processes of economy to overcome the increasing cost of production incidental to the sinking of ever-deeper shafts. In the United States, the relatively recent developments

in iron and steel in the Lake-Superior region and in the South are the certain indication of the undisputed rank of this country in the near future as the world's great producer of cheap steel.

The possession of abundant and cheap steel, however, is but the first of the conditions which must be satisfied before we can hope for mercantile rank on the sea commensurate with our aspirations. With it must be acquired the skill to use it in marine construction. And the large expenditures of the United States upon a modern navy during late years have done much more than provide for the national defence. They have, in effect, established schools for the training of shipwrights, who have thus acquired the skill and the experience in the use of steel in shipbuilding, that is as necessary to the creation of a merchant navy as the material of construction itself. Only twelve years have elapsed since President Cleveland invited the country's attention to the unsatisfactory condition of our navy. The response of the people and of Congress to facts then presented was prompt and practical. For the last ten years, we have spent an annual average of \$25,000,000 on the navy. For the previous decade, our yearly expenditures, for that purpose, were less than \$15,000,000. The considerable increase in the appropriations for the building of war-vessels has created a condition necessary and valuable to the construction of steamships for ocean trade.

It is possible that we have put the cart before the horse. In theory, a navy—in large part at least—is designed for the defence of the commercial marine under the national flag. We have created the navy to protect; and it now apparently remains to create the merchant fleet to be protected. Whether our method has been logical or not thus far, it is certain that the expansion of the navy, perhaps even its preservation in its present strength, will, in a very short time, depend on the attitude of the people and of Congress toward the merchant marine. Several years ago the note of warning was raised by our most eminent authority on naval affairs. Referring to our navy, Capt. Mahan wrote:

“Can this navy be had without restoring the merchant shipping? It is doubtful. History has proved that such a purely military sea Power can be built up by a despot, as was done by Louis XIV; but, though so fair seeming, experience showed that his navy was like a growth which, having no root, soon withers away. But in a representative government any military expenditure must have a strongly represented interest behind it, convinced of its necessity. How such a merchant shipping should be built up, whether by subsidies or free trade, by constant administration of tonics or by free movement in the open air, is not a military, but an economical question.”

It is certainly worthy of comment that while the merchant marine and the navy are logically inseparable, and naturally grow or decline together, the attention of Congress for some years past has been fixed almost wholly on the latter. That we are not without company in this state of affairs is shown, however, by the following expressive remarks of "Lloyd's Gazette" a few weeks ago:—

"We go on spending millions upon the Royal Navy, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting our shipping, and we have this year taken the bold step of denouncing certain commercial treaties in order that our Colonies may have a free hand in tariff matters; but to the welfare of the mercantile navy, which alone makes the Empire and its trade possible, Government and Parliament seem supremely indifferent. Some day there will come a rude awakening, perhaps when it is too late. Meantime the shipping interest has to live on promises, or to accommodate itself to peddling legislation such as would be laughed to scorn by any nation which was not accustomed to the chronic snubbing of its mercantile marine."

Whatever may be the facts about the British Parliament, it is certain that the Congress of the United States is reasonably responsive to the popular wish. If Congress has given time and money to the navy and has given less attention to the merchant marine, it is doubtless because, through intelligent, harmonious, and persistent efforts, public interest has been awakened in the navy and Congress has felt the pressure and responded to it; while there has been no such interest aroused and no such influence exerted in behalf of merchant shipping. The success which in a few years has attended the endeavor to rehabilitate the navy is full of promise for the success which would attend similar efforts in behalf of a restoration of our maritime rank. Such an effort is apparently to be made at the coming session of Congress. A committee or informal commission of a score of the principal shipbuilders, shipowners, and Admiralty lawyers of the country, representing the Atlantic, Pacific, and Lake marine interests, has been assembled, mainly at the instance of the Hon. William P. Frye, chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce. This committee, acting through him, expects to be prepared to submit to Congress in December a project which shall have at least these merits and practical advantages: First, it will embody the views of men who are in daily business contact with shipping problems; second, it will, if practicable, be liberal enough in its principles, yet so precise in its applications, as to create a policy which will endure long enough to have a fair trial even under possible changes of party control; third, it will have, from the outset, influential support from all the maritime sections of the country.

The water-borne commerce of the United States may be divided into three geographical areas. The first, and by far the greatest in volume, is the trade wholly between domestic ports, including Alaska, known as the coasting or coastwise trade. The second area is the trade between ports of the United States and nearby foreign ports, such as the ports of British North America, Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and the South-American ports of the Caribbean. This trade is not in its nature essentially different from much of the coastwise trade; but political divisions render it subject to different laws. The third area is that of deep-sea navigation, or of trade across the Atlantic or Pacific, or the long voyages to South-American ports beyond the Caribbean. These three divisions are made here arbitrarily solely to demonstrate the elements of strength and weakness of our shipping.

The coasting trade of the United States, including the trade on our rivers, canals, and on the Great Lakes, as well as the trade between our ports on the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf seaboard is enormous in extent. The Treasury Department does not publish the statistics of this trade, though it has recently decided to do so for the future. Including the repeated entries of vessels, our coasting trade will be found to amount probably to 125,000,000 tons annually, and perhaps even more. The entries in the coasting trade of the United Kingdom amounted last year to 53,000,000 tons.¹ We have reserved our coasting trade strictly to vessels under the American flag, and other nations have followed the same practice, though several countries open their coasting trade to vessels of a foreign nation that grants the privilege reciprocally to their vessels. The only competition to which our merchant marine in the coasting trade is subjected is that of the railroads. In round numbers it comprises 21,500 vessels, of nearly 4,000,000 gross tons. In it are included all classes of vessels, the floating palaces of Long Island Sound and the Hudson River, the enormous coal and iron-ore carriers of the Great Lakes, the sea-going steamships from New York to New Orleans and other ports, as well as the canal boats, barges, small fishing vessels, ferry boats, and shipping in the uncounted forms in which it is familiar to all.

¹ The word "ton" when used with reference to the merchant marine is a measure of capacity, meaning 100 cubic feet devoted to the carriage of cargo or passengers, unless gross tons are specified, where the entire cubic contents of the vessel, including engine and boiler room, crew quarters, and other portions not available for earning money, are comprised.

As both termini of a voyage in the coasting trade are in the United States, the trade is wholly subject to our own laws and we may regulate it at will without regard to the laws of other nations. A different situation, however, exists in the foreign trade, where one terminus of the voyage is in a foreign port and subject to foreign laws. In legislation relating to this branch of navigation,—in which other nations necessarily share,—one must keep constantly within sight the legislation of other nations. Navigation in the foreign trade may be divided into the second and third areas.

The second area of trade is that between the United States and nearby foreign ports in British North America, including trade across the Great Lakes as well as by sea, with Mexico, Central America, and the northern coast of South America, to the mouth of the Orinoco, the West Indies, and Hawaii. The tonnage of vessels which entered the United States in this trade for the fiscal year 1896 was 9,487,577 tons, of which 4,469,966 tons, or nearly one-half, was American. The tonnage covers, of course, the repeated voyages of the same vessel; and as the voyages in many instances are short, the same steam vessel will often make thirty or forty trips a year in this trade. The tonnage actually employed in this trade is less than 1,000,000 tons, its activity swelling the tonnage entries. For this trade, which we share on substantially equal terms with foreign competitors, we enjoy special advantages. None of the countries or provinces with which it is conducted are the centres of any considerable shipbuilding, and the majority of the foreign vessels used have thus to be brought across the Atlantic for the purpose. Again, propinquity, the closeness of trade relations, and what may be vaguely termed our political influence in this sphere appreciably encourage the employment of American vessels.

The third area is that of transoceanic or deep-sea navigation, embracing trade between the United States and the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, South America below the eighth parallel of north latitude, and the islands of the Pacific, except Hawaii. The voyages in this trade all exceed 2,000 miles, and the number which are possible for the same vessel during a year is small. The American Line steamship "St. Louis" cleared from New York to Southampton fifteen times during the fiscal year, thus giving her for the year a record of about 92,000 nautical miles. This record, I believe, is unbroken in the annals of deep-sea navigation, but the statement is made subject to correction. Four-fifths of our exports and imports by sea are carried in this third area of transportation. The tonnage of

American vessels entered in this trade during the fiscal year 1896 was only 726,354 tons, while the tonnage of foreign vessels amounted to 10,775,253 tons. Allowing for repeated voyages, the tonnage required to carry on this trade is about 3,500,000 tons. It is in this area of trade that the American flag has almost disappeared, and it is this phase of navigation that should receive the attention of the people and Congress.

The merchant vessel—of which THE FORUM has asked me to write—exists to make money. It is a business venture; and its construction and operation must be in accord with the understood laws of trade. Of course, to the minds of most men, the sea is inseparable from sentiment. Even the begrimed tank steamer, starting out with its cargo of petroleum on the tedious voyage across the Atlantic, suggests more of romance and less of “business” to the indifferent onlooker, than the “vestibuled” express, crossing the continent at sixty miles an hour. The work of the coal-passer or fireman, the most numerous class on the modern merchant vessel, does not differ essentially in its surroundings and nature from that of the miner, and is much less hazardous, yet about him we are still disposed to envelop the glamor that in old days was the sailor’s. The part of sentiment in the conduct of men’s affairs is not decried or belittled. To ignore it in any economical theory or problem would be as unwise in the legislator as it would be for the navigator to fail to keep daily in mind the difference between the true and the magnetic pole. But sentiment, in the consideration of a business problem, is to be applied as a correction to conclusions reached from study of the facts: it is not an instrument of precision by which the facts may be observed and ascertained.

The success of a merchant vessel under any flag depends on its ability to carry goods or passengers more cheaply, more quickly, more safely, or more regularly than they can be carried by its competitors. Economy, speed, safety, and regularity are factors of varying weight, sometimes one and sometimes another counting for the most; but economy is the ever-present consideration. The factor of economy in the case of a merchant vessel may be divided into (a) cost of construction and (b) cost of operation. The cost of construction—other things being equal—determines the place where a vessel for deep-sea navigation will be built. The cost of operation, under like conditions, will determine the flag under which she will sail. The cost of construction comprises wages of labor, cost of material, and cost of superintendence, this last term including those expenses which depend

on whether one or many vessels are built. The cost of operation comprises those factors which depend on original cost of construction, such as interest on capital invested, insurance and depreciation, and wages and supplies of officers and crew, coal, and taxes.

A concrete case will best illustrate the operation of these factors. Let us assume that a capitalist of any nation desires to operate a cargo steamer in the foreign carrying trade. The wages in French shipyards are lower than in British or German yards; the cost of material does not differ greatly in German and British yards; but the British ship-builder builds many vessels from the same model, has a force of trained workmen almost constantly employed, and can consequently turn out a vessel more quickly than others. The resultant of the factors which enter into first cost of construction is in favor of the British builder; and purchasers, be they Americans, Germans, French, or Norwegians, do resort in large numbers to British yards. Fully 15 per cent of the cost of operation—interest, insurance, and depreciation on capital invested—depends obviously on the first cost. This factor, fixed at the start, can then be omitted in considering the flag under which the supposed steamship will sail. Wages on British vessels are higher than on any other, except American vessels; and the Plimsoll load-line law fixes the amount of cargo which a British vessel can carry below that permitted under other flags. These factors have reduced the amount of merchant shipping under the British flag below what it otherwise might be, and greatly increased of late years the Norwegian merchant marine, which offers as advantages to shipowners, first, excellent sailors of orderly and industrious disposition, willing to serve for relatively low wages; second, the least restraints by legislation; and third, a flag which will be neutral under almost all conceivable mutations of Continental politics.

The deck of a merchant vessel is doubtless part of the soil of the nation whose flag she flies; but that flag is no longer a certain index of the nationality of the shipwrights who built the vessel, or of the seamen who man her, or of the capital which paid for and operates her. A British-built steamship, with a German crew, under the Belgian flag, navigated for the profit of Americans, is not merely a possibility under the existing laws of nations, but an industrial fact. In all computations as to the income to be derived by the United States from a larger participation in the foreign carrying trade, the fact must not be ignored that we already receive the profits of that trade to a very much greater extent than the tonnage of vessels in the deep-sea trade under the

Stars and Stripes indicates. Just as foreign capital amounting to many millions is invested in American railroads, so considerable amounts of American capital control or draw profits from shipping under foreign flags.

The nationality of a vessel is no evidence of the citizenship of the crew. The laws of the United States require that the master, watch officers, and engineers and pilots of American vessels shall be citizens of the United States. The French law goes farther in one direction, and provides that two-thirds of the crew shall be French, while the British law goes to the other extreme, not even requiring the master to be a subject. Most maritime nations content themselves with the requirement that the master shall be a citizen of the nation under whose flag he serves. At present less than one-third of those manning our merchant vessels in foreign trade are citizens, and many of these have become such by naturalization in order to be eligible for promotion. The native-born American has almost wholly ceased to go to sea, except in the navy or as master or mate or engineer of a merchant vessel. The reasons are inherent in the conditions of our industrial growth and are not to be overcome by legislation.

Individually the people of the United States desire the cheapest, safest, quickest, and most regular transportation of their products, whether by rail or by water, between domestic ports only or between domestic and foreign ports. Other things being equal, the exporter of beef, or wheat, or petroleum cannot ship to the Continent by an American-built vessel under the American flag, while a rival exporter ships by a foreign-built vessel under a foreign flag, if the cost of building and operating the American ship is appreciably the greater, necessitating higher freight charges. Collectively, however, the people of the United States are not moved solely by a contemplation of the results of the balance-sheet, though those results cannot be safely ignored. The correction must be made for sentiment, for interest in the expansion of our commercial influence abroad, for the wish for a respectable appearance on the high seas, and for the earnest desire of every right-thinking American that this country shall again have the importance, self-reliance, and strength which have always belonged to nations able to build and navigate a formidable merchant fleet. An American may take pride in a "China," though under a foreign flag; for American enterprise sends her forth. He may take still more pride in a "Paris"; for, though built abroad, she flies his country's flag. His pride is greatest in a "St. Paul," which is the evidence to nations that when its

mind is made up to do so, this country can and will build ships unsurpassed and will sail them.

The American exporter desires the cheapest transportation for his exports. The American shipowner desires that the transportation of exports be confined to vessels under the national flag, as far as practicable, but wishes latitude to buy his vessels and employ his crews where he chooses. The American shipbuilder desires that the shipowner shall buy his ships only in American yards. The American seaman desires that crews shall be composed of citizens. The American people all desire an American merchant marine, which must compete with the shipping of foreign nations on the high seas, that cannot be controlled by the legislation of one country. The problem of reconciling these conflicting desires is the problem before the informal commission representing various interests, to which reference has been made.

The difficulties in the way of such reconciliation might seem well-nigh insuperable, were it not for the fact that, within a limited sphere, they have been already overcome in a manner which appears to have been acceptable to the country. A modern American merchant marine became a possibility from the time that a liberal policy of naval construction was undertaken under the first Administration of President Cleveland. Legislation, and the raising of the American flag over the "New York" during President Harrison's Administration, made the possibility a probability. The launch of the "St. Louis," under President Cleveland's second Administration, made the probability a fact. We have a transatlantic express steamship line equal to that of any nation, and superior in essentials to most lines. We know precisely how it was created. We know that the method of its creation is in accord with the conditions under which competition for the deep-sea carrying trade is conducted. The "American" line is not an experiment. Like the "White Squadron," as far as it goes, it is an accomplished and satisfactory fact. All sections of the country and all parties have joined in framing and maintaining the methods by which present results have been attained. If the policy under which the construction of a creditable navy has made good progress is to be continued and expanded, is there any reason why the concurrent policy under which the beginnings of a creditable merchant fleet have been made, should not also be continued and expanded?

EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

THE PROTECTIVE FEATURES OF "SECTION 22."

THE men who framed and put the finishing touches upon the Tariff Act of July 24, 1897, managed to express in one short section almost as much true Americanism as is to be found in all the other sections of the Act combined. Section 22 not only expresses exigent requirements of the present day, but it voices the faith and courage of the men who shaped the destinies of this country. It at once sets up an effectual barrier against the aggression of the politico-commercial Government of Canada upon American interests, and corrects an egregious error of "free-tradism" which has crept into our relations of maritime reciprocity.

In the following reprint of Section 22, that which is old is shown in Roman type, and that which is new, in italics. So much of former repressive legislation as has been eliminated is included in brackets:—

"Sec. 22. That a discriminating duty of ten per centum ad valorem, in addition to the duties imposed by law, shall be levied, collected, and paid on all goods, wares, or merchandise which shall be imported in vessels not of the United States, *or which being the production or manufacture of any foreign country not contiguous to the United States, shall come into the United States from such contiguous country*; but this discriminating duty shall not apply to goods, wares, or merchandise which shall be imported in vessels not of the United States, entitled *at the time of such importation* by treaty or convention [or any Act of Congress] to be entered in the ports of the United States on payment of the same duties as shall then be payable on goods, wares, and merchandise imported in vessels of the United States, *nor to such foreign products or manufactures as shall be imported from such contiguous countries in the usual course of strictly retail trade.*"

A careful examination of this comprehensive piece of legislation exposes clearly the fact that it is logically articulated, that it involves no complication of construction, and that upon its face the intent of the legislator is so clear that its meaning is beyond question.

Let us first consider the precise barrier which this intensely expressive enactment sets up against Canadian aggression. This has already

found practical illustration in concrete cases which have confronted the Administrative branch of the Government. Within two weeks from the time the new Tariff Act became law, the Collector of Customs at Detroit reported to the Secretary of the Treasury the importation at that port of ninety thousand dollars' worth of diamonds from Canada, and asked if the 10-per-cent discriminating duty provided in Section 22 should be levied upon it. At about the same time the Collector of Customs at Chicago, Illinois, reported the entry at that port of an invoice of tea brought from Japan in a British ship to the Canadian port of Vancouver, and transported across the continent over the Canadian Pacific Railway and its connecting rail lines under consular seal to Chicago. The Collector at Chicago reported this case to the Secretary of the Treasury and asked for instructions as to whether the discriminating duty mentioned in Section 22 should or should not be imposed upon this tea. The Secretary referred both these cases to the Attorney-General of the United States, who, on August 11, in deciding the first case, stated that, in view of the fact that the diamonds in question were the product of a foreign country not contiguous to the United States, but that they had come into the United States from a contiguous foreign country, they were subject to the discriminating duty of 10 per centum provided in Section 22, without any regard to the question as to whether they were brought into the United States in a vessel or in a railroad-car.

Such importations from contiguous countries, as well as the border trade referred to in the last clause of Section 22, constitute a relatively small part of the trade between the United States and contiguous foreign countries.

At the time of writing, the other case has not been decided. This case involves considerations of great importance touching the relations of commerce and transportation between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, as well as the exigent question of adequate protection to the American merchant marine, to which the political party now in power is pledged in its platform of 1896. This will become evident from the following historical statements:

About the year 1848, the line of Canadian canals connecting Lake Erie with ocean navigation at Montreal was completed. The Canadian Government, as owner and operator of this line of canals, then became a sharp competitor of the State of New York, as owner and operator of the Erie Canal. Montreal also became a competitor of the city of New York. Such competition, however, now plays a very unimportant part

in the great contest for trade as between the West and that State of the Atlantic seaboard, or as between the West and foreign countries. But the forces of nature oppose it. The St. Lawrence River is closed by ice for six months of the year, and greatly obstructed by fogs for two months more; thus reducing unimpeded navigation by that route to about four months in the year. This, and the extensive facilities now afforded for transportation by rail, have forced the Canadians to seek ingress from and egress to foreign countries beyond the sea through Atlantic sea-ports of the United States. Thus was inaugurated what is known as

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN TRANSIT TRADE.

This trade had its origin in that freedom of contract which has inspired the growth and evolution of the American railroad system. During the winter of 1848-49, certain foreign goods consigned to Montreal arrived at the port of New York, and were there placed in a Government bonded warehouse. Thereupon the Collector of Customs at New York propounded to the Secretary of the Treasury this question: If foreign goods can be transported from a ship to a bonded warehouse, and subsequently be transported from the warehouse through the streets of New York to a ship for reexportation to a foreign country without payment of duty in the United States, why may not goods be delivered on board a canal-boat, or on a railroad-car, to be sent through the United States to Canada under proper regulations for the protection of the revenue from customs? The Secretary acceded to the view expressed by the Collector; and thus was inaugurated what is known as "the foreign transit trade." This has assumed large proportions, mainly through the ports of Portland, Maine, Boston, and New York. For many years this trade has been carried on during the entire year over American and Canadian railroads.

Another branch of the United States and Canadian transit trade, commonly known as "the domestic transit trade," came into existence in March, 1855, upon the completion of the railroad suspension bridge across the Niagara River, about two miles below Niagara Falls. Here again administrative discretion met the exigency. In the absence of any law upon the subject, a commercial possibility was again interpreted as implying a commercial privilege. Under adequate regulations for the protection of the revenue from customs, Canada allowed goods to be transported from Suspension Bridge to Detroit and *vice versa* without payment of duty; and the United States Government, in

pursuance of Treasury regulations, allowed such goods to reënter the United States without the imposition of duties.

Not only are goods allowed to pass freely between the two countries in the conduct of the transit trade without payment of duties, but the custom has come into vogue of allowing the locomotives and cars of one country to pass into and out of the other country without payment of duty. This arrangement differs radically from the rules applying to vessels under our navigation laws.

The transit trade had its origin and justification on the eastern side of the continent in the conditions of ice and fogs, and of interjecting territory. These conditions gave to it an adequate reason for existence. But the extension of the privileges of the transit trade to the western side of the continent, where no such justifying conditions exist, has caused much trouble, and has led to an assault by the politico-commercial Government of the Dominion of Canada upon American shipping interests, upon American seaports on the Pacific Coast, and upon American internal transportation lines.

Besides its extensive canal system, the Dominion Government built, and now owns and operates as a Government railroad, the intercolonial railway from Montreal to Halifax, constructed at a cost of about \$55,000,000. That Government has also constructed and now operates certain other railroads of a local character. But the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, at a cost of about \$215,000,000, is the heroic work of the Dominion Government. This amount, including cash contributions, cost of road, Government lands, guaranteed bonds, etc., was donated, as a matter of governmental policy, to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, a private corporation. The Dominion Government, however, retains a commercial and political control of its operations, which causes it to be classified as a "Government line."

The Dominion Government now owns, operates, or controls an extensive system of canals and river improvements and about 13,000 miles of railroad. This necessarily imposes upon that Government a degree of responsibility for the commercial welfare of the Dominion which has no parallel in the conduct of the Government of the United States. For this reason, the Government of the United States is always at a disadvantage in its relationships of commerce and transportation with Canada, for while the attitude of the Government of this country toward foreign nations is always ingenuously political, that of Canada toward the United States is always deftly commercial.

The Canadian Pacific Railway system, extending from St. John,

New Brunswick, to Vancouver, British Columbia, with its various lines, leased, or operated for owners, has a total length of 7,250 miles.

As already stated, from the time when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed until now it has been operated in a manner aggressive toward American interests. A clear understanding of this fact involves a brief reference to organic features of the transit trade, as well as to the provisions of statute law, of treaty, and of Treasury regulation that determine our Canadian relationships.

Section 5 of the Act of July 28, 1866, legalized "the foreign transit trade," while Section 6 legalized "the domestic transit trade." Section 6 empowers, but does not make it obligatory upon, the Secretary of the Treasury to establish new "transit" lines whereby goods may be transported from one port or place in the United States through contiguous foreign territory to another port or place in the United States without payment of duty. This Act was passed fifteen years before the work of construction on the Canadian Pacific Railway was begun.

The only provision of treaty as between the United States and Great Britain in regard to the transit trade is to be found in Article XXIX of the Treaty of Washington, concluded May 8, 1871—ten years before the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was chartered.

The second paragraph of that Article grants to citizens of the United States the privilege of importing goods at ports of Canada and of transporting them through that country without the payment of duty. This is a privilege which the Government of the United States can accept or reject at pleasure. It has no binding force whatsoever except upon the Dominion Government. Both President Cleveland and President Harrison expressed the opinion that this article of the Treaty of 1871 had been abrogated. This however is a controverted question. In the opinion of able lawyers, the whole transit trade was abolished by the terms of Section 2860 of the Revised Statutes.

The Canadian Pacific Railway was opened for traffic in June, 1886. The officers of that company, with an assurance inspired by the aggressive Dominion Government, of which it is the *alter ego*, at once applied to the Secretary of the Treasury for permission to engage in both the domestic and the foreign transit trade of the United States. That privilege embraces, first, the right to transport goods from points in our Pacific-Coast States to points in the States east of the Rocky Mountains and *vice versa*, in competition with the American lines, and, second, to receive foreign goods at Vancouver consigned to points in the United States east of the Rocky Mountains.

There were three potent reasons why this presumptuous request should have been refused.

First, as already explained, the transit trade had its origin and *raison d'être* on the eastern side of the continent in the conditions of ice and fogs, interjecting territory, and the fact that the territory of the United States lies between the richest portion of the Dominion and the Atlantic Ocean.

Second, the foreign transit trade on the eastern side of the continent brings Canadian commerce to American transportation lines and to American seaports; whereas on the western side of the continent the foreign transit trade diverts American commerce from American ships, American seaports, and American internal lines of transportation, and this with no possible corresponding advantage to be derived from Canadian commerce.

Third, the subvention of \$215,000,000 to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company by the Dominion Government amounts, at 5 per cent interest, to an annual subsidy of over ten million dollars, available for the diversion of American commerce from American ships, seaports, and transportation lines. Besides, a British steamer line between Vancouver and China and Japan receives a subsidy of \$300,000 a year from the British and Canadian Governments.

In the light of these facts, the Secretary of the Treasury would have been fully justified in refusing the privileges of the transit trade to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Unfortunately and, as it has proved, most unwisely, Secretary Manning of the Treasury Department decided to allow the Canadian Pacific Railway Company all the privileges sought by it. But he did not stop even there. He facilitated the audacious schemes of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company through the facile device of a *consular seal*, thus inaugurating a glaring and most unjust discrimination against American ships, seaports, and internal transportation lines. This unjust discrimination against American interests is explained thus:—

Our laws concerning the transportation of dutiable goods from seaports of the United States to interior points in the United States, require that a consular invoice of such goods shall, for example, be delivered to the Customs officer at San Francisco for examination; that entry of the goods shall be made at that port; that the goods shall be shipped under a transportation bond for the security of the duties; that the railroads over which the transportation takes place shall also be bonded, and that the cars in which they are carried shall be sealed. But, for the

especial accommodation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, foreign goods to be shipped east from Vancouver to points in the United States east of the Rocky Mountains are received by a Consular Agent of the State Department. He certifies to manifests of American goods at Vancouver, and forwards them over the Canadian Pacific Railway without examination or certifying to the invoices, and without bonding the goods. Nor is the railway itself bonded. The whole procedure is grossly irregular, if indeed it be not absolutely unwarranted by our laws.

Besides, an inspector of the Customs District of Puget Sound is stationed at Vancouver for the purpose of removing the seals from vessels arriving at that port from ports of the States of Washington, Oregon, and California with American goods destined to ports of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains. He also seals the cars of the Canadian Pacific Railway which carry such goods east. The same officer also attends to the receipt of American merchandise in cars at Vancouver from the east, and supervises the transfer of such goods to vessels bound to American ports. This, like the consular-sealing business, is prejudicial to the proper administration of the Customs service.

The first sign of effective resistance to this most injurious assault upon American interests is found in Section 22 of the Tariff Act of July 24, 1897. That Section, quoted in full at the beginning of this article, provides that a discriminating duty of 10 per centum ad valorem shall be levied upon two clearly designated classes of imports: First, goods imported at American seaports in vessels not of the United States; and second, goods which, being the production or manufacture of any foreign country not contiguous to the United States, shall come into the United States from such contiguous foreign country. There is a clause in the section which exempts from this rule goods imported in foreign vessels entitled by treaty to the privilege of entry at seaports of the United States on payment of the same duties as shall be payable on goods imported in American vessels. This exemption evidently applies only to foreign goods entered at seaports of the United States in foreign vessels.

The Attorney-General of the United States, in deciding the diamond import case before mentioned, declares that it matters not whether goods of the second class come into the United States in cars or in vessels. It is also evident that the terms of Section 22 make no distinction as to whether goods from non-contiguous foreign countries are brought to the ports of such contiguous countries in American vessels or in for-

eign vessels. Therefore, it appears to be beyond all question that the exempting clause which specifically applies to imports at American ports in foreign vessels does not apply to imports of the second class, *i. e.*, those which come into the United States from a contiguous foreign country.

It is earnestly to be hoped that Congress and the Administration will not only find it proper to sustain this view as to the meaning of Section 22, but that both will unite in the resolve that, in the future, goods, the product of this country, shall not be transported from one point in the United States to another point in the United States over the Canadian Pacific Railway, without the payment of duty. As already shown, the privileges of the domestic transit trade exist on the eastern side of the continent under natural conditions of reciprocal advantage, whereas no such conditions present themselves on the western side of the continent.

The commercial interests of the Pacific-Coast States, and especially of their seaports, are deeply involved in the present issue.

It is time to draw broad and evidently just and beneficial lines of discrimination in the management of our commercial relations with our grasping neighbor along our northern boundary line. If the adoption of such a line of policy needs any incentive beyond the object of protecting American interests, it is undoubtedly furnished in the aggressive acts of the Dominion Government. I refer particularly to the ill-treatment of American fishermen in the ports of the Dominion of Canada on the Atlantic seaboard, to the aggression upon our seal-fisheries in Behring Sea, to the discriminations against American vessels on the Lakes in the matter of entrance and clearance fees, to the refusal of the Canadian Government to allow American citizens to go to the relief of American vessels wrecked in Canadian waters, and to discriminating canal tolls,—matters which have involved great injustice to the people of this country along our northern frontier. Certain of these abuses have been abated upon the stern protest of the Government of the United States.

In their Third Annual Report the Interstate Commerce Commission makes the following statement in regard to unjust discriminations by the Canadian railroad companies:—

"They are practically under no restrictions imposed by their own statutes in respect to long and short haul traffic, but are at liberty to charge high rates on local business to indemnify for losses on through or international business. Their managers deny, with more or less emphasis, that their local traffic is subjected to higher rates, but when the liberty to make such charges and the necessity for it can exist,

the inducement, at least, is strong. The provisions of the Canadian statute on this subject, are as follows :

'SEC. 226. The company in fixing or regulating the tolls to be demanded and taken for the transportation of goods, shall, *except in respect to through traffic to or from the United States*, adopt and conform to any uniform classification of freight which the governor in council on the report of the minister from time to time prescribes.

SEC. 232. No company in fixing any toll or rate shall, under like conditions and circumstances, make any unjust or partial discrimination between different localities, but no discrimination between localities, *which, by reason of competition by water or railway, it is necessary to make to secure traffic*, shall be deemed to be unjust or partial.'

These enactments give all traffic carried in competition with our carriers unlimited freedom."

For many years the Dominion Government has imposed a discriminating duty of 20 per cent on silver coin of the United States.

In the Canadian Tariff Act, which became law on June 29, 1897, —about a month before the Dingley Act became law in this country, —the Dominion Government reenacted a discriminating duty of 10 per cent on tea and of two cents per pound and 10 per cent on coffee when imported into the Dominion of Canada from the United States. The same tariff allows tea and coffee to be imported from Great Britain free of duty. Other discriminations in favor of Great Britain appear in the recently enacted Canadian tariff.

The discriminating duty of 10 per cent on foreign imports through Canada, provided in the Dingley Act, is evidently a just and proper response to this discrimination by Canada against this country.

In the attempt to pass a just and intelligent judgment upon the actual relationships sustained by Canada to the United States, we must not lose sight of the fact that "Canada is a nation." This fact was boldly proclaimed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Queen Victoria's jubilee. In her speech proroguing Parliament on August 6 last, the Queen said :

"I have given notice to the King of the Belgians and the German Emperor to terminate the treaties of 1862 and 1865, whereby I am prevented from making with my colonies such fiscal arrangements within my empire as seem to me expedient."

The "arrangements" thus alluded to by the Queen are essentially treaties with independent British nations, styled by political euphemism British "colonies."

This utterance of the British Queen evidently demands a vigilant regard for the interests of the United States, in so far as concerns our Canadian relations in respect of commerce and transportation.

A careful review of the relationships existing between the United States and Canada, with special reference to the present status, appears to indicate that the provision of Section 22 of the Act of July 24, 1897, in regard to a discriminating duty of 10 per cent on all foreign goods not the product of a contiguous country which shall come into the United States from a contiguous country, is not only timely, but constitutes a just and proper act of protection, in harmony with the avowed principles of the political party now in power.

I now pass to the consideration of that feature of Section 22 which has direct reference to

THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN SHIPPING.

This is found in the omitted words "or any Act of Congress" in connection with the section repealing former provisions of law.

The discriminating duty of 10 per cent on goods imported in foreign vessels has stood upon the statute-books of the United States for more than a hundred years. Its original purpose was the protection of the American merchant marine. The Second Act of the First Congress of the United States, approved July 4, 1789, provided that a discount of 10 per cent should be allowed on the duty payable on all goods imported in American vessels. This first declaration of commercial independence became law on the anniversary of the natal day of American independence by the signature of George Washington. The protective policy toward American shipping thus inaugurated remained unchanged until the Act of March 3, 1815, which provided that no discrimination in duties should be levied upon goods or merchandise *when imported in the ships of the nation of which such goods were the produce or manufacture*, provided that the nation to which such privilege was granted should make a similar regulation in favor of American ships laden with goods the produce or manufacture of the United States. Thus we invited the whole world to maritime reciprocity in the direct trade between nations. Just four months later, viz., on July 3, 1815, a treaty of commerce and navigation was concluded with Great Britain upon these precise terms.

But in 1828 the United States ventured upon the policy of absolute maritime reciprocity, whereby the ships of any nation coming from any port whatever laden with goods, the produce of any nation, were to be allowed to enter at ports of the United States on the same conditions with regard to duties and tonnage taxation as applied to American

vessels; this privilege being extended to any nation according similar privileges to American vessels in its own ports.

This provision of the Act of May 24, 1828, is known as Section 4228 of the Revised Statutes. It embodies the principle of free trade in the conduct of shipping, and it has met the fate of every free-trade experiment that has been attempted in this country.

One nation after another accepted the above-mentioned proposition. Pledged to her old exclusive maritime policy, England for twenty-three years stood aloof. Finally, by the Act of 12 and 13 Victoria, Chap. 29 (June 26, 1849),—a tardy follower of the policy of free shipping which the United States had inaugurated twenty-one years before,—England abolished all her time-honored navigation laws. But even then she withheld the courtesy of notifying our Government of the change in her laws which was to take effect January 1, 1850. In reply to inquiries as to what course would be pursued by the Government of the United States toward British vessels, the Secretary of the Treasury issued the following order:

"Circular Instructions to Collectors and other Officers of the Customs.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, October 15, 1849.

In consequence of questions submitted by merchants and others, asking, in consideration of the recent alteration of the British navigation laws, on what footing the commercial relations between the United States and Great Britain will be placed on and after January 1 next, the day on which the recent Act of the British Parliament goes into operation, the Department deems it expedient at this time to issue the following general instructions for the information of the officers of the customs and others interested:

First—In consequence of the alterations of the British navigation laws above referred to, British vessels, from British or other foreign ports, will (under our existing laws) after January 1 next be allowed to enter in our ports with cargoes of the growth, manufacture, or production of any part of the world.

Second—Such vessels and their cargoes will be admitted, from and after the date before mentioned, on the same terms, as to duties, imposts, and charges, as vessels of the United States and their cargoes.

W. M. MEREDITH,

Secretary of the Treasury."

Under the privileges accorded by this circular—and not by the provisions of any treaty—the right to enter at ports of the United States from any port on the globe with goods, wares, or merchandise, the product of any nation whatever, upon the same terms as American vessels, has been enjoyed by British vessels since January 1, 1850. This defines the status of British vessels in our ports up to July 24, 1897, when the present tariff act became law.

And now, in order to set in a clear light the change which has recently been made in our maritime policy, let us recur to certain Acts which have direct reference to the 10-per-cent duty imposed on goods imported in foreign vessels. By an Act of Congress, approved June 30, 1864, the old discriminating duty of 10 per cent which still applied to the ships of nations that had not accepted our free-shipping policy inaugurated in 1828, was reenacted. In the Revised Statutes it reads as follows:—

"Section 2502. A discriminating duty of 10 per centum ad valorem, in addition to the duties imposed by law, shall be levied, collected, and paid on all goods, wares, and merchandise which shall be imported in vessels not of the United States; but this discriminating duty shall not apply to goods, wares, and merchandise which shall be imported in vessels of the United States, entitled, by treaty *or any Act of Congress*, to be entered in the ports of the United States on payment of the same duties as shall then be paid on goods, wares, and merchandise imported in vessels of the United States."

The words "or any Act of Congress" exempted British vessels and the vessels of all other countries that had accepted the conditions of our maritime policy of 1828. This Section (2502) of the Revised Statutes was repeated in the McKinley Act of 1890, also in the Wilson Act of 1894, and it appeared unchanged in the Dingley Bill of 1897 as it passed the House of Representatives. But in the Senate an exceedingly important change was made. The Senate Committee on Finance struck out the entire section. In this form the bill was reported to the Senate. In the Senate, however, the section was restored. The words "or any Act of Congress" were stricken out, and the word "convention," synonymous with "treaty," was introduced. The debate upon this action in the Senate on July 3 was as follows: Mr. Allison moved that the section as reported by the House should be restored. This was agreed to. Mr. Allison then moved that the words "or any Act of Congress" be stricken out. This was also agreed to. By this omission the exemption from the discriminating duty of 10 per cent was withdrawn. The exempting clause now reads as follows:

"But this discriminating duty shall not apply to goods, wares, or merchandise which shall be imported in vessels not of the United States, entitled at the time of such importation by treaty or convention to be entered in the ports of the United States on payment of the same duties as shall then be payable on goods, wares or merchandise imported in vessels of the United States."

As the repealing section of the Acts of 1890, 1894, and 1897 repealed the corresponding section of the previous Act, and all Acts and

parts of Acts inconsistent with its provisions, it seems that Section 22 of the Act of July 24, 1897, withdraws from foreign vessels the privileges of the Act of May 24, 1828, and throws our relations of maritime reciprocity back upon treaty provisions. By this means, the benefits of that Act were withdrawn from the vessels of Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Japan, and certain other countries.

With Sweden, Germany, Austria, Brazil, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Greece, Chile, Argentina, Haiti, Hawaii, Holland, Russia, and Turkey, the Government of the United States has concluded treaties on the broad basis of maritime reciprocity provided in the act of May 24, 1828. The vessels of such countries will therefore not be affected by the provisions of Section 22 of our present Tariff Act.

It is sufficient, in this connection, to allude to the fact that the ships of Great Britain, our most formidable rival on the seas, are excluded from that benefit.

A few years after the late war, the public mind in this country was agitated by the fact that there had not been a complete restoration of American shipping, especially as all the internal industries of the country and its vast and innumerable sources of wealth exhibited, under the high protective war duties which even then prevailed, a degree of prosperity unparalleled in the history of the country. The population of the United States doubled between 1860 and 1890, and the wealth of the country increased fourfold.

And now, by way of comparison, turn to the brief and lamentable story of American shipping in competition with British shipping under our free-trade policy of 1828, accepted by Great Britain in 1849. The percentage of imports into the United States in American vessels fell from 63 per cent in 1860 to 33 per cent in 1870 and to 15.7 per cent in 1896. The actual value of imports and exports in American vessels fell from \$352,969,401 in 1870 to \$187,691,887 in 1896.

If the policy of protection, so grandly vindicated in the iron-and-steel industry, and in all our other industries exposed to foreign competition, had been applied to our shipping interests at the close of the late war, there is no reason to doubt but that we should have realized equally grand results upon the seas, instead of a continual and lamentable decadence under our free-trade policy of 1828, entered upon tentatively twenty-two years before England became a free-trade country.

As an officer of the Government, in the year 1871, I presented a report to the Secretary of the Treasury, in which I discussed at some length the subject of "Foreign Commerce and the Practical Workings

of Maritime Reciprocity." This report was transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury, and is known as H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 76—XLI. Congress, third session. I cannot better express my views as to the advisability of curtailing the privileges of the Act of May 24, 1828, than in the following extract from that report:

"The policy of maritime reciprocity has been fully and fairly tried. With all other nations than England we have held our own. The mutual advantages afforded by these relations of trade are apparent, and are not to be surrendered or abandoned without careful consideration.

In the totally changed condition of maritime affairs a question of great moment presents itself as to whether we cannot more easily meet any opposition of England arising from a modification or partial abrogation of our relations of maritime reciprocity than we can meet her competition under the unrestricted operations of the policy of free shipping. Shall we permit England, our only maritime rival, to grasp our commerce with every nation on the globe, or shall we secure a part of that commerce to our own ships? In other words, Shall we abridge the freedom of shipping which is simply the freedom of British ships to run American ships off the seas?"

The views of Governmental policy thus expressed in 1871 have been abundantly confirmed by the experiences of the last twenty-six years.

Since the year 1865, various expedients have been adopted for the restoration of the American merchant marine; but all have proved utterly futile. This is clearly indicated by the continual relative decline of American tonnage employed in our foreign commerce. Section 22 of the present Tariff Act, by throwing the vessels of Great Britain and certain other countries back upon their treaty rights, promises abundant relief.

It was fitting and highly expedient that this remedy should have been applied at the present time. The platform of the Republican Party of 1896 contained the following expression of faith and purpose:

"We favor restoring the American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce."

Section 22 is the specific performance of this patriotic purpose.

Let us indulge the hope that the good work thus begun will lead to some general policy protective of the interests of American shipping, and equitable toward all the commercial nations of the globe.

JOSEPH NIMMO, JR.

THE IMPENDING DEFICIENCY OF BREAD-STUFFS.

ONLY the populations of European lineage inhabiting Asiatic Russia, the United States, Canada, Australasia, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, South Africa, and Europe and its colonies can be termed "bread-eaters," which, numbering 371,000,000 in 1871, now aggregate 510,000,000; the increase equalling 37.5 per cent.

Owing to the cessation of war among the nations of European blood, greater freedom from destructive epidemics, and improved sanitary conditions, the "bread-eaters" are increasing at a much greater rate than ever, and annual additions are nearly one-half greater than twenty-five years ago. Aside from the increase due to an accelerating rate, there is a progressive enhancement following from the geometrical growth emphasized by Malthus. While annual additions numbered some 4,800,000 in the earlier years of the eighth decade, they now number nearly 6,400,000, and each year adds about 100,000 to the annual increment. Such an increase of the consuming element necessitates progressively greater annual additions to the areas employed in growing the bread-making grains; and current additions, instead of being nil, as they have been during the last thirteen years, should be nearly one-half greater than in the early 'seventies.

From 1870 to 1880, the "bread-eating" populations increased by additions equalling 1.16 per cent per annum; while from 1880 to 1890 the annual rate of increase was 1.27 per cent. Censuses recently taken indicate a higher rate of increase since 1890.

Of the greater populations, those of the United States, Russia, Hungary, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, Austria, Italy, and France increase at rates diminishing in the order named.

With one notable exception, the economic condition of the "bread-eating" populations has improved since 1870. In Hungary and Scandinavia the improvement has been phenomenal. The changes have been reflected in many ways, but in none more strikingly than in improvements in national dietaries. With the exception of Russia, and possibly Turkey, all Europe has shared, in greater or less degree, in the improvement in this direction. In the United Kingdom, for instance,

the dietary of the industrial classes has long been a comparatively high one; yet unit consumption of wheat has there been 4 per cent greater in the six years ending with 1895 than in the preceding six; while unit consumption of meats, fruits, and dairy products has increased in even greater measure. At the same time, unit consumption of potatoes and other low or cheap forms of food has diminished in a relative degree.

In France, annual unit consumption of wheat rose from 7.2 bushels per annum in the eighth decade, to 8.01 bushels for the five years ending with 1895; while unit consumption of rye fell from 1.54 to 1.45 bushels and that of maslin declined from 0.45 to 0.25 of a bushel. At the same time the unit supply of buckwheat was reduced from 0.7 of a bushel to 0.5 of a bushel; unit consumption of potatoes declining in much the same measure.

Want of space forbids the particularization of changes in all the countries of Europe, and it must suffice to direct attention to some of the more pronounced in the unit's ration of wheat; remarking that additions to the unit's wheat ration have been invariably accompanied by equivalent changes in the unit's consumption of cheaper forms of food.

Since 1871, Europe's population has increased by additions aggregating 91,000,000, or 30 per cent, while European rye-fields have shrunk 4,700,000 acres, or 4.5 per cent; those under spelt and maslin 1,300,000 acres, or 23 per cent, and those under buckwheat 6,500,000 acres, or 40 per cent. On the other hand, acres under potatoes show an increase of 5,800,000 acres, or 27 per cent, as against population's increase of 30 per cent. There has been a marked decrease of European unit consumption of potatoes, except in Russia, where there has been a great increase owing to the growing poverty of the mass of the population.

The most notable change of the last thirty years in the economic condition of a great population is probably that which has obtained in Hungary since it became autonomous. So great has been the improvement—much greater than in Austria—that unit consumption of wheat in Austria-Hungary has risen from 2.2 bushels per annum in the eighth decade to 4.1 bushels for the five years ending with 1895, or an increase of 86 per cent. Separately, Hungary shows an increase of 110 per cent. This explains a great decline in Austro-Hungarian exports of bread-stuffs, notwithstanding a great increase of wheat production.

All Scandinavia has been exceptionally prosperous, and shows great advances in the quality of food consumed; annual unit consumption of wheat having increased about 100 per cent within twenty-five years.

In Belgium, where unit consumption of wheat has long been high,

the increase, since the close of the eighth decade, has been 57 per cent; while unit consumption of the other bread-making grains has diminished in like measure. In Holland and Germany, similar changes have occurred, though less pronounced.

As regards Italy, available data show little change in unit consumption of the various primary food-staples, probably because economic conditions, as affecting the mass of the population, have improved but little in the last twenty-five years.

That there has been a great change in the proportions of the bread-making grains consumed in Europe, in recent decades, is obvious from the fact that while population has increased 30 per cent since 1870, the rye area of Europe has shrunk 4.5 per cent, with but trifling imports of rye from other countries. Relatively to population, Europe's rye area of 1871 was 42 per cent greater than that of 1896.

More than 85 per cent of Russia's great population finds employment upon the land; and since the emancipation of the serfs the lands of the village communes have been repeatedly subdivided among a rapidly increasing number of families. Subdivision has been carried so far, and with such undesirable results, that the Czar has recently forbidden it except by administrative permission, as holdings only large enough to support one family thirty years ago have, by partitions, become wholly inadequate; thus forcing the use of coarser forms of food, intensifying conditions of unthrift, and lowering the standard of living. Such changes in the economic condition of the mass of the population are reflected in pronounced dietary changes, affecting nearly a hundred million people; unit consumption of wheat having declined 14 per cent, and that of rye 13.5 per cent, since the close of the eighth decade. On the other hand, unit consumption of maize and potatoes has increased; the increase in the case of the latter being 13.5 per cent.

Governmental recognition of the lowering of the standard of living in Russia is evident in the official statement that prior to 1880 the consumption of bread had fallen 17 per cent below minimum requirements. Data relating to population, and production and exportation of the bread-making grains since 1880, indicate a further reduction of nearly 14 per cent in the unit bread-ration, which has now fallen 30 per cent below the minimum requisite for health and comfort.

In 1893, Prof. Karysheff cited, in the "Russkoe Bogatstvo," official data showing that the seed grain sown per unit had fallen 14 per cent since the middle of the seventh decade, notwithstanding an enormous

increase of exports ; while the area under grains had ceased to expand. It was also shown that, to satisfy increasing demands on the part of the tax-collectors, the peasantry were being forced to part with progressively greater proportions of the grain grown.

Had not unit consumption of wheat declined in Russia since 1880, Russian exports of that grain during the last sixteen years would have been 250,000,000 bushels less ; and had unit consumption of rye equalled that of the eighth decade, not only would the 750,000,000 bushels of rye exported since 1880 have been consumed at home, but domestic requirements would have absorbed 350,000,000 additional bushels of the wheat exported. That is to say, a reduction, since 1880, of 13.5 per cent in Russian unit consumption of bread has served to add 1,360,000,000 bushels to the importing countries' supply of the bread-making grains, has prevented scarcity in Central and Western Europe, and has been one of the most potent factors in causing world-wide agricultural depression, as well as that seeming abundance which has been the despair of the cultivator, inducing the optimist to believe that the world had entered upon an unending era of plethoric supplies of cheap food.

Only in Russia, and possibly Turkey, has unit consumption of wheat declined. In Roumania it has increased and that of maize diminished. And while official data are unsatisfactory in relation to soil production in Bulgaria, Servia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, there is abundant evidence that since the Turk ceased to rule, economic conditions have improved in those countries ; and this should have brought, and doubtless has brought, an improvement in the national dietaries.

Spanish and Portuguese data are as unsatisfactory as those relating to the Balkan states ; but everything in the shape of evidence points to an increase of unit consumption of wheat and meats, and proportionate changes in that of the cheaper forms of food. Imports of wheat have certainly increased much more rapidly than population ; while there has been little change in the relative areas employed in growing that grain.

Although the Swiss bread-grain areas could not have decreased much, being so small, the imports of wheat have increased much more rapidly than population ; indicating an increase of unit consumption in consonance with the growing prosperity of Switzerland's population.

In relation to the consumption of the bread-making grains in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile, few satisfactory data are available ; but the recent European emigration has doubtless increased the proportion of wheat and diminished that of maize in the dietaries

of Argentina and Uruguay; while Chilean wheat consumption has long been, relatively to population, but little below that of Belgium. In Brazil, emancipation and higher prices for coffee have stimulated the use of wheat and other high forms of food.

Australasian consumption of wheat per unit is the greatest known; and unit consumption of wheat is only less than that of France and Belgium, having steadily increased during the last twenty-five years.

While the belief is general that, since employment became less continuous for the mass of the industrial population, unit consumption of wheat in the United States has declined, yet the opposite is probably true, as bread has been the cheapest food obtainable. Since the close of the Civil War, there has certainly been a material increase of unit consumption south of the Potomac and Ohio; and there is no evidence in support of lessened consumption in the North. If we accept commercial additions to the official estimates of the last six wheat crops—as we doubtless should in part—unit consumption has certainly increased in recent years.

In relation to but a small part of the world's grain-bearing areas are reliable data available prior to 1870; and only recently has any attempt been made to assemble such as deal with production and consumption, since 1870, by the "bread-eating" world as a whole. Only the present writer seems to have made any attempt to measure the synchronous increase of population and the acres bearing the grains consumed by such populations. Investigations, pursued concurrently with the assembling of data relating to population, acreage, and production, show that unit consumption of wheat by the "bread-eating" world, as a whole, has increased steadily since 1870; while unit consumption of rye, spelt, maslin, and buckwheat (grains grown as exclusively for bread as is wheat) has as steadily declined, and in much the same measure as unit consumption of wheat increased.

Using official data for more than 95 per cent of the areas occupied by the "bread-eaters," and commercial estimates for the smaller fraction, it is found that the product of the areas so occupied—and which for convenience may be termed the "contributory areas"—plus imports from Asia and North Africa, has been such, in each of three periods indicated, as to afford annual average unit quotas of the "bread-making" grains as shown in table on page 178.

While unit consumption of wheat is shown to have steadily increased, that of other bread-making grains has as steadily declined, although that of rye shrank but little in the later period, owing to the

fact that seven out of the nine crops gave acre-yields greatly above the average; such yields resulting from a succession of exceptionally favorable seasons over all the greater producing districts.

ANNUAL UNIT SUPPLY, IN BUSHELS.

Periods.	Wheat.	Rye.	Spelt and Maslin.	Buckwheat.	Totals.
1871-78	3.552	2.683	0.181	0.376	6.792
1879-86	3.777	2.353	0.176	0.316	6.623
1887-95	3.899	2.350	0.160	0.227	6.630
Averages.	3.743	2.462	0.172	0.306	6.681

So marked has been the change in the acreage under the bread-making grains, relatively to the consuming population, *that the area employed in growing wheat, rye, spelt, maslin, and buckwheat is now two million acres less than fifteen years ago, and but twenty million acres greater than in 1871.* Had the rate of area increase equalled the 37.5 per cent at which the "bread-eaters" increased, additions to the bread-grain area, since 1871, would have aggregated much more than 80,000,000 acres, instead of the meagre 20,000,000. This startling disparity in the rates of increase indicates either an excessive acreage in 1871, or one now largely defective. That the acreage was not excessive in the early part of the eighth decade is evident from prices then obtaining, and the absence of unmanageable surpluses of grain.

	1871.	1882.	1897.	Increase, %
"Bread-eating" Population....	371,000,000	422,000,000	510,000,000	37.5

Grain.	1871. Acres.	1882. Acres.	1896. Acres.	Increase or Decrease in 25 years, %
Wheat.....	125,800,000	150,000,000	158,000,000	25.6 +
Rye.....	111,000,000	110,500,000	106,500,000	4.1 -
Spelt and Maslin.	5,700,000	4,900,000	4,400,000	22.8 -
Buckwheat.....	16,200,000	14,900,000	9,500,000	40.8 -
Total.....	258,700,000	280,300,000	278,400,000	7.6 +

Movements of the "bread-eating" population, and acreages under the bread-making grains in the regions inhabited by the "bread-eaters," and which contribute their entire product, exclusive of quantities required for seed, to the food supply of such populations, have been, since 1871, as shown in the preceding table.

This exhibit is significant in many respects. The wheat area of the countries inhabited by the "bread-eaters"—who procure less than 1 per cent of their supplies from Asia and North Africa—is shown to have increased 24,200,000 acres, or 11.2 per cent, between 1871 and 1882, and but 8,000,000 acres, or 5.3 per cent, between 1882 and 1896; the increase in twenty-five years equalling 25.6 per cent, as against a population increase of 37.5 per cent.

Outside of the regions inhabited by the "bread-eaters" there are—in India, Persia, Asiatic Turkey, and North Africa—some 40,000,000 acres employed in growing wheat; but exports from all such regions aggregate, in recent years, less than 20,000,000 bushels per annum, and decline gradually as the populations of such countries increase; hence, for the bread required, the populations of European lineage must rely, for more than 99 per cent, upon the "contributory areas" they occupy.

The full significance of the wide difference in the rates at which acres under the bread-making grains and the units consuming such grains have increased since 1871 is shown in the following table:

Grain.	Fraction of Acre per Unit.			Loss in unit quota, part of acre.	Ratio less than in 1871, %.
	1871.	1882.	1896.		
Wheat.....	0.339	0.356 +	0.310 —	0.029 —	8.6 —
Rye.....	0.297	0.263 —	0.209 —	0.088 —	29.3 —
Spelt and Maslin.....	0.015	0.012 —	0.009 —	0.006 —	40.0 —
Buckwheat.....	0.044	0.035 —	0.019 —	0.025 —	56.8 —
Totals.....	0.695	0.665 —	0.547 —	0.148 —	21.3 —

It appears that while the average *acreage* quota, under the bread-making grains, of the "bread-eating" unit was 0.695 of an acre twenty-five years ago, *it has since been reduced by more than one-fifth*. This portentous fact indicates that statesmen must soon face more serious problems than those of the tariff and the currency.

Although the United States contributed 17,000,000 of the 24,000,000 acres added to the wheat-fields of the world between 1871 and 1882,

yet the wheat area of the United States in 1897 is quite 3,000,000 acres less than 15 years earlier; and of additions to the world's wheat area since 1882, aggregating 8,000,000 acres, we have contributed not one acre. It is noteworthy that when the United States ceased adding to its wheat-fields, those of the world ceased to keep pace with the increase of the "bread-eating" population, and are now greatly deficient. *So great is the deficit that, with acre-yields no better than the average of 12.7 bushels of the last twenty-six harvests from "contributory areas," the output would be 275,000,000 bushels—or the net product from some 27,000,000 acres—less than present needs.*

That is, population and requirements have increased so much more rapidly than wheat-bearing acres that, but for an unprecedented succession of seasons, over world-wide areas, conducive of exceptionally high "over-average" acre-yields, present conditions, respecting supplies and prices, would have obtained years since. But for the disparity which has existed between the rates at which the consuming element and bread-bearing acres have increased, the world's area employed in growing wheat and rye would be at least 50,000,000 acres, or 19 per cent, greater than now. In other words, *there exists an acreage deficit of the two principal bread-making grains of more than fifty million acres*, while there is even a greater relative deficit in the areas employed in growing such bread-making grains as spelt, maslin, and buckwheat, which show an absolute shrinkage of 8,000,000 acres, or 36.5 per cent, since 1871; thus imposing an additional duty upon wheat equivalent to the net product from 8,000,000 acres of such grains.

Unless, as seems desirable, the United States shall convert a portion of its over-abundant maize lands into wheat-fields, any material increase of the world's wheat area is probable only in South America, although the belief is very general that the trans-Siberian railway is about to open a vast region adapted to the production of wheat and rye. It would be difficult to conceive a more baseless belief, as at most not more than 50,000,000 acres of all Siberia can be regarded as cultivable. Much more than one-half the cultivable land of Siberia has already been occupied by communes of Russian peasants and employed in the production of the staples required by a population of about 6,000,000. When the Russian Minister of Ways and Communications—Prince Hilkoﬀ—was in Kansas City last October he stated, in reply to a direct inquiry respecting the future of cereal production in Siberia, that, *"Siberia never had produced, and never would produce wheat and rye enough to feed the Siberian population."*

Argentina and Uruguay alone promise material additions to the world's wheat-bearing area; and, together, they have an area potentially wheat-bearing about equal to three or four of our central States. For years to come development must be slow, as the essential of population is lacking; a dearth of laborers being yearly experienced at seed-time, as well as during harvest.

Since 1884, the wheat area of the United States has diminished about as much as that of South America has increased. The acres taken from our wheat-fields have necessarily been employed in growing the forage, fruits, vegetables, and dairy products required by a rapidly increasing population; increasing requirements for hay alone absorbing as many acres as have been added to the cultivated area since 1890.

If the acreage deficit has increasingly existed—as it has—since the middle of the ninth decade, and is still constantly growing, only anomalous conditions affecting production could have so masked it that scarcity and extremely high prices should not have long since obtained, instead of that over-abundance which has discouraged the grower, and given birth to political parties in Germany and the United States. Such anomalous conditions have existed, and resulted from that operation of natural forces which brings successions of seasons of dearth at one time, and successions of seasons of exceptionally great acre-yields, over world-wide areas, at others.

A notable succession of bad seasons, affecting all Europe, was that extending from 1692 to 1699, and which is embalmed in history as “the seven barren years at the end of the seventeenth century.”

From 1771 to 1793, Europe was favored with a succession of seasons when the greater part of the harvests were above the average, and “plenty reigned.” Dearth, however, was common in 1795 and 1796; and 1799 was the first of the dreary succession of years of deficient production extending till 1821. Within this period, of the same duration as the preceding plenteous one, more than three-fourths the harvests were materially defective, those of 1800, 1801, 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1816 being extraordinarily so. In 1798, wheat was selling in London for 66 cents a bushel; rose to 94 cents in 1799; advanced to \$4.90 in 1800; and sold as high as \$5.40 in 1801; the average for the 21 years having been \$2.10 per bushel.

During this period crops were also defective in America; and while records of American prices are scanty, we know that rye sold for an average of \$1.38 in Massachusetts during the first 20 years of this century, as compared with \$1.02 for the preceding 20 years and 89 cents

for the ten years ending with 1830. In December, 1795, Lord Sheffield, in treating of the then existing scarcity, stated in Parliament that in the preceding August wheat had sold for \$3 a bushel at Philadelphia.

From 1821 till 1882, world-seasons were so equable, and acres so well proportioned to increasing world-requirements, that prices were comparatively constant; never, in England, falling below \$1.20 per bushel, and but rarely below \$1.40, while but twice, for periods of three and two years respectively, rising to or above \$2 per bushel. In 1839, 1840, and 1841, the rise resulted from scanty harvests in both Europe and America. In the other case the advance followed from the Crimean war, when production equalled requirements.

Owing to the addition of more than 17,000,000 acres to the wheat-fields of the United States between 1870 and 1880, the very scant European harvests of 1879 and 1880 caused only moderate advances in prices for the bread-making grains, although serving, by an exhaustion of reserves, to prevent the rapid fall that would have followed had those harvests been as abundant as that of 1882. From and after 1882, however, prices fell rapidly until the year of the Russian famine. The harvest of "contributory areas" in 1882 exceeded the average of the preceding three by as much as 320,000,000 bushels, or 18 per cent, and, with imports of 40,000,000 bushels from Asia and North Africa, exceeded requirements by 160,000,000 bushels. Had the harvest of 1882 not been followed by one still larger in 1884, and that by others of equal value in 1887 and 1888, the decline in price would have been arrested, as consumption was then, as now, increasing more rapidly than grain-bearing acres, while *not an acre had been added to the world's wheat and rye area since 1884*. The fact is, that the enormous world-crop of 1882 was but the beginning of an almost continuous succession of great world-crops of wheat, so much above the average in acre-yield that the *over-average* product of the fifteen harvests ending with 1896 was more than 1,200,000,000 bushels, although four of the fifteen gave acre-yields somewhat below the average. This added to our store of supplies 1,200,000,000 bushels of wheat, and an immense synchronous *over-average* production of rye, as well as a great augmentation of exportable Russian surpluses of wheat and rye, by reason of the decline of 13.5 per cent in unit consumption of bread in Russia. These conditions served completely to obscure the existing acreage deficit; to depress prices to an unremunerative level, and to store up great reserves that enabled the "bread-eaters" of 1895 to secure abundant supplies,

notwithstanding the fact that the wheat harvest of 1895 in "contributory areas," plus imports from Asia and Africa, was 75,000,000 bushels below requirements. It served also to furnish all needed supplies in the 1896-7 harvest year, despite the fact that the product from that year's harvest in "contributory areas," plus imports from Asia and Africa, was 138,000,000 bushels below the year's requirements.

Reserves having been reduced to the lowest point consistent with safety, conditions relating to requirements and supplies are, with the defective harvest of 1897, radically different from those which have prevailed in every year since those earlier ones of the century when the price rose to four and five dollars a bushel, as it is now, again, impossible to supplement a wholly insufficient harvest by any considerable remainders from previous ones. From 1882 till 1889, and from 1890 till 1896, great reserves were available to make good small deficits from the four under-average harvests garnered since 1882.

The following comparative statement of requirements and the extent and sources of available supplies, in each of three harvest years, will aid to a clear conception of the present situation, it being borne in mind that official data are used for 95 per cent, and commercial estimates for 5 per cent, of the product of 1895 and 1896. The "wheat grown" in 1897 is but an estimate based on official indications at harvest time in the principal countries, although such countries are invariably credited with larger outputs than official indications warrant. For instance, the United States is credited with a crop of 525,000,000 bushels, although official indications point to one of only 460,000,000 bushels. Moreover, Asia and Africa are credited with the ability to export 10,000,000 bushels; but such exports, if made, must in large part result from crops not yet sown.

SUPPLIES AND REQUIREMENTS.

	1895-6. Bushels.	1896-7. Bushels.	1897-8. Bushels.
Wheat grown	2,157,000,000	2,130,000,000	1,900,000,000
Imports from Asia and North Africa }	23,000,000	15,000,000	10,000,000
Old wheat consumed.....	75,000,000	138,000,000	.....
Total supplies.....	2,255,000,000	2,283,000,000	1,910,000,000
Seed and food required.....	2,255,000,000	2,283,000,000	2,310,000,000
Indicated deficit of the 1897 harvest.....			400,000,000

As the food requirements of the 510,000,000 "bread-eaters" of 1897 aggregate 1,990,000,000 bushels, and as there will, apparently, remain but 1,590,000,000 bushels after setting aside 320,000,000 bushels for seed, *it follows that but three-fourths of the required bread can be provided*, unless larger drafts than now seem possible can be made upon reserves reduced to the lowest point consistent with the safety of the exporting nations.

Relatively, as great a deficit exists in the 1897 rye harvest; and Europe's potato crop is apparently defective in the nutritive equivalent of 150,000,000 bushels of wheat; while spelt, maslin, and buckwheat are deficient by more than 30,000,000 bushels.

That scarcity and high prices have not prevailed in recent years is due to the harvesting, since 1889, of seven world-crops of wheat and six of rye, giving outputs so much above the average as to result, prior to 1895, in great accumulations that served to obscure the fact that the harvests of 1895 and 1896 were each much below current requirements. As reserves will wholly disappear this year, requirements must hereafter be met from current harvests, accumulation being impossible. This is obvious from the fact that an output equalling that of 1894 (the greatest crop ever grown, both in acre-yield and in the aggregate) would be less than present needs.

The situation will be brought into clear relief by stating that in the last six years Europe has grown and imported 9,930,000,000 bushels of wheat, or an annual average of 1,655,000,000, of which some 210,000,000 yearly have been used as seed, the remaining 1,445,000,000 serving to feed a population averaging 380,000,000; the annual average unit supply having been 3.8 bushels. This year there are 392,000,000 European units to be fed, requiring 1,490,000,000 bushels of wheat.

Europe's harvest will provide less than 1,200,000,000 bushels; leaving more than 500,000,000 to be derived from external sources. After furnishing 35,000,000 bushels to tropical and island customers, it is possible that North America can spare 140,000,000 bushels for Europe. Should the crops sown, and to be sown, in South America, India, and Australasia prove to be maximum ones, then it is only *possible* that Europe may, before August, 1898, secure 90,000,000 bushels from such sources. Such an improbable outcome, however, would, even then leave, unprovided for, a demand for nearly or quite 300,000,000 bushels of wheat, 250,000,000 bushels of rye, 30,000,000 bushels of spelt, maslin, and buckwheat, and of potatoes the equivalent, in nutritive value, of 150,000,000 bushels of wheat. In other words, after Europe

shall have exhausted all possible supplies from the harvests of 1897, and such crops as may be harvested prior to July, 1898, there will apparently be a deficit of the equivalent of 700,000,000 bushels of the bread-making grains, with no resource except meagre remainders from former harvests, and with no substitution possible, unless Europeans can be induced to eat corn-bread.

When we reflect that although the world's output of wheat in 1897 is several hundred million bushels less than requirements, acre-yields have been but little below an average; that an average yield from the acres now employed would be 275,000,000 bushels less than present needs; that the greatest crop ever grown would not equal present requirements; that requirements for wheat and rye progressively increase, year after year, by more than 40,000,000 bushels; that not an acre has been added to the aggregate of the world's bread-bearing area since 1884; that while yearly increasing needs in the 'seventies implied average yearly additions of less than 2,800,000 acres, they now imply additions of more than 4,000,000 acres of wheat and rye per annum; that not in a single year since 1880 have additions to the acreage equalled the year's increased needs; that but for an "over-average" production of wheat and rye aggregating more than 2,300,000,000 bushels since 1881, and extraordinary exports from Russia of more than 1,300,000,000 bushels,—because of declining unit consumption in Russia,—the supplies of the importing nations would have aggregated some 3,600,000,000 bushels less in the last sixteen years; that the world can expect no better than average acre-yields, no matter what its necessities; that not even when the great valleys of North America were being developed did annual additions of bread-bearing acres exceed two-thirds present increases of annual requirements, and that an acreage deficit exists equal to the supply of as many "bread-eaters" as have been added to the world's population in the last twelve years, we can begin to understand the present situation. We can also realize the nature of the task before the world in an effort to eliminate an enormous area deficit,—which means that, simply to meet each year's increasing requirements, it must annually add one-half more acres than ever before,—and what is likely to be the situation, respecting supply and demand, if the world should, as is by no means improbable, again harvest in succession, three such crops as those of 1879, 1880, and 1881,—crops which gave acre-yields materially below that which now results in a deficit of one-fifth, or, possibly, one-fourth, the bread required.

C. WOOD DAVIS.

STATISTICS *VERSUS* SOCIALISM.

THE first settlements in this country were made by people seeking a larger degree of freedom than that which they had enjoyed in Europe. They sought not merely religious and political freedom, but social and industrial freedom as well. They desired a field for enterprise and personal initiative. Europe had progressed along this line slowly from century to century for three or four hundred years; but even as late as 1600 social freedom had not made any great progress. It is true there had been a movement in all Northern Europe toward the right of private judgment in matters of religion. This was Protestantism; and it was followed by a revolt against the divine right of kings, especially in England. Individualism, for all this, did not gain very much at home in Europe, but acted chiefly to drive peoples out from Europe on adventures, and to colonize America. Thus North America came to be settled by people who desired above all things to be free from dictation on the part of the social whole. Each individual wished to reap the fruits of his own deeds, and to be called upon to make as small a contribution as possible to his colonial government; and, as to contribution to the home government in Europe,—he desired to be rid of that altogether. This sturdy discipline of individuality went on for a hundred and fifty years, more or less; and then came the Declaration of Independence on the part of the North American colonies. The United States, as a separate nation, has now completed a hundred years more of individualistic growth. This movement culminated in the Civil War, in which the majority of the nation compelled the minority to recognize the individual rights of an inferior race, and emancipate it from the domestic slavery in which it had been nurtured for two hundred years. The modern spirit could not endure slavery, because that institution takes no recognition of the deeds of the individual. It gives him subsistence, food, clothing, and shelter, whether he earn much or little. It recognizes the right to life, but not to liberty. Individualism values liberty more than life.

The chief occupation of civilization in the last fifty years of its career has been to emancipate each person from the control of the

family, the civil community, the state, and the church, wherever that control has trammelled the exercise of liberty.

This protest has not been limited to America. It has been active in Great Britain and France, and, to a less degree, in the other countries of the Continent of Europe. The Age of Revolution, as it is sometimes called, has this significance. It has attacked all manner of restraints and impediments to liberty, and demanded that every man shall have the right to the fruit of his deeds, shall have a chance of a career, and be allowed to shape for himself the niche he is to fill. The slave shall be declared a free man, be permitted to choose his vocation, make contracts with his employers, or work for himself if he prefer; or refrain from work altogether, provided he can render an equivalent for what he demands and receives from his fellow-men.

Up to the present, the attainment of liberty has been the ideal of our civilization. We look forward to greater possibilities for each person in the way of conquests over nature. We demand greater freedom in choosing one's habitat, a greater exercise of arbitrary choice in selecting one's vocation. Increasing numbers of young men begin with a life of adventure: they seek their fortunes on distant borderlands. Indeed this is so characteristic that our civilization has been called a borderland civilization. A large extent of territory in North and South America, in Africa and Australia, and the isles of the sea, is visited by adventurers of European descent. They are intent on subduing these borderlands and colonizing them,—building civilization in place of the savagery and barbarism that they find there.

But a counter-movement is already in progress; while our individualism is at a higher point than it has ever before reached. Many of those persons who advocated the emancipation of the Southern slave, and who contended with the ballot and the sword for his freedom to choose his vocation and enter into competition with the white laborer, now abandon the ideal of competition and adopt that of socialism. They would argue that it is better, not only for the colored man, but for the white man, to give up individual adventure, and to accept such an organization of society as would determine the career of each member of it and apportion to him his share of the productions of the industry of the whole. A small percentage of the citizens of the United States hold this theory of socialism in the full application of its principle; but very many have adopted some parts of the scheme, perhaps without seeing the drift of the reform which they would introduce into the community.

For purposes of clear thinking in this matter it is necessary to keep in mind that the doctrine of individualism would limit the function of political government to removing obstacles that are in the way of free action on the part of the individual and of the return upon him of his own deed. Government must help each person to help himself. Any help given by it which has the effect of weakening his power of self-help and undermining his individuality is contrary to this principle. But socialism, properly so called, seeks the help of the individual by the social whole in order that he shall share equally in the products of all without reference to his producing power. He shall have food, clothing, shelter, and culture,—yes, although he is a person most inefficient in deeds, he shall share equally with those who can and do produce most. The goods of this world shall be distributed not to the producers of them, but *pro rata* to all living human beings. Life, and not work, shall be the basis of distribution.

The appearance of this socialistic standard in our political history has been preceded by the adoption of pessimistic views with regard to the trend of the existing system of competitive industry. In almost all cases the reformer confines his view to the weaklings of society, the paupers, criminals, and individuals who are least able to compete with their fellow-men for a subsistence. In the presence of the slums of the East End of London and of New York he pronounces the competitive system a failure. He glances from these people to the class of extremely wealthy persons which has grown up and is increasing in all countries where productive industry has adopted the use of machinery. In the language of Henry George, he “sees the persistence of poverty amid advancing wealth,” and pronounces judicially upon the failure of the competitive system by affirming that “under it, as a system, the rich are growing richer and fewer and the poor are growing poorer and more numerous.”

In his work on Capital, Karl Marx, the philosophic leader of socialism, gives utterance to the following statement as a law of political economy in modern competitive industry, in which he thinks that the centralization of capital has proceeded so far as to turn laborers into slaves by absorbing all the products of their labor except the bare means of subsistence:—“Along with the constantly diminishing number of great capitalists who monopolize the instruments of production, there is a constantly increasing mass of misery, oppression, bondage, deformity, and extortion.” This I take to be the origin of that famous jeremiad of Henry George which I have quoted above. Or, as Dean

Farrar gave it in a recent article in the "North American Review": "While the rich are growing richer, the great masses of the poor are growing relatively poorer." In Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," this supposed law of society based on competition is quoted with tragic emphasis.

Again, it is used by Bellamy in his "Looking Backward." He says:—

"The nation became the sole employer, and all the citizens, by virtue of their citizenship, became employees, to be distributed according to the needs of industry [not self-distribution or free choice of vocation]. . . . The nation guarantees the nurture, education, and comfortable maintenance of every citizen from the cradle to the grave." (Pp. 85, 123.)

Look for a moment at the relation of the remedy to the disease. The disease is inequality of wealth in the community, caused primarily by thrifty habits in a portion of the community opposed to unthrifty habits in the remaining portion, and the effect extended by inheritance. There are industry, skill, frugality, and temperance opposed to idleness, lack of skill, wastefulness, intemperance. The old remedy for this was to correct by some means the unthrift, and to teach the weaklings of society to become industrious, economical, and skilful. The new remedy proposes to abolish altogether the idea of thrift as a trait of character by removing all occasion for its exercise. There shall be no individual accumulation of property. It shall be produced by the state and distributed by the state not on the basis of productive power, but on the basis of abstract citizenship,—on the basis of existence rather than of activity, of being rather than of doing.

This of course is not reform, but revolution. A physician proposes to cure the body; but the socialistic remedy proposes to get rid of the body altogether. Free proprietorship and competition have incidental evils; therefore abolish private property, root and branch. To the question, "What shall we do for the submerged tenth?" the reply is: "Submerge the other nine-tenths."

However objectionable this may seem to the enterprising and energetic youth, yet if the supposed law of Marx be true, then Henry George and Edward Bellamy are right in looking for another and better system of industry than the competitive system.

It is important, then, to have this question of the trend of modern productive industry settled by an accurate canvass of the statistics in this country and in all countries of the world where any system of industry prevails.

If we must incline to the side of the Socialists and believe, with them, that the present structure of our industrial civilization is so organized that the rich become richer and fewer, and the poor poorer and more numerous, and that the middle class is sinking to the level of the poor, we must all admit that there is need of a revolution, and that a mere reform is not sufficient. The system cannot be reformed: it must be radically changed.

Statistical data are therefore needed, in the first place, to show the production of wealth and its distribution in different epochs—at some recent date, say 1890 or later, and some earlier date contemporary with the beginning of the modern era of steam transportation, say 1830 or 1840. Also at some still older date contemporary with the beginning of the era of machinery: in Great Britain 1780 or 1800; in this country 1820.

In the countries where a carefully graded income tax has existed, as in Great Britain, France, Italy, there ought to be found the data for close estimates, if the exact statistics needed are not accessible in official records. Mr. Dudley Baxter, in 1867, estimated the national income or total production of the United Kingdom, and classified the people according to wealth and poverty. About the same time Leone Levi undertook similar researches. Since then, Robert Giffen, head of the statistical department of the British Board of Trade, and president of the Statistical Society of Great Britain, has written numerous papers, in his careful and judicial spirit, going over the data which bear upon this important question of the distribution of wealth, not only in his nation, but in other nations which publish income returns. His two series of essays and his "The Growth of Capital" are the best works we have on the subject. Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics" brings together a vast amount of statistical data under the heads of Income, Wealth, Finance, Occupation, Prices, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Taxes, and similar topics. The items that he gives are of more or less value according to the authorities from which they are compiled, or in proportion to the good luck of Mr. Mulhall in guessing the results from such data as he could find. The latest edition of his work (1892) is of much greater value than the former editions, because its author takes more pains to give his authorities. But his newest work, "The Industries and Wealth of Nations" (1896), is better still, because he explains his rules of making estimates. One great merit must be conceded to Mr. Mulhall, namely, he has seen from the beginning what statistical items are useful in settling our new social and political problems. He

has seen, too, that this class of statistics must be studied after the method of Engel, who undertook to fix the annual budget of family expenses in the different classes of society,—so much for food, for clothing, for rent and fuel,—how much saved, etc. Such average ratios as exist between the different items of production and consumption must be discovered. Then it will be easy to arrive at approximate accuracy by indirect methods.

So long as the Census does not give us the needed data, nor our experts make for us careful estimates, there will be wild guesses, based on isolated facts of a sensational character,—facts that are exceptional, collected for the purpose of proving the impossibility of reform and the necessity of revolution. In other words, if we do not have sound statistics we shall have hysterical statistics.

In what follows I quote various statistical items, and offer them as approximations, useful in helping an intelligent discussion of the new theories. In most cases it is easy to agree upon maxima and minima. For example, our daily productions per inhabitant will not exceed sixty cents per day nor fall short of forty cents; the amount paid for the use of land per inhabitant will not fall short of two cents per day, nor will it exceed five cents. Such maxima and minima being fixed, it is possible to begin to think rationally along these lines, and to discredit hysterical conclusions.

The statistical bureaus, State and national, should be more amply endowed than they have been, and more encouragement should be given to special investigations touching the great social question of the production and distribution of wealth. It is surprising to think that it is impossible to tell what the items, "Land,"—pure and simple,—and "Improvements on Land," amount to in any country of the world. Nor even the improvements in the shape of buildings can be told, except from Col. C. D. Wright's Census for Massachusetts in 1885. And yet this item could be fixed with close approximation for State and nation, if the Census bureaus were properly supported. To mention one of the questions that depend on this datum, the single-tax theory could be confirmed or refuted by showing the actual status and trend of the land factor in the production of wealth.

The uninitiated student of English statistics is delighted at first to find the items, "Land" and "Houses," separated. But, after discovering some discrepancies, he is led to inquire more carefully into the use of these technical terms, and is disgusted to find that "Land" means rural property,—not only farms, but also the buildings on them,—and

that "Houses" means buildings in villages and cities together with the lots of ground on which they stand. The following quotations from Mr. Giffen's "The Growth of Capital" will show how confusing this is to an American reader, who would never suspect that "lands" mean farms and farm buildings, while "houses" and "buildings" mean city houses and the lots on which they stand:—

"Lands, from constituting at the beginning of the period 60 per cent of the country, and while forming as late as 1865 about 80 per cent of the property, do not now constitute 20 per cent of the total, there having also been in the most recent years an absolute decrease in amount, while other capital is increasing. Houses, on the other hand, maintain a rather increasing proportion of a total property which is itself constantly increasing in amount; and in the last period of all this tendency has been accentuated till houses—buildings—have come to constitute a fifth part of the total property of the country." (P. 112.)

"If in a country like England we find land at one historical period to constitute 60 per cent or upward of the total wealth, and then by a gradual descent to be less than 20 per cent, the value of the land itself almost all the while steadily increasing, then, in spite of inexactness in the figures, the broad fact is in many ways instructive. Whether the change, if more exactly described, would be from, say 65 or 55 to 25 or 15 per cent, the nature of the change would hardly be affected, while it is obvious that the limit of possible error is not nearly so wide. In comparing England with France, again, or with the United States, it is at once obvious that economic conditions are entirely different, seeing that England has less than a fifth of its wealth in land, while France has half, or more than half, and the United States more than a third." (P. 146.)

"These figures for France. By far the most important item, it will be observed, is that of real property not built upon, answering to the lands in our returns, and for this figure there are undoubtedly abundant data, the net income and selling value (the latter through the registration duties on the transfer of property) being matters of official record. In point of fact, the selling value of real property not built upon in France was officially reckoned by the French Financial Administration in 1882 at 3,863 millions sterling, so that M. de Foville's figure in the above estimate shows a considerable falling off. There are similar means of dealing with the next great item, the house property, which seems to me rather more highly valued than similar property in the valuation of the United Kingdom, if we assume,—as I suppose we may,—that farmhouses are valued with the land, but still not so highly valued as to make the comparison wholly out of place." (P. 128.)

Mr. Mulhall's statistics for all countries, likewise, make land mean country, and houses city property.

I consider the most important item of economic statistics to be that which shows the total product of the State or nation in the form of the average per day for each inhabitant. This item helps the individual citizen to compare his daily wages or his annual income with the quota which he would receive in case the total product of his State or nation

were distributed to each inhabitant without any deductions for capital, for land, or for supervision.

A continual view of this ratio is most healthful for all members of the community. Any person socialistically inclined will ask himself, What does my whole State (Massachusetts, for example), or my nation (the United States, or Russia, or France) produce per day per inhabitant? Taking the wage-earners as about one-third of the population, let each one multiply the average quota per inhabitant for the United States by 3 and compare it with the wages he himself is receiving. The result is astonishing to most persons who take pains to get an accurate inventory of the productions of the nation. According to the last Census, the total value of farm products, including live stock, amounted to \$.108 per inhabitant for the whole United States, the manufacturing products to \$.184, the mining products to \$.0254, making a total in these three great items for each individual of \$.3174 (not quite 32 cents) per day, or \$2.2218 per week, or \$9.522 per calendar month. Multiplying by 3, to obtain the representation of the average wage-earner, we find that he stands for \$6.6654 per week, or \$28.563 per month. The particulars for the several States are given in the following table:—

AMOUNT PER DAY PER INHABITANT, BY STATES. (UNITED STATES CENSUS OF 1890.)

DIVISIONS AND STATES.	Val. Farm Products.	Val. Manufactured Products.	Val. Mining Products.
North Atlantic Division.....	\$.066	\$.357	\$.0324
South Atlantic Division.....	.091	.075	.0078
South Central Division.....	.120	.024	.0060
North Central Division.....	.136	.333	.0223
Western Division.....	.141	.152	.1291
NORTH ATLANTIC DIVISION.			
Maine.....	.091	.183	.0337
New Hampshire.....	.100	.277	.0067
Vermont.....	.168	.148	.0468
Massachusetts.....	.034	.508	.0045
Rhode Island.....	.033	.525	.0078
Connecticut.....	.066	.459	.0113
New York.....	.074	.384	.0110
New Jersey.....	.055	.313	.0157
Pennsylvania.....	.063	.291	.0786
SOUTH ATLANTIC DIVISION.			
Delaware.....	.105	.267	.0082
Maryland.....	.070	.210	.0134
District of Columbia.....	.004	.263	.0005
Virginia.....	.070	.063	.0100
West Virginia.....	.073	.054	.0250
North Carolina.....	.085	.030	.0008
South Carolina.....	.122	.081	.0072
Georgia.....	.124	.049	.0045
Florida.....	.085	.071	.0010

DIVISIONS AND STATES.	Val. Farm Products.	Val. Manufac- tured Products.	Val. Mining Products.
SOUTH CENTRAL DIVISION.			
Kentucky.....	.097	.093	.0069
Tennessee.....	.086	.049	.0100
Alabama.....	.120	.041	.0178
Mississippi.....	.156	.018	.0001
Louisiana.....	.133	.060	.0012
Texas.....	.137	.042	.0024
Arkansas.....	.129	.025	.0014
Oklahoma.....	.020	.005	.....
NORTH CENTRAL DIVISION.			
Ohio.....	.099	.224	.0199
Indiana.....	.118	.121	.0121
Illinois.....	.132	.272	.0123
Michigan.....	.109	.161	.0927
Wisconsin.....	.115	.167	.0165
Minnesota.....	.150	.155	.0243
Iowa.....	.228	.066	.0147
Missouri.....	.112	.150	.0163
North Dakota.....	.319	.029	.0009
South Dakota.....	.184	.018	.0307
Nebraska.....	.173	.066	.0007
Kansas.....	.183	.060	.0114
WESTERN DIVISION.			
Montana.....	.130	.065	.6994
Wyoming.....	.101	.058	.0817
Colorado.....	.087	.144	.2734
New Mexico.....	.032	.015	.0823
Arizona.....	.048	.027	.3331
Utah.....	.064	.061	.1539
Nevada.....	.162	.040	.6073
Idaho.....	.125	.025	.2722
Washington.....	.107	.171	.0235
Oregon.....	.166	.171	.0108
California.....	.197	.211	.0447

These estimates take the farm products at the farm and the manufactured products at the mill; but there is an immense industry on the part of the people, namely, that of transportation, which adds to the value of the total product by the time it gets to the hands of the consumer. This item for transportation amounts to \$1,076,940,357 per annum, or \$.047 per day for each person. Besides this, in the agricultural estimate above, there has been no account made of the small gardening and other home agriculture, nor of the home manufactures which relate to the final processes of preparation of food, and especially to the making of clothing—items not reported in the Census. The former item, which will include the product of household gardens and small farms, may be estimated at four cents a day for each inhabitant, or \$14.60 a year. This estimate makes the amount of agricultural productions not reported 37 per cent of the amount reported in the United States Census,—an amount apparently too large. The household manu-

factures which do not get reported in the Census (including cookery, sewing, etc.) are also counted at four cents per day, or \$14.60 a year.

Besides these items there is a large contribution to the wealth of the country in the way of use or rental of houses and furniture already existing. Agricultural tools and machinery have been accounted for in the agricultural product. As regards houses and furniture: Allow for the rental of houses and furniture four cents per day, for railroad building \$.013, and for miscellaneous \$.015. I bring together these items in the following table:—

FOR THE UNITED STATES.	Value for 1889.	Per Inhabitant per day.
Value Farm Products.....	\$2,460,107,454	\$.108
Value Manufactured Products.....	4,210,393,207	.184
Value Mineral Products.....	580,012,600	.0254
Value Products Fisheries.....	44,277,514	.002
Freight Earnings (Land).....	734,525,726	.032
Drayage, etc. (estimated) 18 per cent Freight Earnings.....	157,414,631	.007
Freight Earnings (Water) estimated.....	140,000,000	.006
Expressage (estimated).....	45,000,000	.002
House Rent (estimated).....	680,000,000	.030
Furniture Rent (estimated).....	228,571,212	.010
Railroad Building (estimated).....	300,000,000	.013
Household Manufactures not reported (estimated).....	914,284,848	.04
Agricultures not reported (estimated).....	914,284,848	.04
Miscellaneous (partly estimated).....	842,856,818	.015
Total.....	\$11,751,728,858	\$.5144

The total sum is \$.5144 for each person,—or \$1.5432 for each wage-earner per day, or \$10.80 per week. Any person, therefore, receiving eleven dollars a week receives more than the quota that a wage-earner would receive (representing three persons), provided nothing were paid for interest on capital, for the use of land, or for directive power. It is interesting to compare with this the estimate which Mr. Mulhall makes in his recent book, "The Industries and Wealth of Nations" (1896). Comparing the same with the production per day of each inhabitant of Europe the figures are:—

	Europe.	United States.
Farms.....	\$.057	\$.0955
Manufactures.....	.0774	.23
Commerce and Transportation.....	.0586	.1250
House Rent and Furniture.....	.02	.05
Personal Service and Miscellaneous.....	.052	.102
Total.....	\$.2650	\$.6025

The study of statistics of national earnings is helpful to those who are disposed to think that an equal division would place the entire population in a condition of luxury. But this is only a negative lesson. It is far more serviceable to learn the exact facts regarding the trend or progress of wealth, as respects both its aggregate and its distribution.

The returns from the income tax of Great Britain afford means of tracing the growth of incomes among all classes in that country. The following figures from Leone Levi's "Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes" (for Great Britain) (P. 48) bear directly on the supposed law of Karl Marx:—

Incomes of	1850-51.	1879-80.
	Number.	Number.
\$750 to \$1,500	68,864	241,568
1,500 to 2,500	21,367	61,615
2,500 to 5,000	12,258	29,839
5,000 to 15,000	4,708	11,495
15,000 to 50,000	1,551	4,065
50,000 to 250,000	812	910
250,000 and over	26	77
Total.....	144,322	898,835

The population increased only 33 per cent between 1850 and 1880; but the middle class (incomes \$750 to \$5,000) trebled—102,489 in 1850, to 333,022 in 1880. The moderately wealthy class (incomes \$5,000 to \$15,000) more than doubled (4,708 to 11,495). The laboring class,¹ whose annual incomes are less than \$750, averaged in 1850-51 \$265: in 1881 the average had risen to \$415. One hundred and eighty thousand, or more, had ascended from the poor class into the class paying an income tax.²

The production of the United States has risen from an average of thirty cents in 1850 to nearly fifty-one and a half cents per day for each inhabitant in 1890. This estimate, compared with that of 1890, given in cents per day, is as follows:—

¹ See LEVI, "Wages," etc., p. 53.

² For similar statistics, comparing 1843 and 1880, see Mr. GIFFEN's article in the "Journal of the London Statistical Society," 1883, and the discussion of the same in "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States," by C. B. SPAHR, pp. 93, 94.

	1860.	1890.	1890.
Agriculture (including live stock).....	12.	14.5	10.8
Manufactures as reported.....	5.8	10.8	18.4
From transportation in enhanced value of products	1.2	3.7	4.7
Agricultural product consumed in the household and not reported.....	3.2	4.1	4.
Household manufactures not reported.....	4.8	4.4	4.
Building of railroads.....	.75	1.8	1.3
Mining, fisheries, and miscellaneous.....	.25	2.2	4.24
House and furniture rent.....	2.	3.	4.
Total cents per day for each person.....	30.	44.5	51.44

The increase in aggregate earnings is encouraging; and still more so is the evidence of its distribution among all classes of people.

Since the advent of steam and labor-saving machinery, the average annual production has continued to rise; and the amount saved and handed down for use in succeeding years has grown larger. According to Mulhall's tables¹ steam-power itself has increased in the United States since 1860 from three and one half millions to seventeen millions horse-power in 1895; Great Britain and Ireland from two and one-half to thirteen millions horse-power; Germany from seven-eighths of a million to seven and two-thirds millions horse-power; France from one and one-sixth to five millions horse-power. Italy ($1\frac{1}{2}$ millions horse-power in 1895), Spain ($1\frac{1}{4}$ millions), Austria ($2\frac{1}{4}$ millions), and Russia ($2\frac{3}{4}$ millions) have not yet become great users of steam; and their productive power per inhabitant is less.

The daily earnings per inhabitant increased as follows:—

	Cents.	Cents.
United Kingdom.....	1860. 43.8	to 49.3 in 1894-5
France	1860. 32.0	to 42.0 in "
Germany	1866. 25.6	to 34.2 in "
United States.....	1860. 38.6	to 58.8 in "
Russia.....	1864. 10.9	to 12.6 in "
Austria.....	1869. 19.6	to 21.7 in "
Spain.....	1860. 18.5	to 20.6 in "
Italy.....	1860. 16.3	to 18.6 in "

There are two origins of very large fortunes. First, the founders may have been persons of great ability to make combinations,—such combinations as reduce the cost of collection and distribution of goods.

¹ "Industries and Wealth of Nations," p. 379.

Combinations that do this save, first, to the producer, who can get more for his goods, and, second, to the consumer, who is saved something in the expense of procuring his food, clothing, fuel, etc. from the producer. This class of wealthy men helps society by reducing the number of the middle-men, and by managing more efficiently collection and distribution. The laying of a pipe-line from the oil regions in the West to the great commercial markets and centres of distribution on the Atlantic coast, for instance, saves immensely in the distribution of oil; rendering it possible for the producers to lower the cost of oil in the cities of the East to one-third its former price: at the same time it enables the oil company itself to amass large fortunes on the balance of saving reserved for its stockholders. Another example is furnished by the trunk railroads connecting the Atlantic with the Mississippi Valley. Vast combinations of capital consolidate roads into through lines; and, by building extra tracks, using steel rails, larger engines, and better cars, the cost of freight, which, thirty years ago, was from three to four cents a mile, is reduced to one cent a mile per ton. The amount of money added to the fortunes of the capitalists by these combinations is enormous; but the amount of money added to the value of Western farms, oil-wells, mines, and house property, by saving in the cost of transportation, is much larger than the amount that capital obtains for its combinations. Besides this, the consumers resident on the Atlantic coast, engaged in manufactures,—the consumers of the agricultural product of the West, pay but one-third as much for transportation on the bread materials, the coal, and the other items brought by railway, and thus share in the aggregate of saving made by the financiers who created, by the aid of capital, the combinations which decrease the cost of connecting producer and consumer. Is it too much to estimate the saving to the producers and consumers at ten times the amount saved by the railroad managers? The total freight charge of the railroads, for instance, for the year 1890 was upward of one billion dollars, and of this one hundred and forty-five million was net profit; but the net profit to the producers and consumers, over the cost of transporting the same materials by the railroad, as it was thirty years ago, must have been nearly two billions.

Take, for further illustration, one other example: viz, the wealthy man who saves vast sums to the producers and consumers by cheapening the process of connecting the raw material with the consumer of the manufactured product,—or the manufacturer who, by unstinted use of capital, improves his processes to such an extent that he increases the

amount of product per laborer and at the same time the quality of the product. Take still another class of wealthy men who build an improved kind of dwelling-house or invest immense sums in business houses or public works to light and heat a city or furnish it with pure water or any other hygienic appliances. This class saves a vast expense to the community as a whole, and takes to itself its proportion of the saving made, by way of profit on its investment.

This class of capitalists may be called "captains of industry." They save substantially for the whole of the community. They make useless, it is true, vast numbers of middle-men (who levy a larger toll than is necessary on the transfer of the goods from the producer to the ultimate consumer); but at the same time they open new vocations for a still larger number of persons than they have displaced from these middle positions. The increase of the manufacturing quota of the United States over the quota of the population engaged in producing raw material in the past thirty years proves this, that the captains of industry open new vocations for labor and assist in the readjustment of vocations. The new employments opened by capital are of a kind requiring higher skill in the laborer. They require of him more directive power and less exercise of bone and muscle. They lay a greater demand on the directive power of the brain than on the unskilled hand.

A second class of wealthy men limit their combinations to the stock-market. They speculate in the stocks belonging to the substantial enterprises of the first class of wealthy men, namely, those who make business combinations. Neither class can be said to make their money to any extent by "grinding the poor"; for the first class have earned much more for society as a whole than they have accumulated as profits.

It is evident that careful statistics should be obtained, showing what capital has done and is doing in the way of bringing together the producer of raw material and the consumer of the ultimate product by decreasing the expense of this transfer; how much it has done to readjust the vocations of those persons who were working at employments which have become obsolete, and to place them in positions where their daily labor contributes far more to the benefit of the entire community. In other words, what are the statistics regarding the use of capital in this important matter of diversifying human labor and increasing its wages?

W. T. HARRIS.

THE HEREDITY OF ACQUIRED CHARACTERISTICS.

FOR twelve years a titanic contention has been developing in the scientific world, especially among Anglo-Saxons, between two giants of science, Spencer and Darwin, as to whether or not acquired traits may be transmitted hereditarily. This question is of immense importance, not only in explaining the origin of the zoölogical modifications in different species, but also in aiding us to decide whether we can profit organically, so to speak, by the actions of our fathers, *i. e.*, whether the labor of the past can be accumulated and transformed into labor that may be called organic, or whether such labor must be wholly lost.

Especially during the last five years, every new publication referring to this subject has given even stronger evidence of the heredity of acquired traits, thus tending to support Spencer against Weissmann. I have gone a step further in an article written for the "Contemporary Review," in which I show that even our gestures are inherited from ancestors of thousands of years ago. It suffices to mention the attitude of prayer, by which the conquered—stretching out their hands and bending their knees, to show that they were unarmed and ready to allow themselves to be bound—endeavored to disarm the ferocity of the conqueror. Now this gesture, which we see repeated so many times in the Egyptian and Chaldean sculptures, I myself have seen reproduced instinctively by one of my own children not yet two years old, who, when a terrible sickness hindered him from speaking, invoked our pity by a gesture never learned.

Much easier to find, and greater in number, are facts proving that physical characteristics artificially acquired have been hereditarily transmitted. Quite recently, the eminent naturalist, Giacoma Cattaneo, in his work, "I fattori dell' evoluzione biologica" (Genoa, 1897), gave, as an illustration, the sea-lobster, which, possessing the habit of inserting the abdomen into the shells of other mollusks, has the abdomen and the hind parts of the cephalothorax decalcified and membranous, the last two pairs of thoracic claws shortened, and the penultimate pair of abdominal pseudo-claws transformed into a hook. The latter fixes the

animal to its dwelling, so that the abdomen can roll itself to the right or to the left, according to the direction of the turns in the shell it occupies. The fact that the larvæ present these characteristics before occupying the shell gives us an example of an individual moulding itself after the form of an outside body destined for its dwelling.

I have found in my study of camels, however, an example perhaps still more curious and significant. It is known that, with the exception of its stature, the camel is absolutely a llama; its blood globules being elliptical, its teeth reptilian in form, its rudimentary third and fifth toes permanent. It possesses, further, that mysterious pouch of the stomach for the storage of fluids, the same kind of callosity on breast-bone and knees, acquired by the camel through kneeling to receive loads. But the camel differs strikingly from the llama in that it possesses the hump,—that fatty mass, with a special development of some of the spinal processes. For a long time, I could not explain this hump. One day, however, a poor porter, having a complaint in his chest, came to consult me; and, on examination, I found, half-way down his back, precisely where he was wont to rest his burdens, a tumor larger than a man's fist, formed almost wholly of adipose tissue. It suddenly occurred to me that this lump—which not only caused the porter no inconvenience, but even aided him in his work—might perhaps serve as a clue to my mystery of the camel's hump. However, in science more than elsewhere, the proverb, "One swallow does not make a summer," holds good. I recognized at once the necessity of examining many other porters; but as few of the healthy ones would allow themselves to be stripped—even for pay—this was not an easy task. Modest sensitiveness, which to science is as smoke in the eyes, hindered my investigations. Nevertheless, with the aid of my colleagues, I succeeded in examining seventy porters of various occupations, and I was able to find four more examples of this fatty tumor.¹

What was of even greater value in our inquiry was the fact that 50 per cent of the porters examined, although having no real hump, yet presented an unusual protuberance of the spinal processes; and all around this there was a thickening and clogging of the subcutaneous tissue, so as to form a true boss, but without a definite contour. To this the porters have given the special name, "tuaz," the etymological origin of which word my good friends Flechia and Teza, masters of philology, will never be able to tell me.²

¹ "Sur le lipome des portefaix et la bosse de chameaux."—"Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles," ii., fas. 4.

² *Ibid.*

Two veterans of the art presented formations still more singular, namely, curvatures of the spine, or true acquired humps; while the breast was puffed up.

Now one who would trust to hypotheses, contenting himself with few facts, might think that he had solved the problem; for if the backs of our workmen are changed by a few years of burden-carrying, how much more natural that, after uncountable ages of burden-carrying, a modification of the backs of camels should result. For in the case of the camel, the effects of heredity and selection must be added to the mechanical effect of carrying, because the masters of the steppes and of the desert must have found the animal with, so to speak, an anatomical saddle, more serviceable than the llama, with his slippery back. To corroborate these researches, we may add the discoveries of Cope,¹ of Baudry, and especially of Lombardini,² who became the greatest of the European students of the camel, which prove that this animal, by its anatomical characteristics, is among the most ancient,—so ancient, in fact, that in geological time it almost approaches the fossils. In the historic world, however, it appears only as a domestic animal, and in great numbers. Darwin showed that these conditions rendered the transformations in individuals and species more easy; particularly in the warm regions of India and Africa, where other animals, such as the ox and the zebu, present, under pressure of the yoke, fatty accretions. And as the camel has no near relatives among wild animals,—or at least very uncertain ones,—its fossil ancestors were much more plentiful in those regions of America where not only the llama, but, what is of more consequence, its wild kinsman, the guanaco, exists, through which we are enabled to follow out its whole descent.

Further, this hump—which really, as in the tumors of the porters, is only a collection of fat around a slight protuberance of the vertebral processes—is atrophied in the racing camel, *Mahhari*, as well as in the camel when in a wild state, that is, when it has reverted to that condition. On the other hand, it is found well formed in the new-born creature; and in the little camel, a month old, who has never borne a burden, the hump is as great, proportionately, as in the adult. The same is true of those callosities of the knees and breasts, which arise in the camel from continual kneeling to receive its load, and are acquired like callosities on the human body. These callosities are wanting in the camel's wild brethren, but are perfectly apparent in the young

¹ "The Phylogeny of the Camel." Philadelphia, 1875.

² "Dei Cammelli." Pisa, 1879.

camel before he has begun to work.¹ I may add that these callosities are found in the American llama, while they are missing in the guanaco, which is a wild llama.

What I have stated is confirmed by a study of the dromedary, which is a camel with one hump. Lombardini has discovered, in fact, that the single hump of the dromedary is nothing but a fusion of the double hump. As the distribution of loads, under the primitive method of saddling, had produced on that llama which became the camel the double collection of fat,—owing to the double point of resistance,—so, later, when the Turcomans changed the form of the trapping, the second hump began to disappear. The latter process was aided by art; for the Turcomans were accustomed to amputate one of the humps of the newborn camel, for better convenience of storage; and they preferred to breed from those animals having the second hump less developed. Consequently, this anomaly, created by man, became modified by man; and thereby double, or rather new, proof is presented of the heredity of acquired characteristics. That thousands of years were needed to accomplish this end is shown by the fact that in very ancient monuments the camel is represented with two humps, perfectly formed.

It appears that the camel entirely without a hump has existed only in the forms of llama, alpaca, and guanaco, which would support the theory that a large percentage of our domestic animals originated in America, and lived there in a wild state, as did the horse, in exceedingly remote times. Even the Arabic name of the camel, "Hamal," which means to bear, indicates that prehistoric man knew it only as a beast of burden.

But the tumor of the camel has enabled me to explain to my own satisfaction the genesis of another acquired characteristic which has become hereditary in the human race. It is that sort of adipose appendage attached to the buttocks and the flanks of our Hottentot sisters, on which their infants are supported while they themselves are busied in work. Here a demonstration is afforded similar to that concerning the adipose tumors of the porters; the researches of Blainville having proved that this tumor of the Hottentots consists simply of fat, with a little connective tissue. That this also is a very ancient development, is shown by the fact that the Pyramids of King Thothmes II present us with a picture of the tributaries of that Pharaoh, in which the women display this appendage in very characteristic form. Further evidence on this point is furnished by the discoveries of Fritsch, which

¹ V. CATTANEO: "La Gobba e la Callosità dei Cammelli." Milan, 1896.

show that in the Hottentots, as in many other equatorial peoples, adipose tissue abounds everywhere in the body, even producing wrinkles in the young; and it is natural that it should become increased in quantity, forming a new organ where the pressure and irritation are greatest.¹ Finally, the Hottentot, a residuum of the dwarf races that once populated the globe and now have disappeared, is, like the camel, one of those almost fossil races,—a fact made manifest by his general structure, his dwarfishness, and his tufted hair. His age-long existence has afforded opportunity for the production of profound modifications.

Thus far I have spoken only of physical characteristics; but in the Hebrews the psychical as well as the physical have been transmitted and modified. From the study of very ancient Hebrew skulls, and from the representation of the Hebrew scribe in the Egyptian Pyramids, it appears certain that many of the physical characteristics of the modern Hebrew have been inherited from thousands of years ago; as, for example, the dolichocephalism, prognathism, thickness of eyebrow, and fulness of lips. In regard to the psychical characteristics, we find: tenacity of purpose, even to the point of obstinacy, religious credulity, clannishness, intolerance, a spirit of rebellion carried often as far as anarchy. These traits have led to the greatest religious and social rebellions. Next, we have the ethical passion; almost all apostles of moral reform having risen from the Hebrews. Certainly Semitic, if not strictly Hebrew, was the commercial instinct that led the Phoenicians to invent the use of money and weights; that made of the Sidonians the greatest manufacturers of stuffs and of glass; and of the Hebrews, even under the Assyrians, the greatest financiers of the Assyrian world. In the time of Alexander the Hebrews were the most powerful merchants of Babylon, of Antioch, and of Crete, in which latter island the merchants were wont to conceal their treasures in troublous times.² But from climatic causes, and through race minglings,—which certainly have been frequent,—many of the physical characteristics have disappeared, the Hebrews in England having fine and blond skins, and those of Italy, rounded or squarish skulls.

I repeat that many of the psychical characteristics of the Hebrews have become completely changed, so that now they are like those of their fellow-citizens. While originally they had a true

¹ For further data, *vide* LOMBROSO: "Donna delinquente," 1890; BLANCHARD: "La Stéatopigie des Ottentottes," 1879.

² EWALD: "Die Alterthümer der Völker Israel," 1895.

hatred of the plastic arts, they now have painters and sculptors: we find among them spendthrifts and sceptics. The greatest opposers of the religious idea, Acosta and Spinoza, were born Hebrews. Finally, they now have characteristics which they not only lacked at first, but which they could not have acquired without an admixture of other blood. Courage and contempt of life were among the salient characteristics of the race that poured torrents of its own blood in defence of the walls of Massada, which stronghold the conqueror, on his entrance, found empty. Such a spectacle was new, even to a Roman.

The Abyssinian is the true heir and the nearest relation of the Hebrew; having emigrated in ancient times from Judea in several expeditions. The latter began, under Solomon, with an expedition of 120,000 men,—warriors and priests,—who established a son of Solomon upon the throne. Then followed, in the times of Nebuchadnezzar and Shalmaneser, a second and a third emigration. Finally, in the time of Titus, a fourth took place, which established itself in the Valley of Samen, where the artisan's craft was exercised. These pure Hebrews formed that military aristocracy which governed feudally the people called, with contempt, "mixed" or Abyssinians. This people became converted to Christianity; but they preserved from their Hebrew origin, besides the peculiarities of face and skull, many of the customs, *e. g.*, paschal rites, offering of food in the temple; the use of musical instruments,—the cithern for example,—the custom of religious dances, fasts, aversion to swine, and dislike of weapons. Until a few years ago, they employed the Davidean sling. The Abyssinians manifest not only a cohesion very rare in the African world, but such courage and extraordinary warlike ability that they have discomfited the best-armed civilized nations. Courage and the art of war were psychical characteristics hereditary within them. The age-long humiliation, begun at the time of the Roman conquest, so crushed the Hebrews, as to leave surviving only the timid and those who, showing less boldness, were able to avoid or forestall oppression. The result is that, instead of warlike and heroic courage, we find among characteristics of the Hebrews timidity and love of gain. This may be established statistically by the very small number of suicides, and of soldiers.

While Jacobs² finds in Europe almost twice as many Hebrew as

¹ JOSEPHUS, vol. II.

² J. JACOBS: "Comparative Distribution of Ability among the Hebrews," in the "Journal of Anthropol. Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," London, 1885-86, pp. 251-79, table xv.

Christian lawyers and physicians, ten times as many philologists and metaphysicians, seven times as many musicians, almost twice as many poets of talent, yet, among soldiers, the proportion of Hebrews is reduced almost to nothing—six against fifty-six.

As to suicides, according to Legoit, among Germans and Austrians there are 102 suicides per million among Protestants; 62 per million among Catholics; and 48 per million among Hebrews.¹ Yet the Hebrews furnish four or five times as many mad persons as their Catholic fellow-citizens; and it is known that the greater proportion of suicides are mad. Avidity of gain is a characteristic that has now become almost hereditary among the Hebrews, though not among the Abyssinians. Again, we find among the Hebrews an excessive activity and curiosity, political and scientific; while inertia, apathy, and the absence of scientific curiosity, are proverbial in the Semite. For him, "God is great!" is the whole explanation of the universe; and science concludes with lyric poetry and proverbs.² The Arabs let the best hydraulic constructions of the Romans go to ruin; and the Semite in time of scarcity will die of hunger rather than increase the amount of his labor. This excessive apathy and the ignorance resulting therefrom, disappeared in the Hebrew, giving place, as I have stated, to an unbounded curiosity and a feverish activity in all branches of human endeavor,—even in those sciences, like mathematics, to which his talent always shows itself to be unadapted,³—making the Hebrew the born reporter and journalist of the modern world.

Here we have, then, a series of acquired psychical characteristics which have become hereditary. This, no doubt, is due to some extent to climatic influences,—transportation to colder countries;—but more particularly to selection by persecution, as only by activity and an appearance of meanness and sordidness could the Hebrews have been saved from the fierce persecutions against which bold resistance would have been of no avail. It was this fact that made those vices prevail, and that caused the extinction, little by little, of those qualities—courage, generosity, and boldness—that would have been more harmful than useful under the particular conditions.

These, combined with climatic influences and other peculiar circumstances effective in rendering new qualities in the Hebrews hereditary, make it easy for us to see why in some regions, especially in

¹ MORSELLI, "Suicidi," 1876, corroborates these figures.

² RENAN: "Histoire des Langues sémitiques."

³ HERSCHEL, BEER, SYLVESTER, GOLDSCHMIDT, etc.

warm countries and those where there was no persecution, they have not progressed a step beyond their fellow-countrymen. Thus in Abyssinia, they have excelled in nothing, although—perhaps because—they have suffered no persecutions in that country. They have deteriorated also in their native land of Judea, although there they have been the objects of peculiar care from their devout coreligionists of all Europe.

Moreover, does not the North American offer the best evidence of the heredity of newly acquired characteristics, both physical and psychical? The skin has become darker, the orbits larger, the neck longer, the head smaller and more rounded, the fingers longer than those of his Anglo-Saxon father. And as to his moral nature, it is well known how much he has changed from the British type. The overwhelming reverence of the English for tradition and historic formalism has been replaced by a true passion for modernity. For in America, the machine writes for you, sews, cooks, records, and calculates for you; venerable statutes are partly superseded by lynch law, and Anglican orthodoxy gives place to the most whimsical heterodoxies. How does this happen? It happens because a race among the most robust of Europe has been transported to different surroundings; and the struggle for existence—rendered fiercer in the wilderness and among hostile tribes,—if it served to destroy the weaker, gave room for the greater development of the strong, in whom qualities, perhaps already existent in the pacific Briton, but not yet unfolded for lack of occasion, emerged in the new adaptations required for new adventures. But, above all, the American has broken completely all the constraints and bonds of historical traditions that have remained so tenacious in Europe: he has, on the contrary, developed the sense of the new, and of independence, in opposition to the respect for what is old and for the customs and tradition, which, for opposite reasons, has remained instinctive in the nations of the old continent. The English habits vanished; and the great struggles against Nature, as well as the use of machinery and of the printing-press, gave to the Yankee the same power which enabled the first white man to subjugate the dog and the horse. While these conditions detached him—perhaps fortunately—from every æsthetic sense, they developed, even to the point of a natural disposition, the sense of the grandiose and the gigantic, which he carries into his buildings, his monuments, and his undertakings generally.

But, after all, a single proof will suffice to show the acquirement of psychical characteristics: Civilized man has acquired in the cerebral

cortex,—in a fold of the parietal lobe,—the psychical centre of reading, which in certain maladies, especially in apoplexy, is paralyzed, causing the reading power to disappear. Now this centre has positively been acquired within historic time, although the period cannot be definitely fixed; it certainly is not found in men yet savage. The same may be said of the speech-centre,—the third left frontal convolution,—since everything goes to prove that the first man had no language, just as the new-born child has no language, and the Hottentots and the Weddahs have but very imperfect ones. This organ continues to become more and more differentiated in our modern civilization. Where can be found a stronger evidence that there are acquired psychical characteristics?

CESARE LOMBROSO.

BIMETALLISM A NECESSITY.

A ROYAL Commission, composed of eminent men, appointed nearly four years ago to enquire into the subject of agricultural depression in England, issued its final report during the month of August last. The principal report, signed by fourteen members, deals with miscellaneous subjects which bear generally upon the agricultural position, and with the recommendations and conclusions based thereon. A supplementary report, signed by ten out of the sixteen commissioners, deals solely with the evidence submitted for and against a change in the monetary policy of England as a remedy for the agricultural depression. After carefully considering the evidence, these ten commissioners have arrived at certain conclusions, the most important of which may be briefly stated as follows:—

First. That the agricultural depression is not confined to England, but is general throughout Europe and the Colonies, and has been especially severe in the United States. That with regard to wheat, the commodity which had fallen the most, there was no evidence to show that the decline had been caused by over-production, the statistics showing, on the contrary, that, in the words of Sir Robert Giffen, “the growth of the acreage of wheat has lagged behind the growth of population.”

Second. That the only two countries which appear to have been free from agricultural depression are India and the Argentine Republic,—the one with a silver and the other with a paper currency.

Third. That agriculture has suffered and is suffering severely from the results of the great monetary changes made in certain countries of Europe and in the United States in 1873.

Fourth. That if an international arrangement were made for the opening to silver of the mints abroad and in India, and its restoration—either wholly or partially—to the position it filled prior to 1873, it would be of the greatest benefit to the agricultural industry, and that the English Government should heartily coöperate with foreign Powers in promoting a conference to bring about this result, and thereby give effect to the unanimous resolution in the House of Commons passed in February, 1895.

In view of the high authority of this report, and in view also of the world-wide interest attaching to the labors of the American "Wolcott Commission,"—now seeking to establish preliminary agreements that will justify the calling of an International Conference,—the Monetary Question presents itself as the most important one now pressing upon the commercial world for a final settlement. Its solution becomes more and more urgent from an English point of view, with the recent rapid decline in the price of silver in London to the lowest figures ever known, which is certain to have disastrous effects upon the great trade in opium, silks, fabrics, etc., between China, on the one hand, and England and India, on the other. That the question has passed in England beyond the stage of merely academic discussion, is evidenced by the fact that within the last few weeks there has been presented to Lord Salisbury's Ministry, upon this subject, the largest and most important petition ever formulated by the English Labor Party. It is signed by more than three hundred and fifty local societies, representing every branch of industry; and it demands that the Government profit by the present favorable opportunity to secure, in accordance with the unanimous declaration of the House of Commons, an international monetary agreement, and thereby rescue the country from the evil effects upon its productive industries of the instability in the relative value of gold and silver that has existed since 1873.

In order justly to appreciate the merits of the "irrepressible conflict" which is waging between the advocates of the Bimetallic and the Monometallic systems, a correct conception of the nature and functions of money is a necessary preliminary.

Money is an instrument of valuation, established by law to measure, compare, and exchange values, and to serve as a legal tender for debts. The material of money is in principle unimportant, except so far as it is liable to affect the aggregate amount in existence,—the total monetary mass. The value of money is increased or decreased, *ceteris paribus*, in inverse proportion to its volume. Indefinite issues of money create redundancy and depreciation. Comparative fixity or limitation of supply is therefore requisite to give reasonable stability to the value (purchasing power) of money. Paper money can be increased in amount indefinitely at the will of the sovereign or of the legislator; but metallic money is susceptible of only a limited and measurable annual increase, which distributes itself automatically among all the nations. Added to the total accumulated monetary mass existing throughout the world, this increase forms but a very small percentage, and serves barely to

supply the needs of constantly increasing population, production, commerce, and wealth. For these reasons it is agreed that metallic money alone constitutes a safe standard of value.

From the dawn of history, gold and silver have been selected as the world's money metals. Hence they have received the name of "the precious metals." Silver remains to this day the sole *universal* money metal, although it is no longer coined into full legal-tender money by the chief commercial nations. Hundreds of millions of people in the world do not use gold as money; but no nation can dispense with silver money.

It is the legal function of money that gives to the metal its great value. It is the legislator who bestows upon the metal this function. The legislator can withdraw the money function and thereby destroy the metal's great value. Hence the term, "intrinsic value," applied to money, is misleading. Its value is almost entirely *extrinsic*. Aristotle says: "Money itself is only a frivolity, a futility; it has value only by the law and not by nature, inasmuch as a change of agreement among those who use it can depreciate it completely." If an example be needed to prove conclusively the accuracy of the great philosopher's conception of money, we have it in the monetary history of the last twenty-five years.

Bimetallism is the adoption of gold and silver as the standard of value, with free and unlimited coinage of both metals into full legal-tender money, at a ratio of weight fixed by law. The Bimetallic *régime* prevailed in Europe and in the United States until 1873, when it was destroyed by the closing of the French mint to the unlimited coinage of silver, following upon the legislative demonetization of silver in Germany and in the United States. While Bimetallism existed, the legal ratio was 16 ounces of silver to 1 of gold in the United States, and 15½ of silver to 1 of gold in France. The French ratio ruled the world as long as the mints were open; France holding a preponderating position as possessor of the monetary metals. The apparent "commercial value" of silver in other countries, as different from the mint value, was only the reflection of the difference in ratios at different mints, in the absence of an international accord. The effect of this difference in ratios was that the great body of silver flowed to that country where the mint ratio was most favorable to it, namely, France. But all countries, including Monometallic England, participated equally in the benefits which Bimetallism conferred; that is to say, stability of foreign exchanges and a liberal addition to the world's supply of money from

the combined production of both silver and gold. The cost of production in no wise affected the money value of either of the precious metals. The law was supreme, unaffected either by the cost or by the quantity of the world's production. Only unimportant oscillations around the French legal parity occurred in the market ratio of the two metals, as special demands arose for one or the other for export. France was ready at all times to supply at a minute premium, which to her was a clear profit, any foreign demand for either metal, replacing it in her own currency with the other. Thus it happened that prior to 1850 gold was scarce in the circulating medium of France; while after 1850 it became very abundant. But the purchasing power of the two metals was at all times equal. The production of silver in the proportion of weight prescribed by the mint ratio ($15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1) was in the early part of this century three times that of gold. From 1850 to 1860, the conditions were reversed, the production of gold being three times that of silver. Later, the conditions were again greatly changed, the supply of silver increasing largely, while that of gold diminished. But the French Bimetallic law of 1803 always controlled the market ratio of the metals until 1873, when the French mint was closed to the unlimited coinage of silver. This was done in September; and yet, up to that very month, silver had been quoted at a minute premium over the legal ratio (in August, 8.50 per mille).¹ Its divergence from gold began with that event. For the first time in monetary history, the mints of no one of the great commercial nations were open to the unlimited coinage of both gold and silver. The link which till then had bound together the two metals throughout the world into one money, one Bimetallic standard of values, was broken.

Bimetalism does not mean, as some suppose, redemption, or convertibility, of one metal by or into the other. Both metals stand on a perfect equality before the law. In the United States, the silver dollars and silver certificates at present outstanding—four hundred and fifty millions in all—are not legally redeemable in gold. But their legal-tender quality for all debts keeps them at a parity with gold. There is no good reason to doubt that the whole amount of silver belonging to the Government, now remaining in the United States Treasury—about one hundred and thirty million dollars, including the silver bullion—could be paid out, in dollars or in certificates, and retained in circulation at par with gold, equally with the silver dollars and cer-

¹ See statistical tables in Report of M. de FOVILLE, Director of the French Mint, August, 1896.

tificates now outstanding. In Germany there are still in existence one hundred and fifty millions full legal-tender silver thalers—coined at the ratio of 15½ to 1—which are as good for all payments as the gold coins. The same is true of the four hundred million dollars in full legal-tender French silver 5-franc pieces in France. Even the Italian and Belgian silver 5-franc pieces, of which one hundred million dollars' worth are estimated still to exist in France, have always passed at their full face value, though, strictly speaking, they are not legal tender between individuals. But the fact that the French Government, under the terms of the Latin Union, receives them for taxes and other dues, supports them at par with all forms of money.

Turgot, the great economist, and Minister of Finance to Louis XVI, says:—

“Gold and silver are constituted money, and universal money, by the nature of things, independently of all convention and all law.”

Daniel Webster said in the United States Senate, in 1836:—

“Gold and silver is the money of the Constitution. The Constitutional standard of value is established, and cannot be overturned. To overturn it would shake the whole system. Gold and silver at rates fixed by Congress constitutes the legal standard of value in this country, and neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard or dispose of this.”

Michel Chevalier, in the preface to his French translation of Humboldt's “Gold and Silver,” says:—

“By reason of the part which gold and silver play in all the transactions of mankind, in the contracts between States and individuals . . . every important change in the value of gold and silver is a serious event, a sort of revolution.”

The correctness and wisdom of these views appear never to have been questioned until after the great discoveries of gold in California and Australia, at which time this same Michel Chevalier began to advocate Silver-Monometallism. In 1859, he published his famous work on “The Probable Fall in the Value of Gold,” in which he argued in favor of the demonetization of gold by reason of its enormously increased production. Richard Cobden wrote the preface to the English translation of this work, and in it reiterated Chevalier's statement, that the production of gold had amounted in ten years to about as much as the entire production of the world during the three hundred and fifty-six years which intervened between the date of the discovery of America by Columbus and the year 1848. The Gold-Monometallists of later days have never had half so specious an argument against

the fitness of silver to serve as money as that argument against the fitness of gold.

Fortunately, however, gold was not demonetized; and the historian Alison, writing at the same time, and describing the previous distress and the subsequent prosperity, says: "The era of a contracted currency and consequent low prices and general misery, interrupted by passing gleams of prosperity, was at an end."

But about 1865, Michel Chevalier changed his mind and became the leader of the Gold-Monometallists, urging the demonetization of silver with the same confidence and zeal that he had previously manifested in favor of the demonetization of gold. His later views find in France to-day their strongest advocate in M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, his son-in-law, and successor as editor of "*L'Économiste Français*"; while the ablest and most zealous defender of Bimetallism is M. Edmond Théry, editor of "*L'Économiste Européen*."

In the month of April, 1870, Wolowski, the well-known French economist, combated the views of Michel Chevalier before a French currency commission, pointing out with remarkable accuracy the inevitable fall in price of all commodities, as well as the great decline in the value of agricultural land and the increased burden of mortgages, which the demonetization of silver would entail. He contended that an equilibrium should be maintained between the amount of business transacted and the mass of metallic instruments which serve to transact it; and he claimed that the annual increase of the two precious metals combined was hardly sufficient to keep pace with the immense development of human industry, the rapid accumulation of capital, and the active movement of exchanges of every nature. He said:—

"What the proposed change means is a veritable monetary revolution, and the worst of revolutions,—one that leads to the unknown. Violent attacks are being made in our day on property. There is little to fear from open attacks upon the laws of human society that have grown up with man, emanating from his very nature. But I do not feel that there is the same security when it is a question of attacks which are the more perilous because those who make them are often not aware of their serious nature. Such would be the proposed measure regarding the demonetization of silver."

The soundness of Wolowski's views has since been proved. He did not, however, touch upon what is the strongest argument against Gold-Monometallism, namely, the dislocation of the exchanges between nations trading upon a gold basis and those trading upon the basis of

silver, or of paper money. In reducing to half-price in our money the value of the money of the Silver countries, we at the same time reduce to half-price the cost, in our money, of whatever the Silver countries export. In reducing by one-half the cost to us of the exports of those countries, we inevitably reduce in somewhat similar proportion the price of our own products coming into competition with those exports. Again, by making gold the sole metal available for the resumption of specie payments, withholding it to an enormous aggregate from commercial use, and reducing it, as at present in Russia and Austria, to the position of a prisoner of state, we aggravate and continue the domination of paper money in other countries—as in the case of Argentina—and perpetuate a virtual bounty on the exports of those countries equal to the premium on gold.

It was Cernuschi who developed fully the argument based on the dislocation of foreign exchanges, and pointed out the disastrous consequences thereof to the industries of the gold-standard nations. The same great master established the complete scientific theory of Bimetallism, and gave to it, in all modern languages, its appropriate name.

In studying the question of Bimetallism one should keep clearly in mind: First, that money is not the value *for which*, but the *valuer by which*, commodities are exchanged and debts are paid. Money is only a counter, a marker, a measure of value, and is not by nature value itself. Second, that the precious metals, gold and silver, acquire their great worth because they are used as money,—*not* that money *as money* derives its value from the material of which it is made. As Paulus, the great jurist, says, “money circulates with a power which it derives, not from its substance, but from its *quantity*.” Third, the material of which money is made, as pointed out by Professor Bain, is not in itself the standard, but the register in which the standard is recorded. The material of money bears a somewhat similar relation to value that the dial of a clock does to time. Hence the term “double standard” is an erroneous one. It is not the *standard* that is double, but the metals in which the standard is registered. The two metals conjointly, possessing equally the debt-paying function at a fixed ratio of weight, form one standard, one money. Daniel Webster understood this, as his careful language, above quoted, unmistakably indicates. His words are: “Gold and silver . . . constitutes the legal standard of value.” It was to correct the misconception caused by the use of this misnomer, “double standard,” that Cernuschi originated, in 1869, the name “Bimetallism,” which covers the real principle at issue as perfectly as any single word can do.

It is impossible to have any standard of value that will be absolutely invariable, as the numbers of mankind, as well as the activity of industry and of commerce can never be fixed. Variations in the amount of existing money, variations in the amount of transactions requiring money, variations in the efficiency of credit contrivances for economizing the use of money, cannot exactly coincide. Both theory and experience demonstrate, however, that a standard based upon the aggregate mass of the two metals is less variable, and therefore more equitable, than a standard based upon each metal singly ; because the total monetary mass of the two combined is subject to less proportionate change in quantity, from the varying production of different periods, than is the mass of either metal alone. Moreover, it is a mathematical impossibility to maintain even an approximately stable standard of value while two unrelated and discordant monometallisms prevail among intertrading nations. To secure stability, the link between those systems, which virtually secured to the commercial world up to 1873 one Bimetallic money, must be reëstablished.

It is undoubtedly true that the great majority of men, not having carefully studied the Monetary Question, incline at first to the side of Gold-Monometallism. This has been the case with nearly all the great advocates of Bimetallism in Europe to-day. They have become converted to the Bimetallic faith from observation of the evil consequences of the gold standard, and by careful, unbiassed search for the cause. It is only after study and reflection that the true bearings of the Silver Question can be understood.

In view of the rapid growth of Bimetallic sentiment throughout Christendom during the last few years, it is neither wise nor useful to attempt longer to stifle it under the weight of an intolerant dogmatism. The opinion of the great mass of the agricultural classes of both Europe and America, supported by distinguished economists and statesmen in every country, deserves a respectful hearing. Those who wear the shoe know best where it pinches. The agricultural classes have in the past suffered most from the shrinkage in prices brought about by the witless error of sundering silver from and subordinating it to gold. Even those who scoff at silver and hug their gold are short-sighted indeed, if they believe that they can permanently prosper while the great producing classes are being impoverished.

EDWARD TUCK.

A SINGLE STANDARD INEVITABLE.

WHILE in theory International Bimetallism seems desirable, and in practice might prove temporarily advantageous to a few nations, it would at once be detrimental to the large majority of nations and ultimately to all. That the result would be a failure, is proved by the experiment so often and fruitlessly attempted by single nations, and once by a collection of nations. The history of five hundred years would be a lost lesson if this could not be accepted as an established fact. Governments have often shown—and at no period of history more markedly than during the present generation—a tendency to regulate and control private as well as public interests; laws attempting to govern private transactions, trade, commerce, finance, etc., being familiar enough. Even during the centuries of absolute despotic rule,—when life was at the mercy of governments, without as well as with judicial process; when imprisonment and death were constantly visited, upon slight or no evidence, on those found guilty of minor offences,—even then, governments were utterly unable to regulate questions of currency and trade. The edicts forbidding the exportation of gold or of silver, as the one or the other happened at the time to be the more valuable metal; the arbitrary decrees fixing the ratio between the two, stipulating the value of wheat, of provisions, of various products, of human labor, etc., were absolutely futile. Men could be imprisoned or executed; but while at liberty they could not be made to lose money and sacrifice the result of their labor and savings. As theoretically government has always been for the benefit of the people, any arbitrary interference with their daily life and pursuits, and above all with the means—often end—of life, has been inevitably fruitless.

There is no more justification for meddling with economic laws than with those of nature. As well change the law of gravitation as Gresham's law. The operation of the latter was felt and deplored throughout the Middle Ages; and innumerable attempts to counteract its effects were made; royal edict succeeded royal edict with absolutely no result, although enforced with the most drastic punishments. First,

Onésime, financial adviser to Charles V of France, formulated the great economic law in a remarkable treatise; a half-century later, Copernicus made the same—and apparently independent—discovery; and, last of all, Sir Thomas Gresham, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, formulated it for the third known time and secured the credit of discovering what had been discovered two centuries before. Since then, as before, the cheaper money has driven out the dearer, silver and gold alternately, as the legal ratio varied from the commercial value: clipped and light-weight coin has replaced full and perfect coin. Commercial value has invariably prevailed over legal ratio; and commercial value is governed by the greatest of all economic laws, that of supply and demand. No nation has ever been on a real Bimetallic basis for any length of time. Bimetallic in theory, it has been Monometallic in fact. In France,—usually instanced as the greatest and most successful Bimetallic country,—the legal and commercial ratio of gold and silver since 1803 corresponded for one year only. Gold was undervalued for sixty-eight years, and silver for twenty-one years.

The causes tending to make Bimetallism impossible and the single standard inevitable are (a) natural and (b) artificial.

(a) Natural causes are:

1.—The inexorable operation of the economic law known as "Gresham's law."

2.—The constantly falling market-value of silver, owing to apparently inexhaustible supplies, improved methods of extracting the ore, cessation of any corresponding demand, etc.

3.—The increasing production of gold, which refutes the contention of the partisans of silver and the Bimetallists, that there is not enough gold in the world for the uses of trade.

4.—The constantly diminishing use of metallic money, and the corresponding increase of systems of credit, rendering metallic money useful chiefly for great emergencies, such as national reserves, the war-chests of nations, and for retail transactions. For the first purpose, gold is unquestionably superior to any other standard of value: for the latter, the same purpose is served by paper based on gold and by subsidiary silver.

5.—Greater facilities for intercommunication between nations, rendering the medium of exchanges less complicated.

6.—Greater relative stability between the market-value of gold and of human labor.

(b) Artificial causes tending to make Bimetallism impossible are:

First.—The adoption of the gold standard, either by law or in practice, or both, by almost all civilized nations, and by many nations whose claims to enter the community are more recent.

Second.—The choice of gold payments by creditors, who necessarily fix the conditions and terms of loans.

These causes are rapidly solving in the negative the problem of Bimetallism, international or otherwise. But it may be well to trace briefly the history of Bimetallism, and to show that it never has been successfully maintained by any country. Almost all nations have tried it, clinging to the old mediæval fallacy, that action by Government can change economic laws; but the result has been always the same; the legal ratio between the two metals could not fix the market-value. When they did coincide, it was only temporarily. Under the operation of Gresham's law, the one or the other metal having a higher market-value than the ratio fixed by law was hoarded or exported, while that of lesser value remained in use. No action by Government could change an economic law.

Not to enter upon the financial systems, or lack of systems, of the Middle Ages, when Government changed not only the ratio between gold and silver, but also the weight and fineness of the coins,—even debasing the coinage by adulteration and clipping, and confusing its value by arbitrary fixation of the price of provisions, labor, etc.,—we find England throughout the eighteenth century still struggling blindly to maintain Bimetallism. The result was inevitable: the more valuable metal disappeared, while the less valuable only remained in circulation; and of the circulating metal, the newly minted pieces were hoarded, while the clipped shillings were made to serve the uses of trade. All sorts of experiments to obviate these difficulties were tried. Edicts were issued forbidding the exportation of gold. The number of shillings to the guinea was fixed at various figures from 26 to 21; but all efforts were unavailing. Bimetallism was a failure; and the currency was in the greatest confusion. Early in the century, Locke and other leading minds began to appreciate the fact that only one metal could usefully form the standard of value; but it was long before this was generally realized. In 1774, the Government took the first step toward the establishment of a single standard, by limiting the right to coin silver on Government account and by making it legal tender up to £25 in specie, and above that by weight. Still the confusion in the currency continued until 1798, when the legal-tender power of silver was restricted. In 1816, England formally adopted the single gold standard.

In 1803, France, which, prior to the Revolution, had been substantially on a silver basis, adopted the silver franc as the standard; coining both gold and silver in unlimited quantities at the ratio of 15½ to 1. From this period until 1875, France made a more successful attempt than any other nation to maintain a Bimetallic system; but even under the most favorable auspices, and during a period when the commercial and legal value of silver and gold varied but little, the experiment was practically a failure. In the earlier part of the century, silver being overvalued, gold practically disappeared from circulation. After the discovery of gold in California and Australia, that metal became overvalued, and silver practically disappeared from circulation.

Germany, having suffered, with England, France, and other countries, from a fluctuating and unreliable currency,—complicated in her case by the numerous political subdivisions of the country,—adopted in 1871 the single gold standard of value; suspending the coinage of silver temporarily in 1873, and permanently in 1875. At about the same time, Holland followed the example of Germany; and in 1879 Austria suspended silver coinage. In 1878, Spain decreed that silver should be coined only on State account. In 1873, the Scandinavian countries adopted the single gold standard. In 1875, the Latin Union suspended the coinage of silver; while Russia and Japan are the latest converts to a single gold standard. Thus, practically, all the more civilized nations of the world are either on a single gold standard basis or, if nominally Bimetallic, have suspended the coinage of silver.

The United States has always been, in theory, upon a Bimetallic basis; in fact however its basis has been Monometallic. Its experience has been similar to that of France and of other nations.

The first coinage act was passed in 1792; and the ratio between silver and gold was fixed at 15 to 1. As this was not the true commercial ratio, gold was exported until, in the early part of the century, it practically disappeared; while the silver in circulation was composed largely of Mexican coin; thus showing the infallibility of Gresham's law. Practically, therefore, the country was on a silver basis, although the business of the country was carried on mainly by paper currency of constantly fluctuating value. Specie payments were suspended in 1814, when there was little metallic money in the country.

The increasing output of the gold-mines of North Carolina and Georgia aroused in the Government a desire to protect the interests engaged in the mining of gold. As a result, the ratio between silver and gold was changed to 16 to 1, while the amount of gold in a dollar was

reduced from 24.75 to 23.22. While previously to that time gold had been relatively more valuable than silver, it now became less valuable; consequently silver gradually disappeared, the coins that remained in circulation being mainly Mexican and South American. The discoveries of gold in California in 1847 had, naturally, a still greater disturbing influence. In 1853, the value of fine silver was reduced in the coinage; and, at the same time, silver was made legal tender to the value of \$5. Thus, during the second period of its currency history the nation was practically on a gold basis, just as during the first period the basis had been silver.

The period following the Civil War was rife with changes in the currency systems of various nations. We saw the formation of the Latin Union, and the action of Germany, Spain, Austria, and other countries in changing currency laws in the endeavor to provide a stable basis. The act of 1873, so much discussed, was rather the declaration of an established fact than an innovation. Owing to an enormously increased production and a lessening demand, silver became cheaper; and since 1875 the market-value has fallen with greater and greater rapidity, until to-day it stands at 24d. The causes of the decline are many and various, and interpreted according to the convictions of the reasoner. The greatly increasing output of gold since 1847 had created a greater demand for it, and served perhaps unconsciously to remove from the minds of the people the greatest alleged drawback against it as a single standard, namely, the fear of its scarcity.

As a standard of value it possessed the inherent advantages of indestructibility, compactness, etc., and it had the additional advantage of being found in quantities sufficiently large to meet the requirements of all nations, though not so great as to cause it to lose value relatively to the products of the soil and of human labor. It was being adopted by the nations of Europe, legally or practically, as the sole standard of value; their mints becoming closed to silver.

In the establishment of a gold standard, during this period, Germany required and took vast quantities of the metal, aggregating, in the five years from 1871 to 1876, about \$415,000,000; and, instead of buying, she sold silver. The Latin Union suspended the coinage of five-franc pieces. In addition to the suspension of the free coinage of silver by Spain, Austria, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland, and Italy, we find that India, the great consumer of silver—owing to her great indebtedness to England, decreased her demand and finally, in 1893, closed her mints to the coinage of silver. Thus, of the great

nations, the United States was left alone in its efforts to sustain or rehabilitate silver.

The Bland Bill—originally intended as a free-coinage measure—was passed February 28, 1878, in an amended form, providing for a monthly purchase of silver bullion in amount not less than \$2,000,000 and not more than \$4,000,000, at the market-value. Fortunately for this country, the surrender of large amounts of National-Bank (currency) notes made a place for the new silver currency, so that the danger and evils of silver coinage when the nations of Europe had adopted by law or in practice the gold standard were not greatly felt. The evil was none the less active; for, in spite of our efforts to sustain its value, the price of silver fell rapidly. From 59 1/4d per ounce in 1873, its price dropped to 52 3/4d in 1878; to 50 3/4d in 1884; to 42 7/8d in 1888; and to 30 1/2d in 1892. To-day its value is 24d. The advocates of silver in the United States being still dissatisfied, another attempt was made to pass a bill for the free coinage of silver; resulting, by compromise, in the passage in 1890 of the so-called Sherman Law. This provided for the purchase by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, and for the coinage of 2,000,000 ounces until July 1, 1891. After that, bars were to be coined for the redemption of legal-tender Treasury notes.

The logical result was an export of gold, increasing from \$34,526,447 in 1888 to \$79,775,820 in 1893; while customs duties, formerly payable almost entirely in gold, fell practically to nothing in 1894, gold having been either exported or still more closely hoarded.

At this time, occurred the great crisis which was the inevitable outcome of an attempt to maintain Bimetallism. The divergence between the legal and commercial ratios had become so great that fear was entertained lest the Government, in spite of its vast credit, could not maintain the artificial parity between the two metals. The familiar economic law began its logical operation. Gold more and more rapidly disappeared from circulation until the Government was on the verge of bankruptcy, and required the patriotic action of a syndicate of bankers to avert a national disaster. This accomplishment is unparalleled in the history of finance; and only financiers know the magnitude of the difficulties encountered and the success achieved.

In 1893, the unfortunate Sherman Act was repealed; and, in the same year, the Indian mints were closed to the free coinage of silver. The production of gold was constantly increasing; reaching the vast total of \$155,522,000 in 1893 and \$200,000,000 in 1895. Owing to its

almost absolute indestructibility, the world has now more gold as a standard of value than it had silver and gold together before 1850.

With reference to the relative stability of gold and silver as measures of value, there are two methods of comparison. On the one hand, that between gold or silver and human labor; and, on the other hand, that between gold or silver and the price of certain products of the soil, notably wheat.

For many years, the strongest argument of partisans of Bimetallism, or of silver, was the corresponding rise or fall of wheat and silver. For a number of years, they have appeared to act more or less in unison, and to fall in value relatively to gold. Thus these partisans maintained that silver was the truer standard of value; gold appreciating while wheat and silver were falling. Recently we have had the most glaring evidence of the fallacy of any such contention. Wheat has risen in value with greater rapidity than silver has fallen; and the divergence between the two within a few months has been greater than during many previous years. The real reason stands out with kindergarten simplicity. The inexorable laws of supply and demand operate with a rapidity and precision that cannot fail to carry conviction. The same causes and the same law will account for the fall in the value of silver from 1873 to the present time; but, for various reasons,—among them the semi-mythical, sacred, and mysterious character ascribed to silver,—these were not generally understood. The stability of the value of silver relatively to wheat—and incidentally to other commodities—is thus completely disproved; while that of gold is established.

With reference to the stability of the relation between the market-value of the two metals and human labor,—which in any case seems the fairer test,—the superiority of gold is manifest. The value between the two has corresponded with remarkable uniformity.

The Bimetallists' contention, that gold has appreciated in value because the price of commodities as measured by the gold standard has to a greater or less degree fallen, makes no allowance for the increased areas and improved methods of production. Assuming that to be the case, wages have appreciated in a still greater degree; for their purchasing power has been largely enhanced, the working-man in all countries thus being the greatest gainer from the maintenance of a single gold standard.

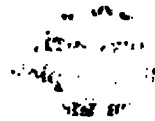
The lessons of history—our own and those of other nations—have taught us, therefore, the impracticability and undesirability of a double

standard; just as they have taught us the greater advantage of a single gold standard. The course of events referred to, by natural and artificial causes, has made it imperative upon us, as upon every other civilized nation, to maintain the single gold standard; any effort at Bimetallism, however admirable in theory, being bound to result in the existence of a single standard of one or the other metal. At present, this would inevitably mean a silver standard by any one nation or even a collection of nations making the attempt to adopt Bimetallism.

That all nations could establish and maintain Bimetallism, is conceivable but improbable: that all should desire to do so, is quite inconceivable. The financial or currency history of each nation has abundantly shown the confusion, uncertainty, and loss attending any attempt at Bimetallism, and, in the end, the practical failure of such attempt.

Natural causes have solved this problem; and, unless there is some remarkable revulsion of natural causes, the solution seems likely to remain undisturbed.

W. MORTON GRINNELL.



UNIVERSITIES AND THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

THE twenty-first day of May, 1897, will be long remembered in the annals of the University of Cambridge, England. The streets and squares presented an unwonted aspect. The quiet grass-plot, bounded by the Senate House, the University Library, and the noble chapel of King's College, usually a type of academic peace, was thronged with a motley crowd of Masters of Arts of all ages and every permissible variety of dress. Outside the railings which enclose it was a seething, shouting mob, flinging flour and *confetti* as if they were in the carnival at Nice. Two of the deep windows of the Senate House had been removed, and replaced by steps, so as to remind one of the Banqueting-room of Whitehall at the execution of Charles I. The galleries were occupied by a shouting crowd, who vociferated praise and blame respectively to the sheep who wandered to the right, and to the goats who turned toward the left.

Outside, the stately front of Caius College was hung with festoons, banners, and inscriptions not complimentary to the advent of the New Woman. Every window was thronged with heads; and each became an embrasure for the launching of harmless projectiles. The house of Macmillans, the well-known publishers, had been hired for the occasion by a syndicate of undergraduates who, from its windows, animated and directed the attack upon the governing body of the University. A hideous object, clad in semi-female attire, riding upon a bicycle, depended in front; and words of warning blazed out in brilliant colors. Staid, fatherly M.A.'s, as they arrived at the Cambridge station, were greeted by their own or other sons, who convoyed them to carriages supplied, of course, with a full understanding that they should vote on the proper side.

When the victory was won, and the obnoxious grace was defeated by nearly three to one, the roar that went up startled the surrounding villages. At night a bonfire of unprecedented dimensions was lit in the market-place; and every piece of movable timber within the limits of the borough was made to contribute to the triumph. Far into Saturday

morning, the fire blazed; and long did the blackened stones bear testimony to the orgy, as they might have done after the burning of a heretic. Pen, pencil, and camera have recorded the scene forever. All passed off without disaster; the proctors were hustled only by the townsmen; and the police received a handsome reward for their ears that were wisely deaf and their eyes that were judiciously blind.

What was the occasion of all this uproar? The issue was apparently a very simple one; and onlookers at a distance could not understand the passions that were aroused. Since 1881, women students belonging to Newnham or Girton had been admitted to the honor examinations of the University and had received a certificate on satisfying the examiners. Their names had been published in class-lists similar to those of the men. It was proposed to substitute for this certificate the title of B.A.,—the well-known English brand of academical efficiency. This brand was already given by most universities in the United Kingdom: by the Universities of Durham, London, Wales, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews, by the Victorian University and the Royal University of Ireland. There was no idea of establishing a mixed university, or of admitting women to membership of the senate, or to the government of our academical institutions. The proposal was merely to substitute an intelligible for an unintelligible mark, a sign possessing a commercial value for one which had but little value, except in the eyes of those who had special opportunities for estimating it. Setting justice and expediency aside, and supposing that the proposed step was unwise, why should there be all this fuss and bobbery about making cream tarts without pepper?

Of course, as generally happens in England, the question at issue was not the question in dispute. Most of those who voted against the grace, and all who were evidently opposed to it, considered themselves to be testifying either against the opinion that the education of men and women should be the same, or that the University should be open to both sexes indiscriminately, or against various combinations of these two opinions. Therefore, any consideration of the vote opens up the whole question of the higher education of women in connection with the University; and it is to this question that I now propose to devote myself.

The beginning of action in this matter dates from the early 'seventies, and may indeed be regarded as part of the general movement toward University Extension, that is, to the feeling that the educational activity and influence of the University should be extended beyond its

own immediate sphere of action: on the one side, to classes who are debarred from residing as University students, and, on the other, to the sex whose honor it is supposed to be to sit at home and make wool. It would be tedious to trace the realization of the idea in detail. It passed gradually through the stages which might have been predicted for it. Public classes were established for women, conducted by approved academical teachers. Examinations were held, and certificates granted. Local habitations became an object of desire. What was the best place for them? Should they be halfway between Oxford and Cambridge, or between London and Cambridge? Should they be urban or suburban, a *rus in urbe*, neither a solitude nor a tumult, shrinking from male contact with a modest interval or boldly challenging the protective similarity of a member of our University Federation? Should, also, the mountain go to Mahomet, or Mahomet to the mountain?

At first, the teaching was given in the women's colleges, and is still so given to a large extent. But Mahomet is a busy man; and the mountain can be more easily moved in detachments. First, professors' lectures were open to women; then, lectures in college; and afterward, college lectures; so that now there is scarcely a class-room in Cambridge in which both sexes do not sit side by side. But how can proficiency be gauged unless both classes of students attend the same examinations? First, public examiners looked over papers and reported upon them from motives of courtesy and fees; then, as we have said, in 1881, the public examinations of the University were open to women of right; and so they have remained.

Then arose the question as to whether the education of women should be precisely the same as that of men, or different. This caused the divergence of Girton and Newnham. Girton, strong in the missionary spirit, maintained that if her students took triposes they should be subject to the same conditions as their male competitors: residence, little-go, and all; little-go implying the learning of Greek. Newnham, which disapproved of compulsory Greek even for men, substituted the "Locals" for the "Previous," and thus turned the Greek barrier. It cannot, I think, be said by an impartial observer that the intellectual output of Newnham has been inferior to that of Girton; and the self-devotion of the latter college has not, as yet, convinced a stiff-necked senate. Thus, in little more than twenty years has grown up a group of new colleges which might almost be called a new university: Girton, upon the historic heights of Bunker's Hill, with its lawn, orchard, and shrubberies, ever extending its thin red line, to stand between Mading-

ley Hill and the beacon-tower of Ely, as Eton stands between the terrace of Windsor and the dome of Penn; and Newnham, with its triple rank of halls, embosomed in trees, a liberty and sanctuary in itself.

We must not forget that the enterprise was, in its inception, missionary. The higher education of women was, in 1870, very defective in England,—far worse than in America. Accomplishments held the field; music and drawing were universally taught; languages more for speaking than for writing or for literature. There is some evidence that the women of 1800 had a sterner and a robuster training. Latin, Greek, and the higher mathematics were certainly not a part of women's sphere. Matters were so bad that there was no time to consider what was the ideally best thing to do. If a woman was to learn anything thoroughly, she could only learn with men, because in their places of education alone was thoroughness understood. Again, a woman could overcome the deep-rooted conviction of inferiority only by meeting men and beating them by their own academical standard. A female first-class was a wonder, a female senior wrangler a greater wonder, a female senior classic a greater wonder still. These successes were, perhaps, not desirable of themselves; but they were necessary in the progress of things.

We might indeed argue that success in examination is no irrefragable proof of ability in men. A senior wrangler may have gained a Pyrrhic victory, and muddled, for the remainder of his life, such mind as he originally possessed. But the world does not believe this. It has faith in the hall-mark, and does not doubt the capacity which compassed it, unless it happens to be enclosed in a dusky skin. A high place in the Indian Civil Service is grudged to the unstable precocity of a Hindoo; but a woman is not a rival and is not suspected. There may be, however, a suspicion in the mind of a University examiner. There may be work which deserves marks and work which compels admiration; and there may be mistakes which have more merit than the accuracy of success. I cannot, myself, pretend to a varied experience; but I have never seen a woman's work which appeared to me equal to a man's. The answers to historical questions are difficult to gauge, because if the facts are known, and are written down accurately, with careful arrangement and some brilliancy of statement, it is impossible to refuse the palm. But in the essays there is a fundamental difference. A woman is receptive, reproductive, rarely combative, hardly ever original.

The best attitude for a learner who has passed the age of boyhood

is distrust of his authority, mingled perhaps with contempt. Anyone can note, abstract, arrange under heads, remember, revise, and reproduce. Hours spent, as many men spend them, in transferring knowledge from a printed page to a note-book are scarcely on a level with the toil of a bricklayer. To discard the note-book, or to use it as a servant, to arraign every fact and, still more, every judgment before the bar of your own intelligence, to make it part of your mental furniture, to meditate, to argue, to condemn, even with a paradox,—such is the training of a man of spirit. In this way Oxford trains many, and Cambridge a few. But women are not endowed with the rebelliousness, or even with the idleness of mind, which is a condition precedent to this effect. “A man,” Herbert Spencer said to me, many years ago, “can do anything if he is only rebellious enough. The first thing is to be rebellious.” A rebellious woman might be a bad wife, but she would be a better scholar.

It will be seen from these remarks that after twenty years' experience, and more, I am not convinced of the mental equality of men and women; neither that they can produce the same results, nor that the same training is good for them. If our movements at Cambridge and Oxford are to be favorably judged, they must be considered not as ideal schemes whose success gives them a claim to further fostering, but as experiments which have done immense good, but which owe their form to the necessities of the time, to the absence of female education on the one hand, and to the importance of showing that it was possible on the other.

I have endeavored to show that the advantages and disadvantages of the education of women at a man's university are only indirectly exhibited by our present experiment; but the experience we have gained throws much light upon the question in the abstract. The advantages are obvious, at least so far as they affect the women. At the University there can be no doubt about the standard either of the instruction or of the tests applied to it. The best classical scholarship, the best mathematics, the best science, the best psychology, the best history, the best modern language, are at the disposal of both sexes; whereas, in a women's university, and still more in a private institution, there would be less security that the proper standard is attained. Women also resident in a male university can hardly escape the contagious influence of devotion to knowledge for its own sake, and of healthy rivalry in intellectual pursuits. There is also a consideration, urged not long ago in a lecture by Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, which is not so

obvious. Our great universities contain students of two classes, which would not, as a rule, include women: those who are preparing for the church, for the law, and for professions other than teaching and medicine; and those who come to the University for social reasons, forming, perhaps, as many as one-third of the whole. For these students, especially for the first, a wide and varied intellectual curriculum has to be provided; and it has been found, by experience, that every addition to the subjects of academical study has increased the number of our students. This wealth of divergent interest would not be easily found in a university composed entirely of women; and they would be debarred, in Mrs. Sidgwick's words, "from the fulness of academic life obtained by a large variety of departments all working vigorously and energetically together." Mrs. Sidgwick, therefore, is perhaps justified in saying, from her own point of view, that, while she would gratefully accept the offer of a philanthropist to endow a university for women only, with a full equipment of libraries, museums, and laboratories, and adequate stipends for teachers and researchers, she would advise him rather to expend the money on Cambridge or Oxford, or other existing universities.

There would also be some advantage in the fact of the sisters, wives, and mothers of men having identically the same education as the men themselves. A sister may stimulate her brother to exertion, or may at least help and encourage him, if she is engaged in the same studies. Tradition says that the sister of Lord Salisbury, the mother of a noble race, shared all her brother's work, and was a better Greek and Latin scholar than himself. The marriage of Cambridge teachers with women interested in the same objects has been sufficiently common to show us that such unions are happy,—perhaps indeed the fountain of a rare and ideal happiness. Mrs. Sidgwick admits that there are two ideals of married companionship; some persons preferring similarity of tastes and occupations, and others contrasts; some especially desiring intellectual sympathy and comradeship, and others the repose of complete change of ideas in domestic converse. We may hope that the first of these ideals may gradually prevail over the other, and that girls educated "on the old plan of a little music and drawing and a smattering of French" may be less sought after in the future than they have been in the past.

Nor can we to-day neglect the question of athletics. It is said that girls who cannot play hockey and lawn-tennis, not to mention other games, are at a discount in country houses, and are not likely to find

good husbands. Games are certainly more likely to flourish in a mixed than in a women's university. Still stronger is the case with regard to mothers. Most schoolmasters would acknowledge the inestimable benefit of a boy's mother being able to understand and criticise his more serious studies. Fathers are proverbially easy-going, and do not interfere unless the purse is too lavishly drawn upon. But women are more practical; and a mother who met her son's excuses for idleness with the rejoinder, "I know all about it, my boy. I have been through it myself," would occupy an impregnable position.

The disadvantages of a joint education, as they concern women and men, are of two kinds. We have shown, with regard to the first, that what is the ideal education for a woman has never been worked out; and the proposition that it should be identical with a man's is a mere assumption. The contention that it should be different was a strong point with the opponent of the Cambridge grace. The most authoritative statement on this side came from Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, in a letter to Bishop Selwyn. He says that no one can be more anxious than himself that the highest possible education should be placed within the reach of women, but that such education must be adapted, both from its general scope and in its details, to the disciplining and developing of their peculiar endowments.

"A perfect woman is distinct in type from a perfect man. It will, I suppose, be admitted that women are constitutionally different from men, that they have peculiar gifts, and that the moral and intellectual powers which the two sexes have in common are, for the most part, combined in them in different proportions and tend to form different characters. It will also be admitted that education is designed to train the whole person and not any one part, and to give as natural and complete and harmonious an expression as possible to the sum of the student's powers. If, then, the Cambridge honor course has been carefully designed to meet the special powers and needs of men, it must so far fail to meet the special powers and needs of women. If a woman is forced to submit to conditions which have been laid down, not only without consideration of her requirements, but in view of other requirements, she must suffer. I gratefully recognize the intellectual gain which women have found in the Cambridge course; but I believe that it has been secured at a high cost, and not without loss."

It would probably, therefore, be a misfortune if the education of women was fixed for the future on the same lines as that of men by the accident of temporary coincidence, just as it has been a misfortune that our Grammar-school education was forced into the groove of humanities by the coincidence of the Renaissance with the Reformation.

Among the minor disadvantages, those which are most obvious, and

which were perhaps most feared at the outset, have not been found to exist. There is no inconvenience in the mere fact of men and women attending the same lecture-rooms, or in their using the same walks or the same chapels, or in their being taught privately in their colleges by youthful lecturers. In fact, to the women, the minor disadvantages have been nothing or next to nothing. We cannot say the same of the men. Lecture-rooms have undoubtedly been inconveniently crowded by the presence of women. At Lord Acton's inaugural lecture a part of the room was reserved for women. But that was interpreted as being reserved against men. The fair sex crowded the remainder of the room; and even the most distinguished professors could scarcely find a place. At the ordinary lectures of the same eminent teacher nearly all the best places were occupied by women; and the most serious male students had to take back seats. I should say, also, that on more than one occasion within the last twenty years, lectures of a lower standard have been bolstered up by the presence of women. If the male audience had been left to itself, the lectures would either have come to an end or the lecturer would have been obliged to alter his tone or raise his standard.

It is obvious that in certain subjects of a scientific character inconvenience and embarrassment might be the natural result of lecturing to a mixed audience of men and women. A medical lecturer writes to the Cambridge Syndicate:—

“So far as my limited experience goes, no advantages and some decided inconveniences have resulted from the admission of women students. Though not advisable, subject-matter and method have practically been modified owing to their presence.”

A teacher of a more balanced mind reports that

“the advantages are the presence of perfectly regular and enthusiastic students who are anxious to learn all they can. The disadvantages are that the men do not ask questions as freely in the presence of women; at least, so it seemed to me.”

One frankly states that

“in some lectures the presence of women has been an advantage, by increasing the small number who attend.”

Another, who lectures in classics, testifies:—

“The form of my lectures has sometimes, though not often, to be modified. This is an inconvenience. I know of no advantage.”

Besides these more obvious drawbacks there are others of a more subtle character. A lecturer holds classes to which men and women are admitted, and in which papers are written and freely criticised before the class. It is probable that at first, more papers will be written by women than by men; and if this be the case, it will be difficult to get the men to write papers at all. Also, if most of the lecturer's time be taken up in criticising the women's papers, men will be reluctant to attend the class at all. Indeed it may be said, generally, that where the teaching is of a close and intimate character, where there is any questioning, or indeed any lecturing in a casual and informal manner, the presence of a mixed class is a decided hindrance. In a set, formal lecture the presence of women may possibly be a help, provided they do not occupy the best places and keep out the men; but serious and searching instruction is made more difficult by their participation in it.

I have said nothing about the conversion of Oxford and Cambridge into mixed universities, because although this is regarded as a desirable end by some prominent and responsible authorities, no attempt has been made, so far as I am aware, to work it out in detail or to show how the many difficulties attending it are to be surmounted. Putting this aside, we may say, in conclusion, that the establishment of Newnham, Girton, and similar institutions at our universities has been a decided gain for the higher education of women, and that it could not have been assisted so much in any other manner. But these colleges, while doing a missionary work, do not represent the best form in which female education can be given. This can be attained only by a system of education confined to women alone. Even this moderate result has not been attained without some loss to the higher education of men,—a loss which may be endured so long as it is confined to its present dimensions, but which would become intolerable if allowed to assume larger proportions.

OSCAR BROWNING.

NAVAL WARFARE: PRESENT AND FUTURE.

ONE of the most remarkable features of the present decade is the interest almost universally taken in things that pertain to war on the sea. Ten years ago, even in England, where the navy has a peculiarly vital importance, comparatively few people had more than the barest acquaintance with the units of their fleet; in France, the next naval Power, the warships were then scarcely known to the civilian; in the United States, memories of naval actions in the War lingered feebly; but nowhere was there any equivalent to the all-pervading naval mania of the present day. It is not my part here to consider the causes that have led to this interest: it suffices that it exists. And the sum total of it all culminates in the questions: "What will a real naval fight be like? What would it be like now? What will it be to-morrow?"

In the ironclad era, we have had naval actions enough to supply material for a long and comparatively satisfactory history of them. I use the word "comparatively" because none of the actions in which the modern ship has participated has been on a par with the gigantic land-struggles that the new age has seen; besides, minor details, such as the exact amount of armor carried by a ship, have—perhaps of necessity—obscured the main issues, historically. When the important sea-fight of to-day or to-morrow comes to be fought, a pound or two more of projectiles thrown in a minute, an inch or so more or less armor, a fraction of a knot difference in speed, will not decide the action. There are greater issues than these; and it may well be that we shall find one ship pretty much like another when theory is over-set for practice.

From every naval battle of this age, the first-class vessel has been conspicuously absent; consequently, viewed in the light of experiments, the actions have been more or less futile—futile to the thinking student. The Yalu came as a terrible revelation and "wet blanket" to the theories of many enthusiasts. Previously to the Yalu fight, the men who batten on proving-ground results and statistics had shown that the ironclad was played out: the Yalu rehabilitated the armor-clad, and thrust the cruiser into the background. But, beyond this, it

taught nothing: we are still blindly groping when we dream of the naval warfare of to-day or to-morrow. All we actually know is, that the penetrative powers which we assign to our guns are entirely mythical when tested in actual practice; and that we have no reliable data, by which we can correct, and make a proportionate scale.

We know that the bigger the gun, the less likely it is to hit the target; but, again, our data only suggest that the best possible lies in a mean,—a mean that is left to individual judgment. A year ago, the 12-inch gun embodied this mean; already the French have discarded it for a heavier weapon; and we may look to see other nations following suit.

The ram, tested by results, has proved itself more likely to be fatal by accident than by design. From an absolute belief in it, opinion gradually changed till it was spoken of as an impossible weapon; and the French, previously so partial to enormous spurs, so far discarded their old ideals as to build their battleship "Brennus" without any ram at all. Yet, at the same time, the United States were busy over the "Katahdin," a "ram" pure and simple: she is now in the Navy. France is building ram-bowed ships once more; and the new second-class British cruiser "Arrogant" and her sisters are short, double-rudered ships, specially designed for use as rams. Where then lies the truth about the ram?

The torpedo again forms debatable land. With the torpedo-vessel I shall deal farther on: here we need but consider the ship's torpedo-tube. The torpedo is a destructive weapon; but it cannot be used at a range much exceeding a quarter of a mile. At that distance, the big gun can hardly miss; and its devastation would be quite as appalling as any that the less-accurate torpedo could effect. Moreover, the slow speed of a torpedo—slow in comparison with a projectile—infininitely increases the risk of damaging a friend instead of the enemy aimed at. Also, every part of the ironclad not heavily armored being searched by quick-fire shell, the torpedoes are likely to be exploded in their tubes long ere they can be employed. So much is this recognized that the under-water tube alone is being adopted for new designs; while the above-water tube is condemned entirely. But submerged tubes are difficult to use. In the British navy, certainly, the deflection of the torpedo caused by the ship's movement has been reduced to a very few degrees; but perfection is still some distance off. With other nations, the tube being of cruder design, the deflection is so enormous that a hit at any appreciable range must be almost a matter of pure chance.

Let us briefly consider what the modern torpedo, fired from large ships, has actually done.

In the Chino-Japanese war the submerged tube played no part, and the above-water tube was employed without results. Taking the battles of the war in their order, we find that at Asan, the "Tche-Yuen," approaching the Japanese squadron under a flag of truce, fired a torpedo which missed. Later, when chased and fired at by the "Yoshino," six loaded torpedoes lay on the Chinaman's deck; but none was hit.

In the same battle, the gunboat "Kwang-ki" attempted to approach within torpedo range of the enemy, but, ere she could do so, was so badly damaged by gun-fire that she had to be beached. During this cannonade, a tube with a torpedo in it was hit by a projectile, which destroyed the discharging mechanism but did not explode the torpedo. Later, a shell from the "Naniwa," hit the loaded after torpedo-tube; and the torpedo, exploding, blew the gunboat's stern to atoms.

In the affair of the "Kowshing," the Japanese "Naniwa" is said to have fired a torpedo; but this has been denied. In any case the explosion which preceded the sinking of the transport seems to have been due to a 10-inch shell; and there is nothing to show that any torpedo hit the target.

At the Yalu, the Chinamen, anxious possibly to be rid of them, discharged all their torpedoes at a ridiculously long range. The water was "full of torpedoes" floating about: but no ship came foul of them; and after the fight fishermen picked them up and towed them to Port Arthur, where they were repurchased by Admiral Ting at one hundred dollars a torpedo.

Therefore, so far, the ship's torpedo has nothing to show for itself; the successes obtained against the "Aquadaban" and "Blanco Enco-lada" being those of gunboats *used as torpedo-boats*, and in both cases in night attacks in harbor.

From the torpedo we return to the ram. There is but one modern instance of an attempt to use this—that of the "Chih Yuen" at the Yalu. This attempt was rendered abortive by the gun, a big shell at close range sinking the cruiser before she could reach the "Yoshino." But—and it is a "but" worthy of consideration—this fatal shell did not come from the "Yoshino"; nor is there proof that it came from the "Takachiko," which was also firing at the Chinaman. Two other solutions are equally probable: First, that a stray big shell from one of the "Itsikushima" class fired the shot; and, second, that it was fired by a Chinese ironclad,—the cruiser thus being sunk by her friends.

After the battle, one of the foreign officers of the big Chinese iron-clads explained in minute detail how a Japanese cruiser had passed across his bows at close range. On this ship one of the big 12-inch guns had been carefully laid and fired. The shell hit her on the water-line forward, burst, and sank her. When, later, it became known that no Japanese vessel had been lost, this officer was looked upon as a marvellously able liar. But when we reflect that every detail of the story corresponded with the going down of the "Chih Yuen" as described by both sides; when we add to this the fact that the Chinese fleet was in great confusion, and the "Chih Yuen"—which had left the line without orders—steamed in a course identical with some of the Japanese vessels, we may well conceive that she was taken for an enemy as she loomed out of the smoke haze. And this adds to the dangers of using the ram yet another and the most terrible risk. A ram attack in a fleet action, to be successful, must be in the nature of an isolated attempt; and for the stress of war the one clear maxim is, "They that be not with us are against us."

To follow the matter to its logical conclusion: The vital importance of keeping a fleet in hand is fully recognized: it is the *ultima Thule* of all schemes of attack. But its logical corollary would seem to be more important still; viz., that, given an ability to keep your own fleet in hand and to produce confusion in the enemy's line, you have only to lie in the comparative safety of long range and allow the foe to sink himself. Smokeless powder will interfere, to some degree, with this tactic,—a tactic that would certainly seem to have presented itself to the mind of Admiral Ito at Yalu,—but the absence of heavy smoke billows will not entirely nullify it. Over and over again it has been proved that even in peace manœuvres gunners incline to fire at the nearest object without too much questioning as to whether it be friend or foe: in the thunderous moments of actual battle this tendency must increase a thousandfold.

At present the gun holds the field as the weapon *par excellence*. It is tolerably sure to hit the target at ranges under one thousand yards and it will hit occasionally up to four thousand. Much beyond this latter distance the target offered by a ship is a speck so tiny that all the odds are against a hit: a mile and a half is, perhaps, the greatest range at which any serious firing would be even attempted.

Near or far, however, it needs no gift of prophecy to foresee some of the things that will happen under present-day conditions. Increased range will merely prolong the early stages of an action. Sooner or

later all unarmored portions of the battleships will be blown to pieces; wreckage of top-hamper will gradually block the guns; shot-holes in the funnels will reduce the speed and make the engine-room an *Inferno* of heat. Two hundred degrees Fahrenheit may be looked for there; and it will have to be endured as best it may. The water-line is little likely to be hit: but rents just above it will be plentiful enough where there is no armor; and if there should be any sea on, the tons of water thus shipped will seriously affect a ship's speed, if indeed they do not capsize her. The electric lights will break down; there will be nothing but oil-lamps to pierce the choking blackness. Fires may be looked for here and there. It is the opinion of many naval officers that—at any rate in a duel—no captain will be able to stand the strain of this for long, that by mutual consent the ships will steam into close range, anxious to finish the matter without further delay. What will happen in such a case, with the ships so near that no gun can miss, so near that no armor can withstand the fearful impact, the imagination cannot really grasp. The devastation such an engagement must produce is too tremendous for a fanciful conception. It has one bright side: its endurance must be very short. There are those who think that upon one side or the other, panic will seize the crews, that men will spring overboard rather than endure the strain. It may be so: it is a question of discipline, and of how far discipline will hold.

To return to the long-range fight. Here, great as the apparent destruction may be, the actual damage will be comparatively slight. No sane captain will attempt to keep his men at the light, unprotected guns: these will be deserted, and damage done to them will not hurt a ship's vitals. The men behind armor will be safe enough, bruised and blackened maybe; but the guns will not be silenced.¹ The charges of modern shells are mostly high explosives; these will be burst outside by even quite thin armor: where they enter and explode, the damage will be intensely local. Hence we may look to see most of the ships comparatively sound, even after a long-range conflict of considerable duration.

It takes a great deal to put an ironclad out of action; nor does there seem any valid reason to believe in the lurid word-pictures of "the wounded mastodons rolling in their death agonies," of which now and again we hear so much. Even in the old three-decker days, when ships fought gun-muzzle to gun-muzzle; when, if there were no shells, there

¹ At Yalu two guns only in the whole Japanese fleet were totally disabled; while in the surviving Chinese vessels three only were thus put out of action.

were splinters equally terrible; when the motive power was entirely exposed; when the gunners had no protection whatever,—even then, it was the exception, rather than the rule, for ships to be totally disabled; nor were the losses in personnel very often sufficient to put a vessel out of action. At the battle of Cape St. Vincent, in 1797,—which in its tactics nearly resembled a modern ironclad fight,—the British had but one battleship totally disabled; and the defeated Spaniards lost but four. It is true that at the Yalu which, in that the victors steered for a gap in the enemy's line, tactically bears some resemblance to St. Vincent, the Japanese had three ships disabled, while the Chinese lost five. This, taking into account the smaller number of combatants, is about double the proportion of a fight of a hundred years ago; but the Yalu was an altogether exceptional battle. Its early tactics—which led to the disablement of two Japanese ships,¹ “Hi Yei” and “Agaki”—are not likely to be repeated; and no important naval Power would include, in its fighting-line unarmored ships, such as many of these combatants were. Only three ships which can really be called armorclads took part in the fight,—the “Ting Yuen” and “Chen Yen” on the Chinese side, and the “Fusoo” on the Japanese. The two former were knocked about: but they did not suffer any vital hurt; nor were many men lost in them; yet they were exposed to the fire of guns of sixty-six² tons and downwards for five hours.

The real danger of a modern sea-fight at long range lies in the ammunition question. After such a battle, ships, perhaps still quite unsubdued, will be left with empty magazines: the biggest ironclad cannot carry enough for more than a few hours' vigorous cannonade. An ironclad like the “Indiana” is very likely to feel her weakness here. It is now being recognized that ships of this class are, like many others, over-gunned. With a reduced armament, and consequently greater carrying capacity for ammunition, they would be better ships. In comparison with the Japanese “Fuji,” a vessel of over 2,000 tons more displacement, the “Indiana” is, so far as paper showing goes, the better ship in gun-power, and possibly better in regard to the protection of those guns. But the “Fuji” has a better ammunition supply; and in a duel between these two at long range the United States warship would be left comparatively intact, possibly, but with empty magazines, against the still fairly full ones of the Japanese ship.

¹ The Japanese passed right across the enemy's front, in their desire to cut off two lesser Chinese vessels. In so doing they exposed their own rear ships.

² In theory, the Canet gun was then the most powerful in the world.

This then is *the* problem of modern naval warfare: Will ships fight at long range, hurting each other but little, firing till all the ammunition is expended, or will they get to close quarters and mutually annihilate each other, meeting gun with gun, torpedo with torpedo, ram with ram? It is hard to see how, in either case, victory is to be obtained.

In a fleet action, as already noted, the side which gets in most disorder appears marked out to be the loser; but in a duel between battleships this element is absent. The exact amount of ammunition carried in a vessel in war time is more or less an unknown quantity; but, given two ships otherwise equal, we may take it that the larger carries most rounds per gun. Theoretically, A can fight at long range till the enemy, B, has emptied his magazines, then steam in and win. But B, knowing this, will endeavor to husband ammunition—none too easy a task. Speeds being about equal, neither—unless some “lucky shot” make it feasible—will be able to close with the other against the other’s wish; and the desire for close action on the one side is almost bound to correspond to the reverse on the other. How is such an action to end? A lucky shot—pure chance—would seem to be the only answer!

There exist many beautiful theories about “beating down an enemy’s fire.” But, fighting at a range at which at least 75 per cent of the projectiles miss altogether, how is this to be done? Again we are thrown upon the “lucky-shot” answer. The captains of the first two modern battleships that enter upon a duel will have a pretty problem to work out. If in narrow seas, the fight may be like a game of draughts; but if there should be plenty of sea-room, then we have to face the analogy of a game of draughts upon an almost limitless board.

On the strategy of the next big naval war it is not well to speculate too seriously. There are those who, following in the steps of Captain Mahan, endeavor to read the future by the light of the past. But, without adhering to the *Jeune École*, one may ask whether the gallant officer reads the past aright, whether the fascination of the historical side does not lead to some overlooking or warping of the practical? Has a sense of strategy been the all-powerful influence at work in past campaigns?

It is easy so to piece things together now; but in history, as I read it, strategy so often seems to have been, at the best, only on very broad and general lines. A vague desire to get at the enemy, and beat him, without much thought of subsequent issues, seems rather to have been the dominant idea. The strategical advantages would seem to have

been first noted and made use of *after* the victory; and the victory itself has so often been due to one side thinking that it had had enough before that idea occurred to the other. Frankly, I consider that all these pretty theories of carefully worked-out strategy need far more proof than has yet been adduced.

To sum up: The naval battle of to-morrow may be a terrible thing; but there is reason to believe that it will be far less dreadful than people are so fond of imagining. Especially is there reason to think that in ironclads it will not be very sanguinary. Science has made close-quarter fighting tantamount to annihilation; but it has only very partially solved the problem how to hit at long range—except at target practice. Quick-firers of 4- to 6-inch calibre, not needing to be relaid for every discharge, do indeed “sight themselves,” as the saying goes; but these cannot reach a ship’s vitals.

There is “the day after to-morrow” to consider; when the dynamite gun and submarine boat shall have been perfected. But the former is always bound to be limited in its range and exposed to the fire of guns that can attack it long ere it can reach them in reply; and the latter, even supposing the apparently hopeless problem of how to see under water to be solved, is hampered by innumerable other difficulties. It must come to the surface to see the enemy; and it can do so only in comparatively smooth water. For its own safety, it must move at a low speed; and a swifter enemy cannot have much cause to dread it under any conditions that as yet appear possible. It is dangerous to dogmatize as to the future; but the submarine boat does not at present hold anything but a limited future value. So much secrecy is observed about these craft that one cannot discuss their evolution freely; but they do not appear to have greatly progressed beyond the Confederate “Davids”; and these, despite the sinking of the “Housatonic” were, on the whole, far from successful. For such service very brave men are needed; and, since the supply is limited, in no navy are these to be lightly wasted. The submarine torpedo-boat, which sooner or later means death to its crew, does not appear to offer any promise of results worth the sacrifice. Rather, the future of special torpedo attack seems to lie with the boat swiftly moving on the surface; and this we must now examine.

Practical torpedo warfare of to-day reached its apotheosis at Weihai-wei; and the results were not eminently satisfactory. The Chinese were disheartened; their ships did not carry the right sort of guns to repel torpedo-boats; their defensive preparations were very poor; and

the fleet was in an easily assailable position. Twice the Japanese boats were discovered and had to retreat: twice they made attacks. In these attacks, two boats were sunk and several disabled; and only a small percentage of torpedoes hit the target. One ironclad, "Lai Yuen," was struck and capsized; an old nondescript vessel, "Wei Yuen" was sunk; the battleship, "Ting Yuen," twice struck, was compelled to run ashore; and the more modern, Elswick-built cruiser, "Ching Yuen," was hit, but only very partially disabled.¹ It was a result by no means equal to what had been prophesied.

Against this we must reckon the physical difficulties that the Japanese encountered from the weather,—difficulties that have, perhaps, hardly received a due meed of appreciation. Some of their torpedoes could not be fired because of the ice which clogged the tubes. Yet the Chinese fire was so very wild that this disadvantage was more than counterbalanced, if the actions are viewed purely in the light of experiments as to the pros and cons of torpedo-boat attack. It is the old, old story, that the things which are perfect in theory may prove to be something entirely different under the strain of actual war.

This is a truism, as also is the response that the excitement of battle is the cause. For torpedo-boat warfare this last is somewhat inaccurate, since at least two more potent forces are at work. I have seen and participated in a good many sham torpedo attacks, and have invariably noticed that it is impossible to judge the distance of the enemy. This is a factor common to peace and war, and so deserves attention. The actual firing of a torpedo is a comparatively simple matter; the principal part of the business is done in harbor beforehand; and the boat is steered so that the tube bears on the target. So soon as this is in line with the sights of the director, a trigger is pressed, or a lanyard pulled, and the torpedo leaps out. But it is necessary to know the distance; and this can be only very roughly guessed. Even in a peace attack there is room and to spare for excitement; but this is usually absent: service in torpedo-boats soon gives a man phlegm.

The second and more important point can occur only under actual fire. Curiously enough, saving a few torpedo-officers, no one has yet considered the thing that, before all others, may cause the torpedoist to fire too soon. It is the thought, "Suppose I am killed before I get my chance?"

A torpedo-tube is not a gun. A gun when laid, from the roll of

¹ She steamed about the harbor firing her guns on the following day. Eventually she was hit in the bow by a big shell from a land-fort and sank.

the ship, may be on and off the target; but there is a far longer period of time during which it can be fired with a reasonable prospect of success than in the case of a torpedo. It can, too, be easily relaid; a dead Number One can be quickly replaced. There is no relaying a torpedo-tube during an attack,—no boat attacking a modern, well-armed iron-clad is likely to live long enough for a second attempt,—and the firer of the torpedo is probably alone on the deck. If he be killed or disabled, the chance of firing the torpedo is lost. At distances under three hundred yards a torpedo is fairly certain to hit: at five hundred yards there is very much chance in the matter. The selection of the distance might depend upon the officer in command of the boat; while the gunner, or a sub-lieutenant, attended to the tubes; but there are few skippers who would not, in actual practice, instead of being in the conning-tower, be on deck steering the boat themselves, with the intention of running to the tube and discharging the torpedo at the opportune instant. In supreme moments having such issues as a torpedo attack, a man would trust only himself.

The average torpedo-man expects to get killed when he attacks: with him the question is, "Shall I be killed before I can fire, or after?" The more anxious he may be not to die without having done something, the more likely he is to fire at too great a range.

To return to the torpedo attack itself. There is reason to believe that sham torpedo-boat attacks afford a tolerably fair index to what may be expected in war. All over the world two minutes is the usual time allowed to a torpedo-boat under fire before she is considered out of action. Now though it is safe to assert that it is extremely improbable that a boat would be actually destroyed in so short a time, she may well be expected to receive hits that would materially reduce speed before being fired at for two minutes; and the longer time consequently taken to reach torpedoing distance may be taken as a set-off against wildness in a ship's fire. Other pros and cons are that hard as it is for a boat to find a fleet in peace manœuvres, it will—as a general rule—be infinitely harder in war time. The nerve tension consequent upon an actual attempt should also count something against the boat,—but less than is generally assumed. I do not think that disciplined men under fire from a ship would lose their heads. An untrained crew certainly would; but a torpedo-boat manned with the raw material would, for other reasons, be so absolutely useless that no ship would have cause to dread it.

We may, therefore, take it that the percentage of losses sustained

by fleets in peace manœuvres represents the percentage of losses that may be looked for in war. This does not work out at a higher figure than one ship in fifteen, and is arrived at from English and French manœuvres during the last few years. Since all doubtful cases are counted in favor of the boat, this is possibly an excessive estimate rather than otherwise.

In the future, the general adoption of the 12-pounder gun with its 3-inch shell will confer a heavy advantage on the big ship; but the real point against the boat is that she is too slow. A twenty-knot boat, out at sea, is not able to steam so fast as a fifteen-knot battleship: in a sea that does not affect the latter, the former may find her speed almost halved. Nearly all the torpedo-boats in existence are, from this cause, practically obsolete.

From the torpedo-boat we come to its special antidote, the thirty-knot "destroyer," than which no vessel has more fired the popular imagination; nor are there wanting, even in naval circles, those who assert that she is the warship of to-morrow. Admiral Colomb, who, next to Captain Mahan, is the best-known authority upon matters of naval tactics and strategy, recently attempted to prove this in a lecture at the English United Service Institute; and, on the face of it, made out a very good case for his argument. He did not, however, pay much attention to the speed question noted above. Swifter than the torpedo-boat, the destroyer certainly is; but an extra four knots is not sufficient to cause a revolution in warfare. A destroyer—assuming smooth water—travels at about one thousand yards a minute: a torpedo-boat under the same conditions will cover, say, eight hundred. Two thousand five hundred to two thousand yards may be put down as the average distance at which an attacking torpedo-vessel is practically certain to be sighted: the destroyer thus gains twenty-four seconds over the boat. In choppy water, the destroyer rapidly loses speed, though not quite so quickly as the boat; and her gain in such weather may be put at half a minute. This is a good deal; but it is met, and perhaps nullified, by the increased advantage given to the ship by the 12-pounder gun in place of the lighter guns previously in use. The above calculation is made on the assumption that the ship is stationary: if in motion, and the attack even from ahead, the time is not likely to be materially reduced, because the ship can turn and present her bow; thus forcing the attack to make a detour. Altogether, there is little reason to expect any alteration in the results of to-morrow from those of to-day, unless the "zone" system of fire breaks down, and it should

prove even more difficult to hit a rapidly moving object than has been anticipated. Six 12-pounder guns only, firing at a torpedo-craft, would discharge in two minutes at least one hundred and twenty shell,—about two hundred is what, in theory, they could fire,—and a single shell may stop the attack. It is hard to believe that all these shell could miss, especially as under the “zone” system each gun has a special space of water assigned to it.

An attack by a large number of torpedo-craft does not offer a much greater chance of success. There is much risk of collision, much probability that the projectile which missed one boat will hit another. Now and then a boat is bound to get home; and the moral result of this will have effects of far more value than the merely physical: yet both to-day and to-morrow, so far as we can judge, the chances will be against the torpedo-craft.

This is a brief and necessarily sketchy view of the present and future position of naval warfare. It has been considered almost entirely as regards the *matériel*. On *personnel*, which is equally important, one might easily write as much again. It is possible now only to say that every step taken in invention thrusts the brave but untrained sailor more and more into the background; that, in addition to a dauntless courage, the ideal seaman of the future must possess more scientific skill than is needed in any other walk in life, and an absolute immunity from nerves.

FRED. T. JANE.

PAUL VERLAINE.

“ Écoutez la chanson bien douce
Qui ne pleure que pour vous plaire.”

IN one of the Latin-Quarter cafés, filled with smoke, several young people are sitting. They are talking about art with stormy enthusiasm and nervous excitement. From time to time a word of contempt or biting sarcasm about the Philistines and the hated *mufles* is heard. They are young artists and poets, “les autres de demain,” who, disregarding ironic laughter and bitter criticism, are walking in a new path,—some with talent, if not success. Those who are lacking in strength try to cast in new forms the essence of their hearts and brains; but the results of their efforts are ridiculous and caricatural.

Among these tumultuous youths, is a shabbily dressed young man. He has a peculiar, high, and round forehead, and deep-set, greenish eyes. On his mouth, covered with a small mustache, a sarcastic smile wanders. The joyful Bohemians turn towards him, singing a song with the refrain,

“ Chantons, chantons, comme Verlaine,
En avant !
Nous avons du talent.”

This negligent cynic, with deformed skull, is Paul Verlaine, beloved and admired by lovers of poetry; the author of many peculiar, refined, melodious poems, in which tenderest tones of longing, pure love, as well as hymns of mystico-religious ecstasies, mingle with loud accords of lascivious desires. He is the poet, always beloved of the muses; in everything that he sang, mindful of artistic beauty; famous in the literary world; almost unknown to the masses. He is the poet whom they proclaimed the most decadent,—the first among the Symbolists.

The poet lived like a Bohemian: his life was full of disorder, storms, physical suffering, and poetry. At last, he said farewell forever to this “laid Paris neuf,” in which, as he complained in one of his latest poems, he felt like a stranger.

On January 9, 1896, Verlaine died, after a short illness. He died not in the hospital with which he was so familiar, but in a modest, clean

house, full of flowers belonging to his friend and admirer, "Pauvre Lélian," as he calls himself in "Les poètes maudites." He died with the calmness of a philosopher, repeating, "La mort ne surprend pas le sage."

The adventurous, disorderly, nervous life of Verlaine is full of legends, throwing a shadow upon the good name of the poet. Let us look at this life and at the poetical productions of the deceased.

Verlaine was born in 1844 at Metz: his father was a well-to-do captain in the army. At nine years of age, he was sent to the Condorcet College in Paris. His youth was spent quietly; and at seventeen he received the diploma of *bachelier ès lettres*. When his father died, he lived with his mother in Paris. They were not rich, neither were they poor; having an income of seven or eight thousand francs.

In his poetical development, Verlaine passed through all the phases common to contemporary and even to present French poets. In the beginning he was influenced by Baudelaire and "Le Parnasse," being one of the latter.

In 1865, the publisher Lemerre, so well known to-day, made his modest book-shop, situated in the Passage Choiseul, a point of gathering for young artists and poets, who originated a powerful literary movement by the publication of a new periodical, "Le Parnasse." Among these innovators were Sully Prudhomme, Coppée, Mendès, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Dierx, Mallarmé, Hérédia; the most famous being Banville and Lecomte de l'Isle. In fact, a splendid gathering of talent, some of whom—Coppée, for instance—gained great popularity; while others—Sully Prudhomme, for example—became famous in the circle of lovers of elegant poetry. Others, as Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Mallarmé, and, finally, Verlaine, having left the ranks of the *Parnassiens*, became the heralds of a new tendency in poetry, among a new generation of artists.

The members of "Parnassus" became aroused against Romanticism, which, having already accomplished its great mission, became a commonplace mannerism, monotonous in form and essence. They turned away with contempt from the opinions and tastes of the people at large, —the *bourgeoisie*, who loved the most stupid and feeble literary productions, and did not know how to appreciate great contemporary writers. No wonder then that a contempt for the art epoch of the Philistines is a characteristic of all artists. Parnassus's aim was to obtain the most artistic form; to consider, in an artistic work, the form as inseparable

from the essence. Refinement of line was for him a necessary condition of poetry. The æsthetic views of Parnassus were concentrated in the rule, "l'art pour l'art," i. e., that art has its aim in itself; and that this aim is the worship of the beautiful.

Parnassus made a great impression; and its influence reached far beyond France. However, having chiselled and sculptured the form, Parnassus, by the common and natural order of things, began to decline; the new forms and means were used up; and Parnassus, whose activity dealt principally with the form, became a dead system. A new epoch arose; new tendencies were awakened; new æsthetic aspirations were aroused; and to-day they are manifested in all fields of art throughout Europe. Individuality and idealism, personal art, breaking the narrow limits of every-day life, searching unknown horizons, using new means,—these are the passwords to-day, resounding everywhere among the new generation of artists.

In 1866, Lemerre published the first volume of Verlaine's poetry, "Poèmes Saturniens." Whence this title? The poet was born under the bad sign of Saturn; and he says in his preface:—

"Or ceux-là, qui sent nés sous le signe SATURNE,
Fauve planète, chère aux nécromanciens,
Ont entre tous, d'après les grimoires anciens
Bonne part de malheur et bonne part de bile.
L'Imagination, inquiète et débile,
Vient rendre nul en eux l'effort de la raison.
Dans leurs veines, le sang, subtil comme un poison,
Brûlant comme une lave, et râle, coule et roule
En grésillant leur triste Idéal qui s'écoule.
Tels les Saturniens doivent souffrir et tels
Mourir . . ."

In fact, the poet's life flowed like a dark and tempestuous river, while his changing and uneasy fancy directed the feeble boat.

In the first volume, as we have said, Verlaine is under the influence of Baudelaire and "Le Parnasse." Refined, marble-like form of line, exotic impassibility, seem, to the young poet, to be the summit of his efforts. He remains under the flag of Lecomte de l'Isle; and, heralding the rule about "marble-like" line (so-called "tranquillity" and objectiveness") he exclaims, "Est-elle en marbre ou non, la Venus de Milo?"

"Poèmes Saturniens" passed without any great impression. In 1869, Lemerre published a new volume of poetry, "Fêtes Galantes,"—a book of refined, artistic verses, having the beauty of rococo figures.

Coquettish ladies chat lightly and wittily with noble cavaliers: the people of Watteau's pictures are resuscitated:—

“ Les donneurs de sérénades
Et les belles écouteuses
Échangent des propos fades
Sous les ramures chanteuses.

C' est Tircis et c'est Aminte,
Et c'est l'éternel Clitandre,
Et c'est Damis qui pour mainte
Cruelle fait maint vers tendre.”¹

Verlaine obtained an inferior position in the municipal government of Paris, and married Mathilde Mottet for love, just when big clouds began to gather over France,—before the Franco-Prussian War. He was in Paris during the siege; and while serving in the Guards, he contracted a bad cold, which was the cause of the illness that tormented him all his life. He did not give up his position, even during the Commune.

The years of his youth and the beginning of his married life, Verlaine describes with a naïve sincerity in his “Confessions,”—published a few years ago.

The sentiment of love towards his fiancée inspired him with the third volume of his poetry, “La bonne Chanson,” published in 1870. But the clashing of arms suppressed entirely the sounds of the lyre of love.

The life with his wife was not at all a happy one. He knew neither contentment nor peace; he was capricious, nervous, changeful; “inquiet, malade et subtil, tendre et changeant comme une femme.” These words, with which Bourget, in one of his verses, characterizes himself, paint Verlaine also. The poet had to deal with a common, obstinate woman. They soon began to quarrel; their quarrels oftentimes ending in a fight—a description of which one can find in “Confessions.” Finally, the misunderstanding went so far, that Verlaine was obliged to separate from his wife, notwithstanding that they had a son. But she did not cease to torment him with her hatred; so that in his imagination, she became almost a nightmare. He complains about this in his letters.

Then he began to fall into the clutches of an enchantress with greenish eyes, a poison with fire-like bosom—absinthe. The poet's nerves gave way under the continual excitement.

¹ “Fêtes Galantes”—“Mandoline.”

In 1872, after separating from his wife, he went to Belgium in company with the poet, Arthur Rimbaud, whose fantastic and unusual talent made a profound impression on the soft nature of Verlaine.

Later there occurred an accident which furnished material for various legends. It is true that Verlaine spent two years in a Belgian prison; but it is not true that he was sentenced for deeds against morality. The criminal court of Brabant put him in prison for the "crime of an attempt at murder." The fact is, that the "affair" happened during a quarrel while Verlaine was drunk, in the company of Arthur Rimbaud. Verlaine's friend, the well-known *littérateur*, Lepelletier, thus describes the incident:—

"Rimbaud, who dug deeply into Verlaine's pocket-book, once asked for some money for a trip to Charleville. Verlaine refused. Rimbaud insisted, shouted, swore. This scene took place in the presence of Mme. Verlaine, who tried to calm the strife between the two friends, excited by an unlimited number of drinks. Rimbaud announced that he would go at any rate; he opened the door; Verlaine rushed after him, and, pulling a revolver,—which in those times, he always carried with him,—threatened Rimbaud with it. The latter tried to seize his arm. While they were struggling, the revolver exploded, slightly wounding Rimbaud's hand. Rimbaud ran to the stairs, calling 'Help me!' Like a madman, Verlaine pursued him and, without any conscience, fired a second time, fortunately without any damage. Policemen arrested and disarmed him; and he was brought to court. A Belgian citizen would have been put in prison for two weeks for the unlawful carrying of firearms and unwarranted use of them. The accused, however, was a Frenchman; and police records pointed at him as being a member of the Commune. Complaints of his father-in-law and the hatred of his wife were aggravating circumstances. He was given the severest punishment and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The fact that Verlaine was a poet also influenced the Brabant judges."

With unusual resignation, Verlaine accepted this severe punishment. He armed himself with patience, worked, and counted the days separating him from liberty. At first he was imprisoned in Brussels, afterwards in Mons (Hainaut).

The following letter, written from the prison, throws some light upon the poet's character. The letter is addressed to Lepelletier:—

"BRUSSELS, Sunday, September 28, 1873.

"My dear friend:

When this reaches your hands, be so kind as to answer it by return mail. You can easily understand how much I care for it. For three weeks I have not had any visitors, because my mother is gone away; and since her departure I have received only one letter from her. I wrote to her last Sunday, and am still waiting for an answer. In her present state of sorrow and depression, being absolutely alone, as you know, and having such a restless disposition, she makes me

uneasy when she ceases to write to me. A thousand bad thoughts swarm around me, making my dreadful situation even worse. From time to time, I receive a letter; but this must not prevent you from acceding to my request. A letter is such a pleasure to an unhappy prisoner. Write, then, at length and as distinctly as you can; not for me, because I am accustomed to your scribbling, but on account of the Director of the Prison, in order to avoid any delay. Tell me about Paris, about my friends, and whether you have any news from Rue Nicolet [a street in Montmartre quarter, where Verlaine's wife lived with her parents]. Have the Parisian newspapers written anything about this unfortunate affair? Is Victor Hugo in Paris? Give me his address. [The great poet tried to obtain pardon for Verlaine, but without success.]

I suppose mother has spoken to you about the great importance I see in the publication of my small book, 'Romances sans paroles.' I shall correct and print it myself.

I have numberless literary projects; above all, theatrical ones, because, as soon as I am out of prison, I contemplate working very hard in order to make a living by my pen. I will write to you fully later on about it.

I do not know when they will put me in another prison. It may happen any moment; therefore, write to me soon.

I beg of Laure [Lepelletier's sister] to visit my mother as often as possible; and I thank her for the solicitude she has shown for me and for my mother.

I am longing, especially during the last two weeks, and my health is not the best. Sometimes I have dreadful headaches; and I am more enervated than ever. Do not say anything about it to my mother; and if you see her before she receives my letter, tell her that I have written to you and that I am well.

Give my best regards to Blemont and Valade. I press your hand cordially."

This letter is a *document humain*, testifying, with eloquence, to the resignation with which the poet endured his unhappy lot, as well as to his impressionable heart, and his love for his mother. The *naïveté* of this sentiment he preserved to the end of his life: he remained a light-headed, foolish, good child.

After his release from prison, he settled with his mother on a small estate in Ardennes. He was penetrated with a profound contrition, seeking a quiet harbor and religious consolation, which was a source of joy to his impressionable soul: he even spent a few months in the quiet cell of a monastery. The fruit of this repentance was a volume of poetry, "*La Sagesse*" (1880).

But the Verlaines were soon obliged to sell the farm and go to Paris. Days of misery came; and, after his mother's death, the poet plunged again into the crazy whirlpool of Bohemian life. "*Je ne puis plus conter les chûtes de mon cœur*," he said of himself in one of his poems. He was in poor health, ill very often, and obliged to search for a shelter in some hospital. As, with a sad, ironical smile, he had written of his life in prison in "*Mes prisons*," so, in similar manner, in "*Mes hôpitaux*," he painted his wanderings in the hospitals.

"Jadis et Naguère," "Amour," and several other volumes of poetry date from this epoch, as well as "Parallèlement" (1881),—a gathering of lascivious, strange verses, written at the same time as "La Sagesse"; for the stream of wisdom flows in the poet's soul side by side with the stream of sin. Although he wrote much, he used to live from hand to mouth, having hardly enough for subsistence; for does lyric poetry that walks in unusual roads ever pay, and can it assure a living to the writer? It is said that Verlaine's literary friends helped him in the struggle for life. However, that may be, it is a fact that misery was the constant companion of the poet.

Still the light of happiness sometimes fell across his path, as is proved by the volume of poems, "Bonheur" (1885).

Up to the last moment, he did not put his pen aside; being glorified by the "young ones," admired by artists, and writing for numerous Parisian magazines. Coppée said about him: "He was a good boy, but without any control over himself, and entirely spoiled by his mother. However, his foolish deeds did not injure anybody but himself; and they admit that he fully regretted them."¹

In fact, he suffered very much; resenting everything with his heart; being gifted in the highest degree with susceptibility and *naïveté*, which are among the characteristics of the lyric poet.

As Lemaître said about Verlaine: "Il avait la musique dans l'âme"; therefore, he was obliged to sing, and he sang under the impression of the moment.

Sometimes he touches the silvery strings of the lyre of love of a troubadour; bringing out soft, floating melodies, full of charm, sweet melancholy, misty sadness, and fainting loneliness. At other times, he seizes an enchanted violin and plays some short, crazy *pizzicati*, full of *capricci*, sparkling with artful rhymes and measures. Then, again, from a desperate soul, rush forth ecstatic prayers, full of grief and humble worship, to the Lord in heaven. In this dark soul, there gleamed and burned a mystic faith; and as one sometimes sees in Gothic cathedrals, on the walls of lofty columns, strange sculptures, representing dreadful figures of monsters, and devilish, grimacing faces of gnomes and intoxicated monks,—true works of the devil!—so in the poet's soul was found a place for lascivious and dark desires. How can we reconcile these apparent contradictions? He had the soul of a mystic, devoured by the fire of eternal restfulness,—passing easily from one extreme to another,—the soul of a libertine from the court of

¹ "Le Temps," January 10, 1896.

Louis XV, the soul of a child full of girlish freshness of sentiments, the soul of a *fin-de-siècle* Parisian,—in a word, he was a lyric poet, deeply impressionable. The greatness of his talent rests on the perfection which he always gives to his sentiments, on the artistically beautiful form of his verse.

He feels everything from the lyric side. The charm of religion attracts him and stimulates him to mystical flights. Then he soars to the Middle Ages, full of enthusiasm, secrets, and dread.

“C'est vers le Moyen-Âge, énorme et délicat,
Qu'il faudrait que mon cœur en panne naviguât,
Loin de nos jours d'esprit charnel et de chair triste.

Guidé par la folie unique de la Croix
Sur tes aîles de pierre, ô folle Cathédrale !”¹

Tired by adversities, with a heart full of repentance and contrition, and burning with God's love, the poet breaks forth in “La Sagesse” in hymns; recalling the profound and flamelike church-poets of the Middle Ages.

He has a soul as naïve as a child's,—telling about his offences and sins, and shedding bitter tears on account of them,—which manifests itself in these poems as though they had been written a long time ago, in a past epoch, in the Middle Ages, by some devout anchoret or simple theologian.

Suffering and love made the poet sing melodies with incomparable charm and simplicity. One of the most charming songs is the one beginning,

“La lune blanche
Luit dans le bois.”²

With similar delicacy, simplicity, and art are marked the poems in which the poet expresses his sufferings and griefs. Enjoying the tranquillity of an evening outside the city, the whispering of the trees surrounding a quiet house, he exclaims, “Lord, Lord, how peaceful is the life here!” And from the soul wandering on the dark roads of reminiscences, rushes out, amidst sobbing, the question: “Tell me, what have you done with your youth?”³

Long sobbings of autumn wind are blended with the exclamation of a suffering heart in one melody of sad song. In these fantastic and

¹ “La Sagesse,” iv. ² “La bonne Chanson,” iii. ³ “La Sagesse.”

strangely suggestive words, in the "Chanson d'Automne,"—one of the "Poèmes Saturniens,"—

" Les sanglots longs
Des violons
De l'automne"

does one not actually hear the whistling of the wind, the falling of the yellow leaves from the trees?

Verlaine lived a long life, famous in the circle of "young ones," appreciated by the connoisseurs, a stranger to the people at large.

In the meantime, new cliques appeared in the field of literature and art; and they had such a strong influence in all directions, that even the people at large and the newspapers began to pay close attention to them. They gave up the sarcasm with which, for several years, they had greeted new tendencies of artists: they began to comment upon them, to study them. Only then did the public begin to pay attention to Verlaine's personality: it crept into the columns of the newspapers; and the fantastic life of the Bohemian poet proved to be a good theme for the reporters of the boulevards.

They baptized the new cliques "Decadents," "Symbolists," and several other names. They proclaimed Verlaine at once a *Décadent*, a *Symboliste*; but such names at best have no signification, and by no means can they be applied to Verlaine. Being a pure lyric poet, he did not care about pure theories, he did not bother himself with formulas, nor did he pay any attention to the "schools": in schools imitators are gathered. When he was asked what he thought about symbolists, he answered, with this sarcastic but good-natured *blague*, which was characteristic of him:— "Cymbalistes? Je ne comprends pas. Ça doit être un mot Allemand."¹

However, Verlaine stood in the front rank of political reformers; and he enjoyed the love of the whole new generation of poets and lovers of the new poetry. They appreciated and loved him as the poet of God's favor. Besides, they felt as though related to him by their similar views on art, their artistic tendencies, and in general by the whole character of his poetry.

It would take too much space to give an exact picture of the influences dominating the younger generation of poets, and to penetrate into their psychological reasons. These influences, apparently very contradictory and entangled, dark and strange, are, in the opinion of some, indicative of an epoch "of decadence"; according to others,

¹ HUBERT, "Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire."

of a transitory period, full of movement and life, of dreams about a glorious future, unknown presentiments, and loneliness. But, in order to bring out Verlaine's position and importance in contemporary Parnassus, I must point out, at least, the principal characteristics and views of the younger generation of poets.

It is impossible to treat the new artists as one body; for they have only one point in common—individuality in life and art, the worship of the beautiful in any form. They understand and appreciate all tendencies, in so far as these are real, sincere expressions of the creator's conviction. The majority of them however, turn away from naturalism, because they consider its methods and philosophy too old. Naturalism,—the observation of details of life—has, say they, accomplished its mission.

Huysmanns, a former pupil of Zola, on the first page of "*Là bas*," accuses naturalism of flatness, of commonplace and Philistine brutality,—"l'immondice des mots et des idées."

This weariness is a very natural manifestation. We live in a transitory epoch, at the dawn of a new era. Such an epoch always awakens many desires; and as no one is able to foresee the future, or indicate the right direction with certainty, it is no wonder that many are seized with sadness and discouragement.

"Melancholy, loneliness, sadness, discouragement, are the essence of my soul," says one.

In the quiet motive of weariness, and in the fondness for pale colors, the whole of Verlaine's tendency was in harmony with the tendency of the majority of contemporary poets. The poet was evidently conscious of the quality of his poetry. The following characteristic fragment throws more light than any other upon the delicate soul of the poet. It is taken from Verlaine's "*Memoires d'un veuf*"; and the title of it is "*Malaria*."

"Are you like myself? I hate people full of blood. I despise the whole rank of famous painters and sculptors, notwithstanding my admiration for their works. Noisy voices, rude laughter, shock me beyond expression,—in a word, I dislike health. By health, I do not mean that marvellous harmony of soul and body which the heroes of Sophocles possessed, and the antique statues of pagan philosophers, but this dreadful, red face, noisy joy, burned, perspiring skin, plump hands, thick feet,—the whole mass of body and colors, a superabundance of which our epoch seems to enjoy.

From the same motives, I hate the so-called healthy poetry. Imagine only this: Beautiful girls, beautiful boys, beautiful souls,—"*mens sana*," etc.,—everything beautiful beyond words. As for the background: Green woods, green fields, blue of the sky, golden sun, weaving white,—I turn away in disgust.

Are you like myself? If not, leave me alone. But, if so, stay and tell me about a September afternoon, about a burning, sad afternoon, when the golden ray of melancholy falls upon the dying and over-ripe landscape. In such a frame, show me a quiet, queenlike figure of a woman, weary of suffering, whose youth is past but a few years. Her strength is not great; still, she can walk in the park. Clad in a white dress, she has large, gray eyes, like the sky, unchanging like the horizon. Truth is written in those eyes: a profound, warm passion is hidden in them.

My heart and my thoughts accompany this pale enchantress, while, in her flowing dress, she walks over the faded flowers, among the over-ripe fruits, surrounded by the scent of autumn."

The subtleness—or, if some prefer, sickness—of this poetry, required the use of artistic methods. Verlaine is the master of lyric expression; using every delicate means, in order to express every shadow of his sentiment, and to excite, by harmonious sounds, the nervous strings of the modern, impressionable listener. That is why the "young ones" considered him their leader and why he was called the first Symbolist. The melodious, suggestive words, the strange, symbolic pictures arouse in the soul of the reader, the impression which the poet wishes to give him. "Il pleure dans mon cœur, comme il pleut sur la ville," says the poet; and the use of assonance and alliteration ("pleure," "pleut") gives to the lines a pleasing harmony, and to the picture charm and color. To move the sensitive soul of the listener by the music of the rhyme,—such is Verlaine's aim.

When Lecomte de l'Isle died, one of the Parisian reviews asked the literati and artists, who, after the author of "Poèmes Barbares," was worthy to take up the national lyre. The votes were all for Verlaine. The public of the boulevards was astonished at such an artistic *plebiscitum*. The new poet laureate was so little known! Nevertheless, many lovers of poetry loved and admired him,—but how many lovers of poetry are there?

Paul Verlaine died January 9, 1896, and was buried two days later in Clichy Cemetery. All the artistic and literary youth of Paris followed his coffin; several eminent literati spoke at his grave.

Verlaine never soiled himself with a falsehood; nor did he humiliate himself by seeking the applause of the multitude. His lyre was not for sale. He was a poet always, sincere and proud. He walked alone, sad; and he suffered.

S. C. DE SOISSONS.

The Forum

NOVEMBER, 1897.

DANGEROUS DEFECTS OF OUR ELECTORAL SYSTEM.—I.

THE Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, prescribing the mode of electing the President and Vice-President, was adopted September 25, 1803, and has, therefore, been in force a little more than ninety-four years. This amendment, which was designed only for the purpose of avoiding the difficulties and dangers disclosed in the contest between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr, in 1801, has never been regarded by our leading statesmen as an entirely satisfactory adjustment of the whole subject; and agitation for a change, which began in many of the State legislatures and in Congress within a few years after its adoption, has been renewed at intervals during the whole period of its existence.

During the years immediately preceding the election of 1824, a majority of the States, through their legislatures, declared in favor of a different method, and a great many proposed amendments were offered in the Senate and House of Representatives. Some of these passed the latter body by the requisite constitutional vote: others received very nearly the necessary majority in the Senate. During the period mentioned, proposed amendments were submitted in Congress by many gentlemen of national reputation in both Houses, representing different parts of the country; but, notwithstanding the fact that the necessity for a simpler and more direct method of choosing the Chief Executive has been very generally conceded in all the debates upon the subject, it has not been possible, so far, to secure in both Houses, the majority required for the submission of any plan suggested. In fact, for many years, no plan has been fully considered or voted on in either branch of Congress.

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By the original constitutional provision, the electors were to be appointed—as they still are—by each State in such manner as its legislature might direct; and they were required, when assembled, to vote for two persons, without designating which one was preferred for President or for Vice-President. When the certificates were opened and the votes counted, the person found to have received the greatest number of votes was to be President, if such number should be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and, after the President had been chosen, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors was to be Vice-President. In case no one had received a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, or, in case there should be more than one having such majority, and having an equal number of votes, the President was to be chosen by the House of Representatives, voting by States. After the choice of the President, and if there remained two or more persons who had received an equal number of votes, the Vice-President was to be chosen by the Senate.

At the election in 1800, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr each received seventy-three electoral votes; and the House of Representatives, after an angry contest, continued for seven days, during which thirty-six ballots were taken, elected Mr. Jefferson President, Mr. Burr becoming Vice-President, as provided by the Constitution. The country was so thoroughly excited and alarmed by this contest and the circumstances attending it, that, before the next Presidential election, an amendment was submitted by Congress to the several States, and was ratified by the requisite number, changing the method of voting in the electoral colleges so as to require each elector to name on one ballot the person voted for as President, and, on a distinct ballot, the person voted for as Vice-President. It provides, that the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and, if no person have such majority, then, from the persons, not exceeding three, having the highest numbers of votes on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall immediately choose the President by ballot, the representation from each State having one vote. If the House shall fail to make a choice before the fourth day of March next following, the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death, resignation, or constitutional disability of the President. The person who shall receive the greatest number of votes for Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, shall be Vice-President; but, if no person have such a majority,

it is provided that the Senate shall choose that officer from the two persons on the list having the highest numbers of votes.

While it has been generally admitted that the existing provisions of the Constitution on this subject, although better, perhaps, than those contained in the original instrument, are not only cumbersome and inconsistent with the democratic spirit of our institutions, but so imperfect in their details and so uncertain in their practical operation as to constitute a menace to the peace of the country at each recurring Presidential election, yet the political and material interests involved in any attempt to change them are so large and various, that we may be compelled to go on, without a change, until some catastrophe shall occur, which will either precipitate hasty and inconsiderate action, or prevent any action, because it has become too late to accomplish anything.

Looking back over the numerous and serious differences that have arisen, and considering the inadequate means provided for their orderly and authoritative adjustment, it seems almost marvelous that we have been able for so long a period to secure a regular and peaceable succession of Presidents and Vice-Presidents. In no other country in the world would such a system have failed to produce civil dissensions of the most dangerous character; and we shall be fortunate indeed if, in view of the growing importance of the offices to be filled, we continue much longer to enjoy immunity from such discords. This is not the place to discuss the state of political parties: but it must be evident to everyone who has given the subject any consideration that the present tendency is in the direction of dispersion rather than of consolidation; and, instead of two great opposing party organizations, we may have, for some time at least, three or four formidable parties, each with an electoral ticket of its own; thus not only enabling a mere plurality of the popular vote to control the entire electoral vote in every State, but, at the same time, greatly increasing the danger of compelling the House of Representatives to choose the President, and the Senate to choose the Vice-President.

If, however, owing to the multiplicity of electoral tickets, it should happen that more than three persons, voted for as President, should receive the highest and an equal number of votes, then there would be no choice by the electoral colleges, and there could be no constitutional election by the House of Representatives, because, under the Constitution, not more than three persons can be voted for in that body. In such a case, it would be impossible to select the persons to be voted for, and, therefore, impossible to proceed in accordance with the re-

quirements of the Constitution. If more than two persons, voted for as Vice-President, should receive the highest and an equal number of electoral votes, there would be no election to that office by the electors, and there could be none by the Senate, for the reason that two names only can be considered by that body. In all such cases, the electoral system would exhaust itself; leaving the country without an elected Executive, or a Vice-President to take his place.

The electoral system, which, even according to its original design, was never consistent with our theory of government, is, in my opinion, the source of all the greatest dangers to which we are now subject. It was not only inconsistent with our theory of government, but inconsistent with itself; for, if the people were, in fact, incapable of selecting a President or Vice-President by a direct vote, they were equally incapable of selecting competent agents to perform that duty for them.

Under this system, there is no uniform constitutional rule for the selection of electors, and there have been frequent periods in our history when three different methods were in actual operation at the same time; some States choosing by the votes of their legislatures, some by the votes of the people, on a general ticket, and others by the votes of the people in separate districts, each district choosing one elector. It is manifest that, in a matter of so great and general concern as is the election of a Chief Executive for the whole country, there should be perfect uniformity in the proceedings of the different States, in order that the people of each State may exercise their proper share of power in determining the result. If, in one State, the electors are chosen by a vote of the legislature,—not elected for that purpose, and, perhaps, not representing the will of the people on that subject,—and, in another, the whole electoral vote is given to a single person, simply because one set of electors received a small majority or a mere plurality of the popular vote, while, in a third, the electoral vote is divided between two or more candidates, because the popular vote was taken by districts, it is evident that, as regards this important function, the equality of the States and people is destroyed, and that, consequently, great injustice must be done to one side or the other in the contest. The Constitution not only permits all these different methods, but there are many other ways in which electors might be constitutionally appointed, if the legislatures should see fit to adopt them. In times of great excitement, the temptation to resort to unfair means,—especially if such means be legal and constitutional,—to secure advantages over political opponents, may become too strong for successful resistance,

and new methods may be found to prevent a just and equitable distribution of political power among the people.

There are now forty-five States in the Union ; and, yet, under the practice now prevailing, a President and Vice-President may be elected by a bare majority of the votes, or even by a plurality, in twelve States,—being three less than one-third of the whole number,—although all the people in all the other States may vote for other persons.

It appears, therefore, that, under the present system, a President and Vice-President may be regularly and constitutionally elected without receiving the votes of either a majority of the States or a majority of the people. This is made both possible and probable by the fact that the minority in each State is not only deprived of its due proportion of power in the election, but its votes are actually appropriated by the majority, or plurality, however small, and counted against the persons for whom they were actually cast.

In a free country, the will of the majority, or of a plurality,—if such a rule has been adopted in advance,—when constitutionally expressed in the form of a law, or in the selection of public officials, ought to govern ; and the minority cannot rightfully complain when its votes are merely lost, or prove ineffective. But when they are transferred to, and counted for, the majority, as they are now in choosing electors, there is just cause for dissatisfaction. If this process were necessary, in order to make the final result of the election conform to the will of the actual majority of the people of the several States, there would be no just cause for complaint ; but its tendency is to produce just the contrary effect, as shown by our whole experience under the system. It is, therefore, objectionable, in both form and substance. A majority, or plurality, of one in the popular vote of a State is just as effectual to give the entire electoral vote of that State to a single person as is a majority, or plurality, of a hundred thousand, or even a greater number, in another State. It can, therefore, happen that the result of an election will depend, not upon the majorities, or pluralities, received in all the States, or in a majority of them, but upon a bare majority, or plurality, received in a single State ; and this has actually occurred more than once.

That each candidate should be entitled to the vote actually received in each State by the electors representing him, is a proposition so plainly just and fair, not only to the candidate himself, but to the people who support him, that it ought to receive general assent. It is not suggested that the popular vote of the whole country should be consolidated, or aggregated, so that a majority, or plurality, of the whole number should

be necessary to elect ; but simply, that each State should control its own electoral or Presidential vote, and divide it among the persons voted for, according to the expressed will of its own people, without reference to majorities, or pluralities, in other States.

The electoral system is not only unnecessary, and likely to defeat the will of the people of the several States, in the selection of a President and Vice-President, but, as now conducted, it affords many opportunities and offers great inducements for fraud and corruption in the prosecution of the contest, as well as in the ascertainment and declaration of the result. When the election of a candidate by the electoral colleges can be secured by the purchase, or manipulation, of a very few popular votes in what are called the doubtful or pivotal States, it is scarcely to be expected that the temptation to use improper means, if necessary, to influence public opinion in such States will be successfully resisted by those who are entrusted with the management of political campaigns. In fact, a comparatively small number of votes in any one of our great cities may determine the result in a whole State, and thus throw the State's entire electoral vote to one candidate ; and this small vote, however improperly it may have been secured, may decide who is to be President of the Republic for four years.

Another objectionable effect of this method of choosing the entire body of electors from a State in favor of a single person by a mere majority, or plurality, of the votes is, that, in the nominations of candidates for these two great offices, especially for the office of President, political parties are not free to make their selections from the country at large,—thus placing before the people, for their suffrages, the most eminent citizens, without regard to the size or importance of the States in which they reside,—but are, for partisan reasons, practically confined to a few close or large States, whose electoral votes must be secured, in order to succeed. The personal popularity of the candidate among his friends and neighbors, State pride, and even local predilections or prejudices for or against certain State laws or policies, are more relied upon than the experience or ability of the man, or the broad questions of public concern in which the whole people are interested. The question, whether or not the proposed candidate can secure a majority, or plurality, in his own State, is paramount to the question, whether or not he would, if elected, make a good President of the United States ; and, when the candidates are thus selected, the masses of the people must support one or the other of them, or their votes will be scattered and wasted. It is obvious that a system which produces such results is

radically wrong, and ought not to be tolerated in a country where the actual majority, or plurality, is supposed to rule, and where all the people are entitled to a voice in the selection of their officials.

The theory of the original constitutional provision was, that the electors appointed in the different States would be unpledged and, therefore, free to choose the President and Vice-President from among the ablest and most distinguished citizens of the country, without regard to partisan considerations. But, ever since the practice of making party nominations for these offices was inaugurated, this theory has been entirely abandoned; and, for a great many years, the obligation of the electors to cast their votes for the candidates of their respective parties has been universally recognized, and in every instance faithfully discharged. The complicated machinery, through which the will of the people was to be filtered and refined, has lost all the effective power it was ever supposed to possess, and remains only as a useless incumbrance and obstruction. Instead of securing an independent body of non-partisan electors, its operation has resulted in the quadrennial creation of a body of automatons, capable of moving in only one direction, without the right to exercise the least judgment or discretion, or the opportunity to change what has already been determined by the vote of the people, except by committing such blunders as may defeat the very purpose for which they were selected.

The fact that each set of electoral candidates is pledged in advance to vote for particular persons for President and Vice-President respectively, in many cases deprives the citizen of an opportunity to vote for his real choice for one or the other of, or both, these places, because he can vote for one set of electors only, and they are bound by their pledge to cast their ballots in a certain way for both offices. The citizen may desire to vote for one of the candidates to whom he is pledged, and against the other, but his desire must be ineffective: he must vote for both, or not vote at all. Fusion electoral tickets are no remedy for this evil, because they, too, are pledged to certain candidates, either absolutely or alternatively. Moreover, a citizen may be unwilling to give his support to any of the candidates having electoral tickets before the people; and, if so, he is compelled, by this arbitrary method of election, to lose his vote, unless he can secure the coöperation of a sufficient number of his fellow-citizens to issue another electoral ticket.

When the people have voted, and the result of the poll has been finally ascertained and declared, the question ought to be settled; but, under the present useless and cumbersome system, the greatest diffi-

culties and dangers are encountered after the popular election has been held. From that time on, until the President and Vice-President have been actually inducted into their respective offices, nearly every step is taken on dangerous ground ; and, although Congress has attempted to provide by statute for the orderly settlement of some of the questions that have produced dissension and threatened disorder in the past, the law purports to be mandatory only so far as it relates to the proceedings connected with the certification of the electoral appointments, and to the counting of the electoral vote. Indeed, even as to these matters, it leaves a wide scope for disagreements, with their attendant asperities and dangers.

But it is by no means certain that the statute will be effective as to any of the matters to which it relates; for it seems tolerably clear to the common understanding that, when the two Houses of Congress meet to open the certificates and count the electoral vote, they possess all the powers conferred upon them by the Constitution itself, whatever they are, and no others, and that these powers can be neither enlarged nor diminished by a law enacted by the two Houses themselves.

At any rate, the law may be repealed whenever an emergency arises which makes its operation unsatisfactory to the majority ; and, even while it remains in force, every Member of Congress will vote as he chooses upon the question of counting or not counting the electoral vote, or any part of the electoral vote, of a State. In other words, each Member will continue, as heretofore, to decide for himself, according to his own view of the subject, and upon his own responsibility as a Senator or Representative, whether the electoral votes were "regularly given," whether they were "lawfully certified," whether they were given by "lawful electors appointed in accordance with the laws of the States," and every other essential question involved in the proceedings.

Considered merely as a rule providing for the order in which the proceedings of the two Houses shall be conducted, when assembled to count the electoral vote and declare the result, the statute may be effective ; but, so far as it attempts to control the judgment or discretion of Senators and Representatives, in determining what electoral votes shall, or shall not, be counted, it is evident that it must fail whenever a serious conflict of political interests shall occur.

The proposition, that one Congress can bind its successors by a law, or, that it can bind even its own Members in the discharge of their duties as representatives of the States and people, will scarcely be seriously insisted upon by anyone. What the moral effect of such a

statute may be, is foreign to the question, because what is necessary to secure permanent peace and tranquility is a fixed, uniform, and authoritative rule for the ascertainment of the popular will, and for its execution when ascertained.

Suppose the electors assemble and cast their ballots on a day different from that provided by law, as was the case in Wisconsin, in 1857; or, that the people should choose electors on the proper day, and these electors should assemble and cast their ballots on the proper day, but the question should arise, whether or not the State was, at the time of the popular vote, or at the time of the electoral vote, legally a member of the Union, as it did in the case of Indiana, in 1817, of Missouri, in 1821, and of Georgia, in 1869, by what settled rule shall it be decided? Suppose the electors should vote for two persons, both citizens of one State, is the whole vote void, or is it void only as to one of the persons voted for? If the latter, which one shall lose it? Suppose that only one return has been made from a State, and there has been no final determination of the "controversy or contest" in the State, and, upon opening the certificates, the objection is made, that the appointment of the electors has not been "lawfully certified," or that their votes have not been "regularly given," or that some of them held offices of trust or profit under the United States, or that they were appointed on the wrong day; or, suppose that all the proceedings were regular on their face, that all the electors were duly chosen and qualified, and found to be so by the State tribunal, but objection is made that the person voted for as President was not a natural-born citizen of the United States, or was not thirty-five years old, or had not been a resident of the United States for fourteen years,—it is not going too far to say that, if the result of the election should depend upon the decision of any one of these questions by a partisan Congress, there would be, at least, very great danger of civil commotion and strife.

The statute leaves the decision of all questions concerning the appointment of electors—which, I suppose, includes the question of eligibility—to the several States, in case they have provided some judicial, or other methods for their final determination; but it asserts for Congress the absolute power, by the concurrent vote of both Houses, to settle, finally and conclusively, even when there has been a judicial determination in the State, all questions relating to the form and substance of the certificates, and to the regularity and validity of the votes given by the electors. Consequently, every question of that character arising must become the subject of controversy in that body.

Of course, the power to decide finally upon the regularity and validity of the votes cast must reside somewhere; and, so long as the electoral system is retained, it must be exercised by the body having the authority to count, or by some tribunal created or designated by it. But the great danger arises from the fact that, under the present method of choosing the electors, the entire vote of the State is, in most instances, involved in the decision; and this vote, having all been returned in favor of one person, may have determined the apparent result of the election. The admission, or exclusion, of the vote of a single State may elect one person and defeat another who, on the face of the returns, was duly chosen; consequently, the interests at stake are so large that it is practically impossible to secure a perfectly fair and impartial decision, and certainly impossible to secure one that would be satisfactory to all. Under the plan which will be discussed hereafter, this result could seldom, if ever, occur, because each person voted for would lose his proper proportion of the rejected vote, and the general result would not be affected, unless one of the persons had secured nearly the whole popular vote in some one of the larger States, and the vote of such State should be rejected.

Difficulties concerning the counting of the electoral vote began in 1805, when the certificates from the State of Massachusetts were opened; and they have occurred nine times since, the last being in 1877, when the result of the election depended upon the votes of each of the States of Louisiana, Florida, Oregon, and South Carolina. The severe test to which the temper of our people and the strength of our institutions were then subjected cannot be safely repeated; and, yet, while the existing system is continued, we are liable to a recurrence of similar troubles at each Presidential election, under conditions not so favorable, perhaps, to the preservation of the public peace.

There is no good reason why these perilous obstructions should not be removed from our pathway, and a plain and just method be adopted for ascertaining and declaring the choice of the people for the two most important offices in the government. If there ever was a substantial reason for the intervention of electors, it has long since ceased to exist; and every consideration of justice, expediency, and political consistency demands that this antiquated remnant of European aristocracy should be eliminated from our system at the earliest possible day. How this can be done, without injustice to any part of the people, and without disturbing the existing constitutional relations of the States, will be considered in another paper.

J. G. CARLISLE.

NOTABLE LETTERS FROM MY POLITICAL FRIENDS.—II

WITH regard to the letters included in the present selection, and those comprising my next and final contribution, I have assumed that Americans are not without some knowledge of the public history of most of the authors. Accordingly, I have given brief personal references rather than biographical sketches. Most of the letters, though perhaps lacking in style, will, I believe, be found to be something more than second-rate in character and interest. Any comments of my own are merely in elucidation of the subject; my claim being limited to the possession of some first-class friends.

JACOB COLLAMER, born at Troy, New York, January 8, 1791, and SOLOMON FOOT, born at Cornwall, Vermont, November 19, 1802, served long together as United States Senators from Vermont. Both had been liberally educated and were members of the bar. They frequently served in the Vermont Legislature, and had been for several terms Members of the House of Representatives in Congress.

Collamer had served many years as Judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont, with honor to the State and to himself. He had also been Postmaster-General in the Cabinet of Gen. Taylor. In 1855, he was elected United States Senator from Vermont, was reelected in 1861, and served until his decease in 1866. The conspicuous ability exhibited in the various public positions which he occupied, and his high personal character, induced Vermont to present his statue as a part of her contribution to the Statuary Hall at Washington.

Foot, thrice Speaker of the House of Representatives in Vermont, was elected United States Senator from Vermont in 1851, was reelected in 1857, and again in 1863, serving until his decease in 1865. He was President *pro tempore* of the Senate for five or six years, and was distinguished for his ability as a presiding officer. It has been said that he was the last presiding officer able to preserve absolute order, so that any Senator when speaking could be heard. As the letter herewith submitted shows, Foot was a great admirer of Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland.

Both these Vermont Senators bore immaculate reputations, and were personally greatly lamented.

WOODSTOCK, VT., Sept. 15, 1857.

DEAR SIR:

I received last evening your very kind letter renewing your invitation for a visit. . . .

I have neither seen nor heard personally from Mr. Foot since we came home. I have heard that he attended the Middlebury College Commencement, where he was made LL. D. I would that our honorary degrees would always confer all the acquirements and ability which their possession implies, especially in my own case; for I cannot but suspect myself *made small by degrees*.

You speak of my being off the Committee on Territories. That was agreeable to my own wish. I have, however, reason to suspect that my duty on the Judiciary will for a time be hardly less troublesome. I refer to the subject of the election of the Indiana Senators, which stands referred to that committee.

Mr. Morrill, whether Kansas is admitted as a State or not, free or slave, the subject of slavery will be and remain a topic of agitation during our lives and much longer; and we shall have occasion for much talk, and I hope more reflection, than has ever yet been expended on the subject. . . . Respectfully, your humble servant,

J. COLLAMER.

HON. J. S. MORRILL.

WOODSTOCK, VT., July 17, 1863.

DEAR SIR:

The hope which I entertained, that our military successes would smooth the way to a quiet and satisfactory execution of our enrollment and draft has been in some degree frustrated by the New York riots; yet I do not despair.

The draft by counties is as equal and fair as one by towns. It is true the distribution into different towns and localities may not be as equable. A particular town may, by the chance, have *more* than its proportion, but it has equal chance of having less; and I am inclined to the belief that, if the individuals in any town were consulted before any excitement were created, they would prefer for themselves and town to take the lottery with the whole county.

Notwithstanding this, I was, and still am, of the opinion that if in the results there was great disparity in numbers drawn in the several

towns, it would produce dissatisfaction. I early stated this view to the Provost Marshal, who, concurring in this view, early laid the matter before the Adj.-General of the State, who communicated with the Governor. Precisely what they have done I know not; but this I know, that nothing has been done in season to produce any effect, if any was desired. The draft by counties has been entered upon pursuant to orders; and the county of Windham has been completed and the names drawn have been published. The sending notices was, by order, suspended by the Board but yesterday they received orders to proceed, and sent off their notices, which are being served. It seems to me now too late to change.

I send you our village paper of this day, which has an article on this subject, marked. The draft in Windham resulted in distributing it among the towns generally very equally; and it is I understand received there in good spirit very generally. I hope it may so result in our other counties, and that the great conservative, law-abiding principle of the people of Vermont may be more conspicuously manifested in increased proportion as it fails in slave-holding States, or in our corrupt cities.

There is another branch of this subject which enhances my apprehension,—that is, the construction which seems to have been put on the clause of the law relating to commutation money. I am entirely confident that Congress intended to put those who furnished substitutes and those who pay money “for the procuration of such substitutes” precisely on the same footing. If the Government receive money to procure substitutes and fail to procure them, and then (keeping the money) proceed again to draft the persons paying it, this will be submitted to, if at all, with murmurs deep-toned with justice in their echo.

Respectfully, your humble servt.,

J. COLLAMER.

HON. J. S. MORRILL.

RUTLAND, 9th Nov., '63.

HON. J. S. MORRILL,

Dear Sir: Although it is out of my beat, and out of my province, nevertheless, my voice is for Henry Winter Davis, “the noblest Roman of them all,” for Speaker of the House, and I am sure you will second the motion. . . . I am gratified to learn that your family are to be with you this winter. With kind remembrance to Mrs. M.,

I am truly yours, SOLOMON FOOT. .

HORACE GREELEY, born at Amherst, New Hampshire, February 3, 1811, is best known as the editor and founder of the "New York Tribune"; but he was for a brief time a Member of Congress. In the State of New York, few newspapers wielded a larger political influence than the "Tribune," though several had a larger circulation.

Among journalists, Greeley was the ablest writer on the subject of a protective tariff we have had since the time of Hezekiah Niles, the editor of "Niles's Register." Although with a rigidly pronounced Republican partisan record behind him from boyhood, Greeley, in 1872, having become hostile to President Grant, accepted the Democratic nomination for President, and the party generally voted for him though often with puckered foreheads. Of course the defeat was like that of the same party in 1896, when they borrowed a Populist for their Presidential candidate.

NEW YORK, Feb. 22, '59.

My DEAR SIR:

We have your bill in type, but are disappointed in not hearing that it was moved to-day.

I do not see why you did not join in defeating Phelps's bill and then move yours as a substitute. If Phillips wanted to move his own bill, let him do that too. The more yeas and nays we get on the record the better; and as we can get no more than that, we ought to make the subject as prominent as possible.

I am vexed with you for letting in coal at \$1 per ton in your bill. That duty is not worth one mill to the coal interests, but will be used to prejudice the ignorant poor of the cities against yours or any such bill. It will not raise the price a half-penny per ton, nor increase the consumption of American coal a hundredweight per annum. Ten cents per ton more on iron, would be worth more to the coal interests than this duty. Then why put it on? Stupid as Pennsylvania is, the Pennsylvanians must have known better. Who is this duty to humbug? If I ever can be allowed to say a word for your bill, I shall gladly do so.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL,
Washington, D.C.

Yours, HORACE GREELEY.

NEW YORK, Feb. 25, 1859.

My DEAR SIR:

The practical objection to the coal duty lies just here:

1. It won't help the coal men, nor anybody else that ought to be helped, one farthing.

2. Coal has been sold for a year or more below the cost of production and must advance, especially if any iron and other manufactures are set in motion. Well, this advance will be charged home upon the Black Protective Tariff by the demagogues. Our poor shoemakers, blacksmiths, and laborers of all kinds will be told, "You are to give a dollar extra per ton to the mine-owners and coal-monopolists because of the Black Tariff," and it will influence thousands of votes. Still, if this must be, it must.

I still do not see why you should not have voted at first to defeat Phelps's bill and thus brought the subject directly before the House, then let Phillips move his bill as a substitute and have it voted down by the help (or neglect to vote) of some Republicans from the Western States, and then move your bill as a substitute and give the Pennsylvanians, Hobson's choice, this or nothing. Had this course been taken, I am confident your bill would have been through the House ere this.

HON. J. S. MORRILL.

Yours, HORACE GREELEY.

An autograph letter of Mr. Greeley's is reproduced on the following page. For the benefit of those who may be unable to decipher it, I subjoin the text:—

OFFICE OF THE TRIBUNE,

New York, Mar. 18, 1862.

DEAR SIR:

If newspapers are to be taxed at all their Advertisements can bear it best; as they are a source of profit, while circulation is not.

We can stand 3 mills per pound on Paper; though that will be a pretty productive tax; I think that item alone will cost The Tribune establishment over \$7,000 per annum, all to come out of profits that can't be made in these times. Still, taxes must be put on, only *do* give us some substantial Retrenchment—especially of Mileage—to go to the People on.

Yours, HORACE GREELEY.

J. S. MORRILL, Esq., M. C.

Washington.

GEORGE PERKINS MARSH, born at Woodstock, Vermont, March 15, 1801, was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1820, where his distinguished father, Charles Marsh, was a graduate in 1786. George became a citizen of Burlington, studied law, and was elected to the Vermont House of Representatives in 1835. In 1842, he was elected to the United States House of Representatives, and there continued until appointed,

Daily Tribune,
\$4 per Annum.
Semi-Weekly Tribune,
\$3 per Annum.
Weekly Tribune,
\$2 per Annum.

Office of The Tribune,

New York, Nov. 18, 1862.

Dear Sir:

If newspapers are to be
tossed at all, their advertise-
ments can bear it best; as they
are a source of profit, while
circulation is not.

We can stand 3 mills per
found on paper; though that
will be a pretty productive
tax; though that ten cents will
cost The Tribune \$100,000
over \$7,000 per annum. All
to come out of profits that can't be
made in these times. Still, taxes
must be put on, and to give us
some ~~substantiated~~ retrenchment
seriously of ~~us~~ - to go to
the people as yours,

Harvey Evelyn

J. V. Morrill, Esq. ~~1862~~
Washington

by President Taylor, in 1849, Resident Minister to Turkey. He also had a special mission to Greece. In 1861, President Lincoln appointed him Minister to Italy. He was widely known as an eminent author and scholar. The following letter from Turin shows the deep interest he felt in the great war, then undetermined, in the United States:—

MY DEAR SIR :

TURIN, Dec. 31, 1863.

I am glad to learn that Vermont has accepted the provisions of the law for aiding in the establishment of agricultural colleges, which, it is not too much to say, is wholly due to your efforts. I have not seen the Act of the Vermont Legislature; but I hope the success of the measure will not be defeated, as I infer there is reason to fear, by local interests and local prejudices. The interests of agriculture and of productive industry in general have now become of such vast importance—especially since the latter have received such a prodigious impulse from the material demands of the war—that they deserve a more distinct recognition and patronage than they have yet enjoyed at the hands of the Federal Government. It seems to me quite time that the administration of these great interests, so far as it falls within the scope of governmental action, should be committed to an independent department. Most European governments have a ministry of agriculture and manufactures, to which, in some cases, the supervision of foreign commerce is added. I can hardly doubt that the creation of a separate department to be charged with these objects would be an advantageous and popular policy.

I make no pretensions to financial skill; but it has occurred to me that our Government might, at the present moment, perhaps derive advantage from the sale of life and limited annuities, as the British Government long practised, and, for anything I know to the contrary, still does. Many incorporated companies in the U. S. grant annuities with much profit; and I see no reason why a source of immediate income, so likely to realize a large amount at once, should not be adopted by Congress.

The reconstruction of the "Union as it was" would fix upon us slavery for ever; the Confederate debt would be assumed by Congress; we should wage wars of conquest upon all neighboring soil suited to slave labor; and should end by a despotism or a new civil war which

would plunge us into an anarchy as destructive to all the interests of civilization as heathen barbarism itself. . . .

I know you have no leisure for correspondence; but if, by any chance, an unoccupied hour falls to your lot this winter, I should be glad to hear from you.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE P. MARSH.

HON. MR. MORRILL.

ISRAEL WASHBURN, JR., born at Livermore, Maine, June 6, 1813, was one of the distinguished brothers who were in Congress together, though Representatives of different States. Israel was the eldest of the trio, and had been Governor of the State of Maine. He was appointed by President Lincoln, in 1863, Collector of the Port at Portland.

After Mr. Blaine had been elected to Congress, he was commended to me by the following letter from Mr. Washburn:—

PORTLAND, Dec. 1st, 1863.

MY DEAR MORRILL:

I want you to know Mr. Blaine, the Representative from the Augusta District. You will find him one of the most able and brilliant men in the House, and altogether worth knowing.

He would be a most admirable man for New England on the Committee of Military Affairs, as he has large acquaintance with these matters. If you will take a little pains to see that this direction is given, you will do a good thing for the country and secure a man who will not permit the rights of New England to be overlooked. You are a good boy to be reëlected—Long may you wave! because you never *utter*. . . .

Yours truly,

I. WASHBURN.

P. S. If your thoughts are scattered, come here and let me "collect" them. I can't my own.

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE, born in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1830, removed to Maine, where he became the editor of the leading Whig newspaper, Member and Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives. In 1862, he was elected to the House of Representatives, as a Member of the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was twenty years my junior and comparatively a young man, when I first met him. After serving six years, he was elected Speaker. In 1876, he was elected to the United States Senate, where he served until appointed Secretary

of State by President Garfield, and subsequently also by President Harrison.

Mr. Blaine was well equipped as a debater, being possessed of much intellectual power, a staunch memory, and ready resources. He was fertile in ideas of legislation, reaching far ahead, and of more than merely temporary importance. Socially he was very attractive; and his devotion to his wife and children made his home an ideal one.

The first of Mr. Blaine's letters here presented was written mainly to call my attention to his idea of some amendment to the Constitution, by which the taxation of exports might be authorized. It seems, also, that he had doubted some statement made by me in a public address as to the agricultural products of Vermont in comparison with other New England States, but now conceded its correctness. Mr. Blaine was a statesman whose supporters were more enthusiastic than those of any other Presidential candidate since the career of Henry Clay.

AUGUSTA, ME., Nov. 15, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR :

"I acknowledge the corn" and the hay too. I was wrong, according to the Census statistics. My error was caused by taking the *State returns* as made triennially.

You beat us largely, I was aware, in general agricultural products; and I can hardly understand why our valuation should exceed yours so much—190 millions against 122 millions. I presume the difference is to be accounted for by Timber and Navigation interests.

I am afraid we shall lose you from the House. The death of Judge Collamer is, I presume, a call "to go up higher" for you. Well, the Senate's gain will be as great as our loss. We shall badly miss you in matters financial.

I want to convert you to my view on the *export matter*; and, as my speech has the merit of brevity, I am less modest in asking you to read it. Lest you may have mislaid the copy I sent you, I now enclose another.

An export on cotton and tobacco, and a thoroughly executed excise on whiskey ought (with Tariff duties) to yield enough to run the "Government machine." Say 250 to \$275,000,000, and then we could cut off a vast number of these vexatious taxes. In haste,

Very truly yours,

J. G. BLAINE.

HON. J. S. MORRILL.

AUGUSTA, ME., Aug. 19, 1866.

MY DEAR MORRILL:

Yours received. I am just at this time *in medias res*. We shall give a good account of ourselves the week following your election. . . .

You have arranged your matter very properly,—or rather your friends have arranged it for you,—as I know very well that personally you have nothing to do with “arrangements” either good or bad. But it is a good thing; and it is far better for your personal ease and for party harmony than to have simply beaten P——d in the Legislature—as you would have done—and then left him a chronic sore-head.

You can now “set your house in order” for a twelve-year service in the Senate, at least. I fear you will not take so much interest in the lower branch next winter, after your formal election to the “House of Lords.” You will be somewhat in the position of a college student between Senior examination and Commencement Day. Perhaps your habits of methodical industry will make you overcome this tendency—but you will find it quite difficult.

My health is becoming quite firm. We have had most delightful weather for three weeks. Pitt¹ is looking very well. I saw him a few days since.

Andy² has begun to decapitate in this State. He removed the principal Collector of Customs in my District last week—substituting a *back-sliding* Republican, who was a creditable soldier.

With regards to your family and apologies for this long and hasty scrawl, I am as ever,

Your friend sincerely,

J. G. BLAINE.

HON. J. S. MORRILL.

AUGUSTA, ME., 25th Oct., 1866.

MY DEAR MORRILL:

Accept my congratulations on your election to the Senate, and my sincere regret at losing you from the House. The Senate's gain in this instance is our loss indeed.

I am completely puzzled to know what we shall do for a chairman of Ways and Means. Hooper will expect it, but is totally unfit. Garfield and Conkling both expect it; but neither has the requisite qualifications, though each has talent in his way—Conkling far more than Garfield. Were I to select or to choose on my best judgment, I should

¹ William Pitt Fessenden.² Andrew Johnson.

take Boutwell, though, to use Parson Brownlow's phrase, he "does n't exactly fill the bill." Colfax will become the Speaker, and will probably give the chairmanship to the West, in which event, if he could cure his infirmity of temper, Schenck would be the best man. He is industrious, strictly honest, and able in debate; but he has too much of the "d——n-yr.-eyes" manner to get along with the House on such important measures as the Ways and Means have to deal with. You know he is in a perpetual stew while managing a bill from the Military Committee.

From the standpoint of an outsider, I should judge that the other senatorial elections in your State were the best that could have been made for party harmony and general good feeling.

Hastily and very sincerely,
Your friend,

HON. J. S. MORRILL.

J. G. BLAINE.

WILLIAM PITT FESSENDEN, born at Boscawen, New Hampshire, October 16, 1806, was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1823; studied and practised law in Portland. He was several times elected to the Legislature of Maine, was a Representative in Congress from 1841 to 1843, and declined reëlection. He was elected a Senator in Congress from March, 1853, and reëlected in 1859, serving as chairman of the Committee on Finance. In 1864, he was made Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Secretary Chase, but was reëlected to the Senate the same year, having resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and was again placed at the head of the Finance Committee.

As a lucid and keen debater, Mr. Fessenden had no superior in the Senate. He carried his bills by being master of the subject, and by compactly saying what was necessary and no more.

Although Senator Fessenden had made bitter campaign speeches against President Johnson, yet he voted against his impeachment.

PORTLAND, ME., Sept. 19th, 1866.

MY DEAR MORRILL:

If I *can* go away anywhere out of town, I will come and see you, and will give you notice. Just now I am occupied in building a block of stores which is not far enough along to be safely left to the architect and builders. It is much easier in my opinion to reconstruct a State. Anyhow, I could do it much more to my satisfaction; for I should have some idea of what I was about. . . .

I did not mean to take any active part in our canvass, but the President's outrageous attacks upon Congress forced it upon me.

Your adversary ——— learned, I see, that discretion was the better part of valor, and saved himself in season. I congratulate you somewhat, and myself more. . . . Yours most truly,

HON. MORRILL,
Strafford, Vt.

W. P. FESSENDEN.

CHARLES SUMNER, born at Boston, Massachusetts, January 6, 1811, after completing his education at Harvard University and Law School, with added years at institutions abroad, had reached the age of forty years when, in 1851, he was elected as a United States Senator from Massachusetts. The senatorial candidate of the Whig party in Massachusetts was defeated by Mr. Sumner through the combination of the Anti-Slavery with the Democratic party; the latter securing Mr. Boutwell as Governor. It was the era of popular lectures; and Mr. Sumner was then mainly known as a platform orator of distinguished culture and fine personal appearance.

In the Senate, his speeches soon attracted public attention, being very radical, prepared with great care, committed to memory, and well delivered. They had a wide circulation. Sumner's political speeches subjected him to sharp criticism; especially his address in 1856, in reply to Senator Butler of South Carolina, when Sumner spoke with severity and with some stinging personal references. Following this, came the brutal assault on Sumner by Preston S. Brooks, a relative of Butler, and a Member of the House of Representatives. Sumner did not recover from this for several years.

Not long after 1861, the majority of the Senate became Republican, and Mr. Sumner was made Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, which office he for many years retained, rendering valuable service.

BOSTON, Sept. 11, '64.

DEAR MR. MORRILL:

To congratulate you on your return again by your constituents is out of place. I can well understand that you would be glad to retire, but you are needed at Washington. . . .

It looks as if the Democracy would be divided beyond all chance of unity, so as to leave us an easy victory. Is it not so?

Ever sincerely yours,

HON. JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

CHARLES SUMNER.

P. S. Books. Pray see that our Senate bill is put right. It is now barbarous. Let me suggest two changes :

(1) That the duties should be reduced from 15 to 10 per cent. This will be as productive to the revenue, more advantageous to book readers and scholars, and better calculated to relieve the Bill of the opposition of an influential class.

(2) That books published 30 years ago should be duty free.

Painting and Statuary. Pray see that these words are restored in the free list before the proviso—"if imported in good faith as objects of taste and not of merchandise." The Senate amendment is a barbarism.

To this I replied as follows :—

STRAFFORD, VT., Sept. 1864.

MY DEAR SIR :

Your favor of the 11th inst. is at hand. I agree with you that the Democracy will be divided, and that we shall win the election. They will be more and more divided as their chances of success diminish. But their mode of conducting the campaign will give our institutions a heavy strain and consign some of the component parts of the party to infamy. Those proud to wear the name of "copperheads," as a badge of honor, mean to create a counter-revolution that will carry the bulk of the Western and Middle States with the South, and so let the pestilent resolutions of '98, with all modern partisan improvements, triumph. They are now ferocious, and would, if they could, frighten the Administration. Failing in that, the conspirators mean to create a diversion in favor of the Southern ragged and sorely pressed legions, even if violence shall be necessary. Whoever administers the government, now carries the fortunes of our country on their backs. The people know the Chicago Platform, and whose team is harnessed to it; and I have full confidence that American civilization will prove equal to the crisis.

Vermont and Maine have opened the campaign as it should go on to the end. The old delegations are returned with improvement in Maine. I suppose this is as it should be; though in my own case, had it not appeared like cowardice, I should have insisted upon a discharge.

I trust there is no doubt of the return of Mr. Hooper and Mr. Rice from Boston. They are both valuable men. Mr. Hooper, with his wealth, it is true, might study his ease and prefer to escape the labor of our overworked Committee of Ways and Means; but I hope he will

Washington
20th March '61

My dear Sir,
I beg to call your
attention to the en-
closed letter from an
eminent house -
Boston. Yours faithfully,
Charles Sumner.

The Honble -
John S. Monroe

Washington City ~~Dec 21 1860~~

L. S. Monroe

My dear Sir,
I beg to announce to
you that I have been
appointed as your
agent in the House of
Representatives.
I am, Sir, very
respectfully,
Yours,
Charles Sumner

Thos. S. Monroe

seek rather than avoid what seems to me to be his duty. I should deplore his absence from the Committee.

I have not seen Judge Collamer since his return to his home; but I have heard that he is quite well.

Very truly yours,

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER,
Boston, Mass.

The letter from Mr. Sumner, reproduced on the previous page, is inserted merely because it is thought some readers of THE FORUM may like to see his autograph. The "eminent house" referred to was that of Henry L. Pierce, a manufacturer of chocolate, who wanted cocoa, as a raw material, made duty free.

Owing to want of space it was not possible to include in my last article an autograph letter of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. One is now given in fac-simile on the same page as Mr. Sumner's. The text of his letter is as follows:—

WASHINGTON CITY, July 2d, 1864.

J. S. MORRILL, Esq.:

I find myself too unwell to stay in the House. If a question of quorum should arise I will get up and come over, if Willie comes for me.

THADDEUS STEVENS.

Many persons claim that handwriting presents a true index, or at least a clue, to the character of the writer. If so, that of Mr. Stevens offers a puzzle.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

SOME LESSONS OF THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC.

AMERICANS do not sufficiently realize what a humiliating reflection upon the enlightenment of the western hemisphere, from a sanitary point of view, a yellow fever epidemic constitutes. In Europe, the disease is now practically unknown; the last serious epidemic having been that of Lisbon in 1857. Between 1801 and 1825, however, the ports of Spain were frequently and severely visited.

Yellow fever now belongs to the western hemisphere, from which also it should be extirpated, as can be done, if the proper kind of international public opinion be brought to bear upon the subject. While the disease is not indigenous to the United States, being always an importation, its visits are, nevertheless, so regular, that since the beginning of the century there have been only nine years in which it has not appeared here. Its natural breeding-ground is furnished by the heat, moisture, and filth of tropical seaports. These conditions are found in certain cities of the Spanish main, which, lacking proper sanitary regulations, have become perpetual foci of infection; and Havana is the worst of them. There the disease prevails during the entire year, a steady supply of fuel for its virulent flames, as it were, being furnished by the new-comers. The natives generally are immune to it, having usually had the malady, in a mild form, in childhood.

For us the position is a simple one: Since we have such neighbors, we must either bring about a reform in their sanitary conditions and practices or continue to run the risk of an annual invasion of this terrible disease. Thirty-five of the visits of yellow fever to this country since 1800 are known definitely to have been from Cuba; and of these, twenty-three have been clearly traced to the port of Havana. Europe's protection against Cuba, in this particular, lies in her remoteness. A disease which lurks in a vessel starting across the ocean, has time to develop and manifest itself so clearly that the quarantine officials on the other side can discover it on the vessel's arrival. But with Cuba hardly six hours from Key West, there will always be a percentage of danger, however stringent the quarantine regulations may be, if the conditions remain as they are, unless indeed we assume

a policy of absolute non-intercourse with the island during the summer months.

The harbor of Havana is a cesspool, which for years has received the drainage of the city; besides it is a virtual *cul-de-sac*, which cannot be scoured by the tides or by fresh-water streams. The wharves on the Havana side of the harbor are notorious as sources of infection. An examination of the records of the quarantine stations on the South-Atlantic and Gulf coasts for 1894 shows eleven cases of yellow fever, all having been taken from vessels arriving at the Dry Tortugas station from the wharves in Havana. Two of these wharves, the Tallapiedra and the San José, are especially dangerous. Under the Tallapiedra empties the sewer from the military hospital, where the yellow fever patients from the army are treated. It has been said that no vessel with a non-immune crew on board has ever been tied to this wharf without yellow fever appearing among them. So well known is it as a danger-point, that sailors call it "Dead Man's Hole"; and so great is the danger of tying up to it, that captains of American vessels have been known to pay for the privilege of discharging cargoes on lighters in the open bay; the payment being made by deduction from freight charges, amounting frequently to \$200 or \$300. American captains have frequently asserted that the United States Government should not allow vessels to go to this wharf.

With regard to vessels from Havana, the quarantine regulations enforced at all ports of the United States south of the southern boundary of Maryland between May 1 and November 1 are so rigid as very seriously to hamper commerce, besides entailing a constant care and expense upon the United States Government. Every vessel arriving from Cuban ports, whether yellow fever has been aboard or not, is required to discharge ballast at quarantine, to have its hold washed and filled with fumes of sulphur, and to place all the dunnage of the crew and the baggage of passengers in steam disinfecting chambers. After completion of disinfection, the vessel is held from three to five days before being allowed to enter port. Some exception is made in the case of iron steam-vessels bringing passengers; but in such instances other special and stringent requirements are added. The regulations absolutely forbid persons not immune to yellow fever entering Florida from Cuba during this period. By an immune person is meant one who has had yellow fever, or has resided in a yellow fever locality for a period of ten years. This rule, therefore, excludes children under ten years of age; and although efforts have been made to

abolish this regulation, no health officer ventures to recommend its abrogation. Passengers from Havana not immune to yellow fever, on arrival at Northern ports, such as New York, are detained in quarantine until the expiration of five days after leaving Havana; and several instances of the development of the fever at the New York quarantine amply demonstrate the wisdom of this rule. In order that the above-mentioned regulations may be carried out, the United States maintains two inspectors in Havana to give the proper certificates to passengers leaving that port for the United States.

The seeming necessity for such stringent and costly regulations as these is a sad commentary upon the sanitary enlightenment of the age. While no one doubts that, under present conditions, this strict code has saved us many a dread visitation, yet, on the other hand, it is equally certain that Havana need no longer be a plague-spot. Sanitary engineers have repeatedly shown that an artificial outlet to the harbor would permit the waters of the Gulf to wash through and give the city wholesome surroundings. Then, if the sewer-mains were carried out to the sea, the old wooden wharves destroyed, and a few measures of ordinary sanitary science adopted, the city as a breeding-place of pestilence would be a thing of the past.

The experience of Vera Cruz is enlightening. That city was formerly a menace to the United States almost as great as Havana; but President Diaz, with whom I discussed the subject last November, assured me that the disease had been practically eradicated from that city. The statistics certainly bear out his contention, that the improvement has been extraordinary. Under his wise leadership, commerce and hygiene combined to bring about great engineering changes in the harbor; and these improvements will be carried still further. It is not likely that any great public work will be undertaken in Havana while the political condition of the island remains so much disturbed as at present; but, on the restoration of peace, it should be the first concern of the United States to insist upon better sanitation there. Secretary Olney, last year, addressed a letter on the subject to the Spanish Minister; but, of course, under the circumstances, immediate results could not be expected.

But what can be done to enforce the intelligent regulation of public hygiene in places where the local sentiment does not compel such? On this point, the second of two resolutions adopted at a meeting of the American Public Health Association, held in Buffalo, October, 1896, indicates, in general terms, a course of action. The resolutions recite:—

"Whereas, Yellow fever is believed to be the most subtle and dangerous of all epidemic diseases; and

Whereas, It is ordinarily conveyed into one country from an infected seaport of another; and

Whereas, The continued and persistent presence of this disease in any seaport is believed to be unnecessary, and may be prevented by proper engineering and other sanitary measures;

Resolved, first. That it is the duty of every government possessing seaports thus infected to institute such engineering and other sanitary measures as will remove this menace to the seaports of other nations; and

Resolved, second. That it is the duty of all governments continuously threatened with invasion of yellow fever from a seaport in which the disease is allowed to persist, to make such representations of the government in possession to the offending seaport as will induce it to adopt the sanitary measures necessary to remove this obstruction to commercial intercourse and menace to human life."

Of specific proposals there are many. Since this disease is exclusively a western-hemisphere affair, perhaps the Bureau of American Republics might consider the matter and devise means of caring not only for Havana, but for other plague localities as well, such as Colon and Rio de Janeiro; the latter being almost as bad as Havana, but, by reason of its greater distance, less dangerous to us. It would pay the commercial nations of the New World to undertake this sanitary regeneration, even if they had to bear the expense themselves, rather than endure the constant fear of yellow fever. In addition to the loss of 15,934 lives, it has been estimated that the epidemic of 1878 cost the United States in commercial and industrial interruption at least \$100,000,000. If the public sentiment of the western hemisphere could be sufficiently aroused, there might be found, through diplomacy, a way of enforcing a righteous sanitary law upon the inhabitants of every country. It has even been suggested that the President of the United States might be empowered to declare an embargo upon commerce between any "unsafe" port and the ports of the United States. This may be impracticable; but it would surely create a strong sentiment among our merchants and traders that might be effective at the other end of the line.

Several sanitary conferences have been held between the republics of this hemisphere; but, while the quarantine regulations framed and adopted in consequence have been perfect on paper, no practical results for the United States have been derived therefrom. Since quarantine is essentially a defence to be maintained by all countries individually, no plan is feasible which will infringe in the slightest degree upon the sovereignty of any nation. International quarantine stations, for ex-

ample, to be operated jointly by the several governments, would be as impracticable as international forts or ships of war. Each nation must be responsible for its own sanitary condition, and be made to act upon that responsibility by such an international public opinion or commercial necessity as it dare not disregard. It is outrageous that yellow fever should continue to menace us, in the face of the scientific progress of the closing years of this wonderful century.

While epidemics of this sort continue to disturb our peace, and we are waiting for our Spanish-American neighbors to bestir themselves, certain improvements in our own methods of dealing with the matter are possible. In my opinion the National Government should have full charge of maritime quarantine. No attempt will be made in this paper to discuss the general subject of a strictly national quarantine; but I wish to say here, with reference to the Marine Hospital Service,—which now has the administration of the national quarantine law,—that no branch of the Federal Government is freer from ulterior and political influences. A strict system of competitive examinations for all places prevails; and promotions can be earned only by successfully passing through the lower grades of service.

The Marine Hospital Service will be a century old next year. It was originally established by Congress for the care of sick and disabled seamen of the merchant marine at points remote from their homes; but, so many other duties, varied in character, have been added from time to time, that now its name no longer indicates its functions. Yet this original duty furnishes an excellent foundation for carrying out the more modern extensions of the Service. In steadily caring for the mariner, the Bureau is necessarily represented at every port of consequence on the sea-coast, rivers, and lakes of the United States. As a result, an officer is always at hand for any emergency,—a case in point being the present outbreak at Ocean Springs. Passed Assistant Surgeon Wasdin, who was at the time in Mobile, visited Ocean Springs with the Health Officer of Mobile, to make a diagnosis of a case which had appeared there. He promptly declared the disease yellow fever, a diagnosis proved correct by the *post-mortem* examination. Among its numerous duties, the Marine Hospital Service is charged with maintaining twelve large national quarantine stations, as well as with the enforcement of the national quarantine regulations by all State and local authorities. In carrying on this work it makes use of a staff of one surgeon-general, fifteen surgeons, thirty-four passed assistant surgeons, seventeen assistant surgeons, eighty-two acting surgeons,—principally in small

ports that do not warrant the assignment of a regular surgeon,—and a corps of sanitary inspectors, some of whom serve in foreign ports, such as Rio de Janeiro, Havana, Santiago de Cuba, and Yokohoma.

The expenses of caring for the sick and disabled seamen is met by a fund derived from a tax on tonnage; but national quarantine is maintained through an annual appropriation by Congress of \$137,000. In addition, a fund is provided annually for emergency use in times of epidemic.

If a strictly national quarantine service were established, the State boards of health would be relieved from maritime quarantine responsibilities, and would thereby be enabled to devote their energies more directly to local needs, such as the sanitation of cities, the improvement of water-supply, the destruction of garbage, the cleaning of the streets, the disposal of sewage, etc. Nearly every State has its board of health; but some of them are deficient in legal rights. The Louisiana Board of Health, for instance, has no power in the parishes: it deals principally with the city of New Orleans and the maritime quarantine near the mouth of the Mississippi.

In this connection it is gratifying to note the vast improvement in local sanitation which has been made in some of the cities of the South as a result of past yellow fever outbreaks. Brunswick, Georgia, since 1893, has introduced the Waring system of sewerage, which has resulted in a lowering of the level of the ground water, and increased the general health of the city. Memphis was in a very unsanitary condition when seized by the epidemic of 1878; but a new sewerage system has given that city a marked feeling of security as compared with the former dread which the sound of yellow fever inspired.

Many other notable improvements in methods of sanitation have been made since the epidemic of 1878, due to the fact that during the last twenty years the attention of scientific men has been more than ever directed to this subject. The use of formaldehyd gas, adopted within the past year, is a marked advance in practical disinfection. This gas does not affect textures or metals in any way. Steam-chambers were unknown in 1878; while now nearly fifty are used with very satisfactory results. The regulations of the Treasury Department intended to prevent the spread of yellow fever are purposely broad in character, so that under them specific regulations may be made as the circumstances demand.

The first practical requirement toward checking the spread of the disease lies in its prompt recognition and in public notification of its

presence. Every epidemic of yellow fever in the United States, thus far, has been preceded by doubtful cases; and, as a rule, there has been a disposition among local physicians to conceal a threatened outbreak as long as possible. The diagnosis of this fever is not always easy; and general practitioners make frequent mistakes. Yellow fever was known to be in Brunswick, Georgia, in 1893, some time before the public learned of it; and in another outbreak one physician is known to have remarked that, if "the good Lord does not send a frost pretty soon," he could conceal his cases no longer. On the first intimation of suspicion, therefore, it is the practice of the Marine Hospital Service to send an expert to investigate; and from May to November the health officials in the southern half of the United States are kept constantly on the *qui vive* for yellow fever outbreaks. Acting Assistant Surgeon John Guiteras, of the Marine Hospital Service, has visited successively Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Texas, and other States where suspicion existed, and has found the disease in all the places visited except Point Pleasant, Missouri.

To prevent the spread of the disease, the following precautionary measures are adopted: It may be taken for granted that on the appearance of the first case or two of yellow fever there will be considerable depopulation; and, assuming that the infection has not become widespread, this is to be desired. But, so soon as the disease becomes epidemic, egress can be allowed only under very careful restrictions. People must go by through train to such places either in the North or in the mountain resorts as are willing to receive them, and where health officers will agree to keep them under observation. A detention camp is put in operation, preparation for which is undertaken when the first case appears. Great care is exercised to keep the camp itself from becoming infected, since it is not intended for the reception of the sick. All the baggage that goes there is thoroughly disinfected; and the visitors are held for ten days, to demonstrate that they are not infected. Should a case of yellow fever appear among them, the patient is immediately taken to the camp hospital, which is usually established about a mile away. After a detention of ten days, those persons who have shown no signs of the disease are given "free pratique,"—a certificate showing that they have been through the camp and have not contracted the yellow fever. This certificate is honored by all quarantine authorities; and its holder is allowed to go where he chooses. One such detention camp established by the Marine Hospital Service is now in operation at Fontainebleau, ten miles from

Ocean Springs, which has given refuge to a large number of visitors; another at Mount Vernon Barracks, twenty-five miles north of Mobile; and a third near Avondale, fifteen miles west of New Orleans. The last was established principally for laborers intending to leave the city to go to work on the sugar-plantations. This camp is necessary to prevent them from carrying yellow fever into the parishes. All mail leaving the suspected districts is disinfected. Freight is also classified; and such as can convey infection is treated before leaving Mobile or New Orleans. Baggage, unless bound for a point north of the Potomac, or to a few places in the mountains, is carefully disinfected. There is practically no danger of the spread of the disease north of the latitude of Maryland, particularly in the fall of the year.

How the yellow fever gained admission to the United States this year is still an unsettled question, which it is not the purpose of this article to discuss. It may have reached this country from any one of a number of Central or South American ports; but the probability is that it came from Havana. Ocean Springs, where it first appeared, is not a seaport; but the infection may have reached there through one or may have been brought by Cuban insurgents, who made the village their temporary headquarters.

While this year's epidemic does not compare in severity with that of 1878, it is considerably more extensive than that of 1893, and with a larger percentage of fatalities. Out of 1,076 cases at Brunswick, Georgia, there were 46 deaths in 1893; while from the present outlook the percentage this year will be between 20 and 23. In the bulletin issued September 29, there were reported in all 620 cases and 59 deaths; and this last number will doubtless be swelled somewhat when all the cases reported shall have run their course.

WALTER WYMAN.

THE RELATION OF PRODUCTION TO PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY.—I

IN all the consideration that has been given during the past few years to the subject of non-employment and how to care for the unemployed, little or nothing has been said of the relation of actual production to the productive capacity of manufacturing establishments. As the industrial depression is now passing away, it is not likely that there will be as many theories of reform advanced as there have been in the past; but undoubtedly wiser measures than any that have been adopted will be suggested, as the result of experience and of the opportunity of judging dispassionately the elements of depressions and their social and economic effects.

The common idea, that an army of unemployed springs into existence as soon as a depression begins to be felt with any severity, arises as much from popular sentiment—fear of the future—as from the facts themselves. We hear of the stoppage of great works, and at once infer that many thousands of men, ordinarily employed, are without the means of supporting their families; and the statements grow until the army of the unemployed assumes vast proportions. Calculations, suggestions, methods of prevention, are based on the assumption that there are millions of men seeking employment, and that production is greatly reduced.

These exaggerated statements lead to many pernicious views and false assertions. There is now going the rounds of the press a statement, attributed to the author of this paper, that if the productive industries of the country were run to their full capacity, everything necessary for the support of the people could be produced in thirty-seven and one-half days in the year. Such statements indicate a thorough misapprehension of the conditions of production, of the amount of running-time in manufacturing industries, and of the number of people necessary to produce all the things that enter into consumption.

The question of the unemployed and, consequently, the amount of non-employment at any time, as well as the relation of actual production to the producing capacity of our manufacturing industries, should

be discussed together; and it may be that, with a fairly good understanding of the latter, we may be better able to comprehend methods of reducing the number of unemployed and of restricting the amount of non-employment. The statistics for a comprehensive consideration of this twofold subject are very meagre; nevertheless, there are sufficient facts to warrant some fairly correct conclusions. In the present article, the amount of production in proportion to the full capacity of manufacturing industries, and the number of persons actually employed in production as compared with the number necessary to carry on works at the full capacity, will be considered; later on, the more personal question of the number of unemployed and the amount of non-employment existing at various times will be discussed.

When comparing the production of one period with that of another, an inherent difficulty confronts us. For instance, Census accounts of manufactures, so far as aggregates are concerned, are limited to values; and we say, for example, that in the United States the total value of products, including receipts from custom work and repairing, for the Census year 1880, was \$5,369,579,191, and for 1890, \$9,372,437,283. These figures represent the total value of products as returned by the producers themselves at the two censuses named. Precisely the same basis was used in 1870, 1860, and 1850; giving a series, therefore, of comparisons of total values of products.

The fallacies underlying these figures are well known to statisticians who have had to deal with the figures themselves in the constructive work of census-taking. They know and have known perfectly well that the total values stated, and which are used for comparison, consist of many duplications and reduplications all along the line of production; for the finished product of one producer, which is returned by him at its value at the works and becomes an integral part of the aggregate of values of all producers, is the raw material of some other manufacturer, and is by him accounted for again in the return of the total value of the products of his works. Now, this may occur several times in the returns of one establishment; that is, one, or maybe a dozen, of the raw-material elements of one unit of production may have been the finished products included in other returns. Hence the five billion and more in one census and the nine billion and more in another do not represent the actual added value to the original raw material entering into production.

Another source of difficulty arises from the fact, that the units of production at one census may have a value far less than the same units

of production at another. Pig iron which cost \$10 a ton at one enumeration may at another have had a cost of \$20 a ton; hence one million dollars' worth of pig iron in the one case would represent two million dollars' worth in the other. So, as prices are reduced from any cause,—through the introduction of better processes or otherwise,—the comparison of values for different periods does not represent truthfully the actual output in quantities.

So far, no method has been devised by which such comparisons as have been described can be made on the basis of quantity when the aggregate of all products is to be considered, nor has anyone yet been ingenious enough to suggest a comparison that shall be free from the viciousness resulting from the constant duplication and reduplication of the finished products of one producer that become the raw material of another. For twenty years or more, this matter has baffled the ingenuity of statisticians, and has constituted a favorite topic for the criticisms of those who have not had to deal directly with constructive statistics. As a matter of practical usage, therefore, census-takers and all who make comparisons of the productions of one period with those of another are obliged to use values; knowing well the imperfections of the comparisons, but knowing well, also, that, taking a series of years, the indications of growth or decline are quite clearly found in the use of values. It is easy enough to make comparisons in a single industry where the product can be reduced to units, like the production of iron-works, or of boot- and shoe-factories, or of cotton-mills; but the only way to compare different products is through aggregate values.

In making the study constituting the main topic of this paper it must be clearly understood that the comparisons are not scientifically exact and cannot be, and that they are made with full knowledge of their variable elements.

Another unfortunate element in this study presents itself in the fact that the Federal Census offers no means of comparing the general relation of production to productive capacity at any period, except in very meagre degree and for a very few industries. Resort must be had, therefore, to such local statistics as have been published; and these are to be found—so far as they can be found at all—in the statistics of the State of Massachusetts, with a few from Connecticut.

Fortunately for the study in hand, some valuable comparisons can be made for the years 1880, 1885, 1890, and 1896. In the Federal Census for 1880, the schedules used in collecting the products of industry required the following particulars: Average number of hands

employed, designating separately males above sixteen years of age, females above fifteen, and children and youths; regarding hours of labor, the number of hours in the ordinary day of labor from May to November, and from November to May; concerning wages, the average day's wage in each establishment for a skilled mechanic and for an ordinary laborer, and the total amount paid in wages during the year; the number of months each establishment was in operation, with detailed information as to the number of months run on full time, three-quarters time, two-thirds time, half time, and the number of months idle.

Most of the facts obtained in accordance with these inquiries were tabulated and published, and give a basis from which later comparisons can be made; but the particulars as to number of months each establishment was in operation, running on full or short time, etc., were not tabulated. The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, however, through an arrangement made with Gen. Walker, Superintendent of the Tenth Census, made copies of all manufacturing schedules returned for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at that census, and the Bureau collated and published statistics for Massachusetts in more complete form than the Federal Census Office was able to do for the United States at large. In the Report of the Bureau for 1883, in the chapter entitled "Time and Wages," very full statistics as to running-time were reported for 2,440 manufacturing establishments. No establishment was included unless the wages paid by it during the Census year amounted to at least \$5,000. These 2,440 establishments formed 67+ per cent of all the establishments in the Commonwealth paying that amount in wages during the Census year. Twenty-one industries were considered in the chapter named, and the 2,440 establishments represented 207,793 out of 289,810 persons employed in the Commonwealth in all establishments of the standard above-mentioned. Hence the basis for conclusions and deductions was ample. The industries represented, the average number of employees in each industry, and the actual average working-time for each establishment are shown in Table A.

The possible working-time for the 2,440 establishments included in Table A was 29,280 months. They ran on full time 26,882 months, on three-fourths time 635 months, on two-thirds time 137 months, and on half time 586 months; the entire working-time of the whole number of establishments being 28,240 months, while the idle time was 1,040 months. That is to say, in 1880, the actual working-time in the 2,440 establishments was 11.57 months, which, reduced to full time, is equivalent to 11.36 months; and this is 91.80 per cent of full

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time. For 1,358 months, the establishments ran less than full time, or 4.64 per cent of full time; while during 1,040 months, or 3.56 per cent of full time, they were idle. The daily average for the year for the 2,440 establishments was 9.92 hours. In 480 establishments, the hours varied from 10; 413 working less than 10, and 67 more than 10 hours.

Table A.

TWENTY-ONE INDUSTRIES REPRESENTED IN 2,440 ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.	Average Number of Employees	Actual Average Working-time in months and days for each establish- ment; short time being reduced to its equivalent in full time.	
		Months.	Days.
Boots and Shoes.....	37,657	10.60	271.18
Boxes.....	775	11.16	285.51
Brickmaking.....	1,135	7.75	198.27
Building.....	5,645	10.98	280.90
Carriages and Wagons.....	1,962	11.59	296.51
Clothing.....	11,435	11.49	293.95
Cotton Goods.....	59,684	11.95	305.72
Food Preparations.....	2,901	11.53	294.98
Furniture.....	3,133	11.54	295.23
Leather.....	6,703	11.76	300.86
Machines and Machinery.....	11,580	11.83	302.65
Metals and Metallic Goods.....	18,249	11.49	293.95
Musical Instruments.....	2,821	11.75	300.60
Paper.....	6,354	11.54	295.23
Printing and Publishing.....	5,227	11.74	300.35
Rubber and Elastic Goods.....	2,644	11.70	299.32
Stone.....	1,370	11.25	287.81
Tobacco.....	905	11.74	300.34
Wooden Goods.....	2,534	11.75	300.60
Woollen Goods.....	22,597	11.78	301.37
Worsted Goods.....	2,482	12.00	307.00
Totals and Averages.....	207,793	11.36	290.62

The actual working-time in months and days is clearly shown by industries in the foregoing table. Out of a possible 307 days for the working-year, it is seen that in brickmaking there was the least amount of running time,—198.27 days,—while in the manufacture of worsted goods the whole time was utilized. So, for the twenty-one industries, the actual average working-time can be ascertained.

From the same Report, it is found that, out of an aggregate of \$631,135,284, for all the establishments in the Commonwealth, the value of the product for the 2,440 establishments was \$361,181,439, or 57+ per cent. Assuming now, that the average number of days—290.62—

worked on full time by the 2,440 establishments represents the net actual time worked by all the establishments in the Commonwealth, —14,352,—it is apparent that the 352,255 persons employed in those establishments produced in 290.62 days \$631,135,284 worth of goods, and that, if they had worked the entire year of 307 days, they would have turned out a product valued at \$666,707,295. Making a calculation on this basis for the whole of the United States, we find that the 2,732,595 persons employed in 253,852 establishments—being the total number of persons employed and the total number of establishments engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the United States in 1880—produced in 290.62 days goods having a total value of \$5,369,579,191; further, that had all the establishments been run full time, or 307 days, the same number of persons would have produced goods to the total value of \$5,672,220,723.

Evidently, therefore, the conditions of production in 1880 were quite satisfactory, and, as regards working-time,—which is all that can be considered, so far as the statistics of 1880 are of any value in the study,—the manufacturing and mechanical industries were in fairly full operation.

Comparisons for 1885 can be drawn from the Massachusetts Census Report for that year, which gives the yearly working-time for 23,431 establishments; the net actual time worked per establishment being 291 days. The total value of products in the Commonwealth in 1885, according to its Census for that year, was \$674,634,269, and the average number of persons employed, 379,328. If these establishments had worked the full year of 307 days, the value of products turned out by the same number of employees would have been \$711,727,617. As there was no census of the entire country in the year 1885, it is not possible to make a calculation for it on the basis of the Massachusetts statistics; but for 1890 such calculation can be made.

Since 1886, Massachusetts has had an annual report on the statistics of manufactures, so that similar calculations to those just exhibited can be made for the State for each year since that time. But, taking only the Federal Census year and the year 1896, we can arrive at some conclusions, based on working-time for the year 1890, which was a fairly good year for production, and for the year 1896, during which there was an industrial depression. The Annual Report of Statistics of Manufactures for Massachusetts for 1890 gives the yearly working-time for 3,041 establishments; the net actual working-time per establishment being 289.51 days. It will be remembered that for 1880 the

time was 290.62 days, and in 1885, 291 days ; so that the actual working-time in 1890—289.51 days—did not vary much from the other two periods considered.

The total product of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1890, according to the Federal Census for that year, was \$888,160,403 ; and this was produced by 485,182 persons employed in 26,923 establishments, working, as stated, 289.51 days. Assuming that the average for the 3,041 establishments reported in the Massachusetts statistics would hold good for all the establishments in the Commonwealth, had the 26,923 establishments worked the entire time of 307 days in the year 1890, with the same number of employees, the total value of the product would have been \$938,748,330 instead of \$888,160,403, the actual value reported.

Applying the same process to the results for the entire country in 1890, it will be found that 4,712,622 persons in 355,415 establishments, working 289.51 days, produced goods to the value of \$9,372,437,283, and that there would have been produced goods valued at \$9,906,275,394 had the whole number of establishments been run the full year, or 307 days. Thus, for 1890, the conclusion must be reached that the margin of loss in the country on account of works running short time was exceedingly small, and has no particular bearing on the problem of the unemployed.

For 1896, dependence must be made solely upon the annual statistics of manufactures for Massachusetts. Turning to the Report for that year, it is found that 4,609 establishments were in operation, on the average, 279.43 days, and that the total value of products for these establishments was \$537,720,294. In 1890, the total value of products for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, according to the United States Census, was \$888,160,403 ; showing that the value of products of 3,041 establishments, according to the Annual Report on the Statistics of Massachusetts for 1890, aggregating \$545,890,702, constituted 61+ per cent of the entire product. If the product reported by the 4,609 establishments in 1896, returned at \$537,720,294, is considered as representing 61+ per cent of the total product of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1890, then the entire product, with the works running on full time, would have been \$881,508,678. If it be assumed that this amount was produced in 279.43 days, there would have been produced in 1896 in 307 days an aggregate of \$968,482,769, the number of establishments being estimated for that year at 40,805 and the average number of persons employed at 536,091.

For the whole country, the only thing that can be done for 1896 is to estimate the product, the number of persons employed, and the number of establishments, according to the figures supplied by the Federal Censuses of 1880 and 1890. On this basis, taking first the value of product, it is found that in 1880 the total reported was, as stated, \$5,369,579,191, and that in 1890 it was \$9,372,437,283. This shows an increase in ten years of \$4,002,858,092, or an average annual increase of \$400,285,809. Assuming that this average annual increase continued to 1896, then the total value of the manufactured products of the country in that year would have been \$11,774,152,137; or, making due allowance for decreased production in 1896 as compared with 1890, a total production in 1896 for the whole United States of \$11,500,000,000. Taking the average number of persons employed and the number of establishments, in the same way, we have in 1896, 5,900,000 persons employed and 416,000 establishments, based upon 4,712,622 persons employed in 1890 and 2,732,595 in 1880, with 355,415 establishments in 1890, and 253,852 in 1880. If, therefore, 416,000 establishments, employing 5,900,000 persons and working 279.43 days, produced in 1896 goods valued at \$11,500,000,000, the same establishments, employing the same number of persons, would have produced in 307 days—the full working year—goods valued at \$12,634,649,163.

In the Report on Manufactures for the Federal Census of 1890, there are some statistics relating to the average weeks employed during the Census year 1890, together with the average number of employees; and they are given in Table B on the following page. These statistics, fully sustain the calculations drawn from the Massachusetts Reports; and they are thoroughly corroborated also in the valuable report of Hon. Samuel M. Hotchkiss in the Fourth Annual Report of the Connecticut Bureau of Labor Statistics.

It will be observed that the conclusions given above are based upon yearly working-time only. The few facts which can be drawn from the Federal Census of 1890, as given in the table, clearly verify the working-time ascertained in the Annual Reports of Massachusetts and the decennial census of that Commonwealth. The average number of weeks employed in the few industries given by the Federal Census is about 48, which would give practically 288 days in the year. The statistics of Massachusetts for 1890, it will be remembered, gave 289.51 days.

In all probability, production is never carried to its greatest limit, even under normal conditions. The years 1889, 1890, 1891, and 1892

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were practically normal years in production. The depression began about midway in 1893. However, few establishments are run through the entire year, owing to various causes ; but, taking statistics from the Annual Reports of Massachusetts Manufactures, we are able to compare the average number of days during which establishments in various industries were in operation with the particulars already stated as to the working-time of employees.

Table B.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AND AVERAGE WEEKS EMPLOYED DURING 1890.

(Totals for the United States.)

INDUSTRIES AND CLASSES OF EMPLOYEES.	MEN.		WOMEN.		CHILDREN.	
	Number.	Weeks Em- ployed.	Number.	Weeks Em- ployed.	Number.	Weeks Em- ployed.
Carpet-mills :						
Operatives and skilled.....	11,269	49	10,702	49	1,789	49
Unskilled.....	350	49	43	48	17	50
Cotton Manufacture :						
Operatives and skilled.....	80,735	49	95,733	49	23,483	49
Unskilled.....	5,105	49	88	50	67	50
Chemicals and Allied Products :						
Operatives and skilled.....	18,573	48	1,897	51	91	48
Unskilled.....	14,271	48	997	50	199	50
Felt-mills :						
Operatives and skilled.....	1,286	48	346	48	123	47
Unskilled.....	70	49	.....	..	.....	..
Hosiery and Knit Goods :						
Operatives and skilled.....	10,882	45	15,040	46	2,664	45
Unskilled.....	799	46	85	48	47	47
Silk Manufacture :						
Operatives and skilled.....	10,594	49	19,695	48	2,573	49
Unskilled.....	884	49	212	48	93	49
Wool Hats :						
Operatives and skilled.....	1,415	44	490	44	139	46
Unskilled.....	144	44	33	42	11	42
Woollen-mills :						
Operatives and skilled.....	38,480	47	25,585	47	4,299	46
Unskilled.....	1,870	47	87	47	68	48
Worsted-mills :						
Operatives and skilled.....	16,862	48	17,543	48	3,747	49
Unskilled.....	1,100	49	184	50	44	50

The average number of days in operation for all industries in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was, for 1889, 289.56 ; for 1890, 295.44 ; for 1891, 296.78 ; for 1892, 297.83 ; for 1893, 277.36 ; for 1894, 275.63 ; for 1895, 291.56 ; and for 1896, 279.43.

Turning now from the facts already shown for the average days actually worked, it is necessary to arrive at the true productive capacity of manufacturing establishments; and, in order to do this, it is essential to know what relation the actual production of such establishments bears to the maximum production of which they are capable without any increase in the plant,—that is, without any extension of buildings or additions to machinery, implements, and tools. To determine this relation, so far as possible, an inquiry was made in the Massachusetts Census of 1885, with fairly satisfactory results; and this feature has since formed a part of the Reports on the Annual Statistics of Manufactures for that Commonwealth. The results of this inquiry at the State Census of 1885 and in the years 1890 and 1896 may be briefly summarized.

At the State Census for 1885, the proportion of business done was reported by 2,537 manufacturing establishments out of a total of 23,431, or 10.83 per cent,—a fairly representative proportion. The result arrived at was that these 2,537 establishments did business during the Census year amounting to 59.27 per cent of a maximum production of 100 per cent. As stated in the Report on that Census,

“It may savor of experimental statistics, to base any estimate upon this percentage, but it may not be out of place to state that if this percentage held good for the balance of the establishments, with a maximum of production in these establishments, the total product of the manufacturing and mechanical establishments of the State during the Census year should have reached \$1,138,239,023 in value.”

The actual production was \$674,634,269.

Turning back to the results concerning yearly working-time for 1885, it is seen that 379,328 persons in 23,431 establishments, operated the full year, could have produced \$711,727,617. To reach the maximum production mentioned, a larger force of employees would have been necessary; and this increased number of workmen can be determined by ascertaining the value of product per employee, based upon the total output for the 307 days, and dividing the maximum production by the average product per employee; that is to say, if 379,328 employees, working the full year, produced, or could produce, \$711,727,617 worth of goods, each employee could have produced, on the average, \$1,876 worth of goods. On this basis, the maximum production of which the establishments were capable, without any increase of plant whatever, was \$1,138,239,023, requiring the labor of 606,737 persons.

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The Report of Annual Statistics for Massachusetts for 1890 shows that for 3,041 establishments the proportion of business done in that year was represented by 72.65 per cent; and applying this percentage to the total value of products for the Commonwealth, according to the United States Census of 1890, there should have been a maximum production of \$1,222,519,481, requiring the employment of 632,119 workmen, instead of 485,182 persons employed, on the average, 289.51 days, producing goods valued at \$888,160,403.

Assuming that the proportion of business done by all the establishments in the United States in 1890 was the same as shown by the 3,041 establishments in Massachusetts, then the maximum production of the country in that year would have been \$12,900,808,373, providing each establishment had been worked to its fullest capacity; and to produce this amount of goods there would have been needed 6,137,396 employees, instead of 4,712,622 persons working 289.51 days, on the average, and producing goods valued at \$9,372,437,283.

The Report on the Annual Statistics of Manufactures for Massachusetts for 1896 shows that for 4,609 establishments the average proportion of business done in that year was represented by 58.98 per cent. As already stated, an estimated product of \$881,508,678 was produced by 536,091 persons (estimated) employed 279.43 days in 40,805 establishments (estimated) in the whole State. If this estimated product were 58.98 per cent of the total productive capacity of the establishments, then the maximum production would have been \$1,494,589,145, and the total number of persons needed, 827,568.

Applying the same percentage (58.98) to the estimated production of all the establishments of the United States in 1896, working the same time (279.43 days), that is, \$11,500,000,000 worth of goods by 5,900,000 persons, as already shown, there would have been a grand aggregate of production in that year (1896) of nearly \$19,500,000,000 as representing the greatest possible production of which the manufacturing establishments of the country were capable without increased facilities; and this production would have required the services of at least 9,100,000 persons.

The above statements relative to the proportion of business done to total capacity of production are for general conditions; but, in order to arrive at a true understanding of the status in different lines of production, I have compiled the following particulars of the running-time in the principal industries of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:—

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INDUSTRIES.	1880.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Agricultural implements...	274.86	293.25	285.21	292.72	280.05	248.59	281.46	277.27
Arms and ammunition.....	296.00	300.38	299.31	291.10	283.40	284.20	289.29	293.81
Artisans' tools.....	300.92	294.10	297.11	295.98	274.25	237.70	282.91	282.68
Boots and shoes.....	285.88	288.72	289.15	293.56	275.99	279.16	284.64	282.30
Bricks, tiles, and sewer pipe	209.32	227.77	234.07	238.23	238.90	214.92	212.80	227.26
Carpetings.....	285.17	297.23	301.76	303.33	247.53	259.15	299.63	241.14
Carriages and wagons.....	295.78	298.17	295.41	298.03	286.96	289.93	288.90	278.03
Chemical prep'ns, comp'd..	304.88	302.39	289.62	302.21	293.78	296.53	300.43	294.11
Clocks and watches.....	296.86	287.93	282.12	286.46	261.38	264.07	277.59	261.38
Clothing.....	289.17	296.95	296.12	296.97	280.04	278.95	290.25	278.13
Cooking, lighting, and heat- ing apparatus.....	274.11	274.39	277.99	281.07	267.03	250.67	258.66	261.78
Cordage and twine.....	291.56	287.83	295.35	295.19	293.27	287.45	286.40	281.48
Cotton goods.....	296.25	299.05	304.16	304.85	281.87	273.08	297.36	279.53
Cotton, woollen, etc. textiles	294.00	301.88	312.40	304.61	255.93	303.49	301.48	286.98
Earthen, plaster, stone ware	283.75	295.57	272.07	288.63	277.30	290.52	297.56	268.21
Electrical apparatus, etc...	304.60	302.24	305.25	305.74	266.33	304.98	300.12	298.78
Electroplating.....	290.38	280.35	295.36	290.57	280.30	277.99	283.58	288.32
Fancy articles, etc.....	282.17	294.43	299.53	292.24	280.23	277.26	290.22	282.62
Fertilizers.....	304.00	271.26	257.66	305.09	269.25	294.87	305.02	306.86
Fine arts and taxidermy...	286.67	306.00	273.56	303.50	305.50	306.00	307.40	303.27
Flax, hemp, jute, linen goods	300.20	302.10	301.35	298.80	279.15	245.14	290.06	267.21
Food preparations.....	297.09	295.56	302.05	304.42	299.19	300.88	298.47	297.42
Furniture.....	290.70	298.34	298.97	297.67	286.56	281.43	291.97	288.17
Glass.....	279.63	278.94	287.30	294.11	299.45	291.08	290.06	261.17
Glue, isinglass, and starch.	250.60	275.03	232.61	234.06	249.83	233.73	259.30	241.31
Hose: rubber, linen, etc...	272.50	286.08	299.69	295.21	274.42	298.63	305.44	306.89
Hosiery and knit goods...	277.03	297.53	300.53	299.38	282.80	291.83	298.15	287.78
Leather.....	288.19	294.08	286.59	294.12	280.09	291.59	294.73	286.13
Liquors, etc. (not spirituous)	305.67	295.93	304.95	303.25	302.10	305.69	301.67	299.05
Liquors: malt, distilled, and fermented.....	284.00	297.17	300.84	301.83	303.10	302.73	290.63	289.65
Lumber.....	283.75	290.31	274.40	300.60	254.35	260.18	246.67	272.43
Machines and machinery...	299.09	304.22	297.40	303.51	287.42	283.30	297.55	292.16
Metals and metallic goods..	290.33	296.99	294.87	292.02	267.91	266.91	284.14	278.79
Mixed textiles.....	295.67	293.15	290.83	298.85	285.56	251.82	293.35	258.01
Musical insts. and materials	295.16	296.43	299.54	298.19	267.50	273.57	289.23	272.24
Oils and illuminating fluids	296.56	306.28	306.11	306.17	306.42	304.85	303.83	304.10
Paints, colors, crude chem'ls	277.81	295.69	297.09	295.77	280.17	285.98	276.12	264.17
Paper and paper goods.....	293.15	296.91	300.02	289.99	278.37	273.21	287.34	272.56
Printing, pub'g, bookb'd'g.	300.00	301.40	303.60	305.14	303.19	303.23	286.47	296.58
Print-works, dye-works, and bleacheries.....	290.05	296.93	295.01	300.13	267.51	270.68	298.82	282.44
Railroad construction and equipment.....	301.00	303.06	251.68	300.63	294.91	259.08	287.93	288.52
Rubber and elastic goods...	295.29	282.76	283.02	281.15	286.08	276.12	283.89	266.73
Saddlery and harness.....	.....	.....	.....	303.55	296.08	296.14	290.08	286.60
Scientific instruments, etc.	294.71	301.74	302.73	301.22	289.44	290.27	296.55	300.73
Shipbuilding.....	286.95	297.54	296.56	295.98	291.08	286.63	276.89	285.05
Silk and silk goods.....	302.20	298.93	296.26	300.71	262.15	265.60	296.65	259.33
Stone.....	289.64	288.64	287.57	274.26	282.11	279.25	281.65	280.99
Straw and palm-leaf goods.	252.12	267.51	245.17	267.27	267.58	257.61	273.97	272.37
Tobacco, snuff, and cigars.	288.56	294.42	296.01	297.41	290.75	287.91	293.47	290.02
Wooden goods.....	291.69	292.17	292.05	295.12	281.69	269.96	287.58	285.22
Woollen goods.....	286.00	293.48	298.42	299.29	265.01	262.70	292.19	259.65
Worsted goods.....	296.20	305.11	305.13	303.61	278.53	270.90	305.64	279.35
All industries.....	289.56	295.44	296.78	297.83	278.40	275.63	291.56	279.43

302 THE RELATION OF PRODUCTION TO PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY.

In the foregoing table, the figures for "All industries" include twenty-four industries not shown in detail, owing to want of space.

The Federal statistics do not give production in relation to the actual capacity to produce; but in the special reports upon iron and steel, made by Hon. James M. Swank in 1880 and by Dr. Sweet in 1890, we are able to ascertain the following facts concerning the production of iron and steel of all kinds for the two years named:—

IRON AND STEEL. YEARLY CAPACITY AND ACTUAL PRODUCTION.

ITEMS.	1880.	1890.
Total daily capacity in tons.....	47,160	114,986
Number of working-days... ..	810	810
Total yearly capacity in tons.....	14,619,600	85,680,160
Actual yearly production in tons.....	7,265,140	18,216,215
Average number of employees.....	140,798	171,181
Average number of employees required if running full capacity.....	283,326	334,870

The calculations already made depend upon bases which cannot be doubted; but they relate entirely to working-time and to proportion of business done, as shown by the reports of producers themselves. Before any conclusions can be drawn as to the points where production is carried too far, or as to the bearing which the facts already given may have upon the question of non-employment and consumption, all the available facts relative to the number of unemployed at various times should be considered. This consideration, however, must be left for another article.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

THE MONETARY COMMISSION.

CALM and yet friendly critics of democratic institutions, like Mr. Lecky in his "Democracy and Liberty," have pointed out the existence of unmistakable dangers which have appeared in the process of our political development. To these dangers we are not blind; but while as a people we always regard them as serious, yet to American optimism they seem sporadic and not chronic. We have fallen into the habit of admitting that American life and ideals are not truly expressed in our political activity, or in our legislation; that intentions and results are badly mated. The superiority of our ideals over our political action—if that be granted—seems to be due to a neglect of political duties. The preoccupation of an intensely industrial community, engaged in exploiting the amazing resources of a new country, has left us temporarily neglectful of our civic obligations.

From this point of view, it is reasonable to suppose that political indifferentism—sometimes too long continued, as in the case of prolonged endurance of bad monetary legislation—is to be ascribed to an absorption of mind in other directions. Moreover, although the losses and damage wrought by erroneous politics are extraordinary, yet the return of wealth for skilled human effort is so great, and our phenomenal resources yield such enormous totals, that the losses are accepted and forgotten. This may not indicate a discriminating and frugal mind; but it is the way of doing things natural to an immature people in the midst of rapidly accumulating riches.

To some minds, the stolid acquiescence for decades in vicious legislation—so long endured that its viciousness has become notorious—seems to be an exhibition of American indifference so discouraging that we should frankly, although reluctantly, admit the "degradation of American politics" as an inevitable consequence of democratic institutions. There seems indeed to be a basis for such reflections. That a monetary system like that of the United States should not merely have found a place in our legislation, but should also have remained in force for more than a generation, when qualified observers at home and abroad have repeatedly foretold disaster; that losses of untold millions should

have been suffered in commercial ruin directly traceable to defective monetary enactments, when the application of plain business principles would have made this damage impossible; that our country should be painfully writhing in distress and weighed down by industrial depression at the very time when foreign countries are recording the largest exports and imports and the greatest prosperity in all their history,—all this seems inexplicable and astounding. Is it any wonder that, by many thoughtful people, this long continuance in a blundering and costly policy by an ambitious country should be regarded as proof of a deep-seated incapacity on the part of a democracy to successfully meet its problems,—to appreciate, for instance, the gravity and complexity of problems such as must arise in establishing a sound fiscal and monetary policy, and then rise to a fit solution of them.

There are some of us, however, who might take a more cheerful view. In spite of some inexplicable aberrations from sound judgment, and of some strange hallucinations for a brief time, no estimate of the American electorate is correct which fails to recognize its fundamental good sense, honor, and intelligence. A sympathetic, and therefore a truer, insight will lead one to notice symptoms indicative of very sane and healthy action, but which are often overlooked in the hasty bustle of obtaining immediate political results. The reserve force of right action in the American people, which can be called upon in any great emergency, must always be reckoned with by statesmen. The great democratic giant moves on his busy way, absorbed in developing the crude resources of a new land, settling the pressing needs of a new, but ambitious, community, striding on magnificently to material wealth, self-centred and often serenely unconscious of ugly signs of disease, which, as yet, have made little or no impression on his inner strength and vitality. An unexpected tumble, a surprising blow, now and then, seem to have no perceptible influence in retarding his ultimate and confident progress. But when, by recurring twinges, this big personality is once made fully conscious that something is permanently injurious to his health—when, for instance, he discovers that his monetary diet gives him an excruciating colic, increasing in intensity—we are likely to witness the direction of great energy toward the discovery of a cure. And, if I am not greatly mistaken, that is what we are observing in the present movement for the reform of our monetary legislation.

There are unmistakable evidences that the industrial interests, quite irrespective of party affiliations, are exhibiting a change of emphasis; withdrawing their attention, for a time, from the engrossing tasks of

production and manufacture in order to examine into and remedy the dangerous consequences of a vicious monetary policy. This is a decidedly healthy and encouraging sign. Our great democracy, feeling a pronounced lassitude in its system, racked in every part of its body by suffering and distress, stops in its onward strides in the path of prosperity, and reluctantly admits that it can take up its work again only after its disease has been diagnosed and proper remedies applied. Those of us who despair too easily of the Republic must, therefore, be patient, and allow time enough for large forces to complete the cycle of examination and reform. A return to sane methods may be slow, but it is inevitable, if we continue to remain a commercial nation.

Foreigners are often pleased to speak condescendingly of American optimism,—a confidence that, in spite of corruption and malodorous administration, everything will eventually work out a good result. After all, is this so-called optimism anything more than a surer knowledge on the part of those who know our democracy most truly? If it be a fact that, as I have already observed, there is a great reserve force of good sense, honorable purpose, and shrewd intelligence among our people, which in supreme crises, or after long irritation, is sure to rise spontaneously to set the nation aright, then we, who have faith in our country, are not basing our hopes on imagination or sentiment. Even though the moral force of the community sometimes slumbers until impatient persons announce its extinction, it is still there, to be awakened when there is less preoccupation with the eager pursuits of industry. It is the peculiarity of our democracy,—hardly a vice, unless a habit of procrastination may be called a vice,—that time and effort are needed to awaken its consciousness to a proper understanding of an evil, and to connect an aroused moral sense with definite legislation.

It is to be observed, moreover, that a passing craze should not be mistaken for an awakening of the public consciousness. A temporary flirtation with an issue, tricked out in false brows to counterfeit beauty, is not the same as the deep affection which guides permanent action. The public may flirt with this or that dangerous issue for a time; but a permanent alliance is out of the question. In our land, an impression upon the inner consciousness by a grave matter is slow and difficult. Geographical separation and diverse climates within our own boundaries make practically separate communities, with different feelings and standards, and with diverse points of view. Hence, even when those who have a common purpose to attain are many in numbers, it is difficult to find each other out and to act in concert. This explains why

it is that the creation of a common understanding is a slow process, often obtained only through panics and suffering, and that leadership and organization to carry this understanding into positive legislation are of first importance. The mere fact that an ill has been long endured is not in itself discouraging; for when the existence of an evil has once been generally recognized, the end is not far, if a leader appear.

Whatever the immediate causes, it will be admitted by all that the public consciousness has been thoroughly awakened to the evils of our present monetary system—or rather lack of system. The sufferings of the industrial organism have been acute and unprecedented: the consciousness of disease is everywhere felt. If this be granted, the end is not far off. The questions now universally asked are: "What is wrong? What are the remedies?" This in its briefest form is the *raison d'être* of the Monetary Commission. It is now sitting to diagnose impartially the disease, and to prescribe the remedy. It is the outcome of a movement which reflects the healthiest operations of democracy that have been observed in recent years. It is from the people, by the people, and for the people. Above all party, above all sectional feeling, it is in the interests of the whole country, and not in the interest of any one man, nor of any particular region. Larger than any one industry or vocation, it is the outcome of all industrial life throughout the length and breadth of the land, and stands for the dignity of labor and production when these demand the right to be freed from artificial barriers to profitable and steady employment. It is evidence of the healthy condition of popular government. Stultifying acquiescence much longer in a fatuous monetary policy might properly have been regarded as proof of the degeneration of our institutions, and of the flabbiness of the public conscience. The extent of this movement among the business interests, its spontaneous origin, its non-partisan character, are exceedingly hopeful. Although long delayed, it is so steady, so direct, so uncompromising, that it becomes a wholly novel and unprecedented part of recent political activity. Never before in our history have the business interests of the country combined to secure the formulation of a sound monetary system, with the evident purpose to follow the announcement of that result by a formidable campaign in every district and precinct of the nation. It is a strong demand based on the dignity and self-respect of our industrial life.

On November 18, 1896, the Governors of the Indianapolis Board

of Trade invited the Boards of Trade of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo, Kansas City, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Des Moines, Minneapolis, Grand Rapids, Peoria, and Omaha to a conference on the first of December following, to consider the advisability of calling a larger convention from commercial organizations throughout the country for the purpose of discussing the wisdom of selecting a non-partisan commission to formulate a sound currency system. This preliminary conference, after long deliberation, issued a call for a non-partisan monetary convention of business men, chosen from boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and commercial clubs, to meet in Indianapolis, on January 12, 1897. In the call, attention was drawn to the fact that a necessity for such legislation as would establish our currency upon a sound and permanent basis was generally conceded by business men. In view of what I have said, it is noteworthy that the call contained these significant words:—

“The business men have been accused of neglect of political duties. In ordinary times there may be some foundation for this charge; but at every critical juncture in the history of our country, when the nation's prosperity, honor, or general welfare was seriously in danger, they have, in the spirit of enlightened patriotism, risen to the full measure of their duty; and we believe that the painful experience of the country under the existing laws on the subject of the currency admonishes the business men that we have reached a point where it is their duty to take an active part in helping to solve the great questions involved.”

Here is the evidence that the public consciousness had been awakened.

At the convention, held January 12, 1897, there assembled, with credentials, two hundred and ninety-nine delegates,—men of high character and distinction,—representing business organizations and cities in nearly every State in the Union. Indeed seldom has a more influential body of men of experience and ability been brought together. The result of its deliberations was expressed in resolutions conveying the idea that no progress could be made until a definite plan of monetary reform should have been agreed upon, to which public attention could be directed. The resolutions, which received enthusiastic adoption, began as follows:—

“This convention declares that it has become absolutely necessary that a consistent, straightforward, and deliberately planned monetary system shall be inaugurated, the fundamental basis of which should be: First, that the present gold standard should be maintained. Second, that steps should be taken to insure the ultimate retirement of all classes of United States notes by a gradual and steady process, and so as to avoid injurious contraction of the currency, or dis-

turbance of the business interests of the country, and that until such retirements provision should be made for a separation of the revenue and note-issue departments of the Treasury. Third, that a banking system be provided, which should furnish credit facilities to every portion of the country and a safe and elastic circulation, and especially with a view of securing such a distribution of the loanable capital of the country as will tend to equalize the rates of interest in all parts thereof."

Recognizing the absolute necessity of committing the formulation of such a plan dealing with complicated currency questions to a body of men trained and experienced in these matters, a commission was proposed. In case no commission should be authorized by Congress in the spring of 1897, the Executive Committee of the Convention was authorized to select a commission of eleven members,

"to make thorough investigation of the monetary affairs and needs of this country, in all relations and aspects, and to make appropriate suggestions as to any evils found to exist, and the remedies therefor."

When the labors of the Commission shall have been completed, it shall make

"report of its doings and suggestions in such manner and form as it shall deem best adapted to present the same to this Convention and its members for action, and, if legislation is deemed advisable, shall accompany such report with a draft of such bill or bills providing for such legislation."

Congress did not authorize the appointment of a monetary commission; and the Executive Committee of the Convention selected a commission of eleven members,¹ which began its sittings in Washington, September 22, 1897.

The reason why the movement for currency reform has crystallized in the appointment of a monetary commission is solely because of the impelling force of public opinion. The monetary panic of 1893 and the disasters of 1896 will not have been suffered in vain, if, out of the stress and strain of the last four years, shall have come a deep-seated conviction that indifference to great evils is no longer possible. The whole purpose of a commission is that it may present definite recom-

¹ George F. Edmunds, Vermont, chairman; George E. Leighton, Missouri, vice-chairman; T. G. Bush, Alabama; W. B. Dean, Minnesota; Charles S. Fairchild, New York; Stuyvesant Fish, New York; J. W. Fries, North Carolina; Louis A. Garnett, California; J. Laurence Laughlin, Illinois; C. Stuart Patterson, Pennsylvania; Robert S. Taylor, Indiana; and L. Carroll Root and H. Parker Willis, secretaries.

mendations for which public opinion may be created. Is it not well to protest against the indiscriminate criticism of Congress on the ground that it has as yet taken no action toward currency reform? Certainly it is far better to put the responsibility where it really lies,—with the absence of the definite conviction as to specific measures on the part of the general public. Indeed, some persons question whether Congress should ever legislate except in answer to a clearly expressed mandate from the people. At any rate, it is puerile to waste time gossiping as to who is to blame for the existing evils in our currency system. If any one body is more to blame than another, it is the general public. In fact, we have to-day about us as good—or bad—a monetary system as we deserve, considering the little intelligence that has been given to it. The really important matter is the general belief that present conditions contain potential disaster, and that they must be changed for the better. If our currency is in such a state of unstable equilibrium that any future alarm, such as the one which came in the summer of 1896, may produce a paralysis of trade and industry, then it is bad business policy to leave our currency as it is now.

The striking thing in looking back over thirty-five years is, that we have never observed any steady, continuous policy in regard to our currency. During all that time, industry has been handicapped by the uncertainty of a depreciated, or a doubtful, standard of prices and payments. The whole importance, therefore, of the spontaneous uprising of business interests in the Convention of January 12, 1897, resides in the creation of a commission, instructed to formulate a consistent monetary policy, which may be laid before the public with a view to its guidance and instruction. A struggle may then be inaugurated to incorporate into legislation, as rapidly as may be, one part after another of this general plan. In short, the Commission has it in its power to set up a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, to guide the followers of sound monetary principles through all the marches and campaigns of coming years, until they shall reach the promised land where freedom from monetary disturbances shall be ever secured. Granting that all the conclusions of such a commission may not at once be enacted into law; yet the very existence of such a body of recommendations will in itself be a fact which must be reckoned with. It is high time that some monetary Sheridans should appear far in front of the hesitating armies, to order the battle-standards to be planted well forward, and courageously to form the troops upon the new and advanced line.

It should be especially noted that the whole movement, of which

the Commission is the outcome, is essentially democratic. Members of chambers of commerce and of other commercial bodies, representing all parts of the country, have assembled for consultation, and for the formulation of remedies for existing dangers to industry. They have gathered together and appointed their representatives to act for them in regard to currency legislation in the same manner as would any convention of merchants seeking redress from injurious bankruptcy laws. The Commission is merely the agent of the great business constituency. The Commission and the body from which it sprang are parts of but one movement. If it is impertinent for the Commission to deliberate upon currency matters, then it is equally impertinent for the business interests to give attention to them.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the practical men of our land are acting wholly in the letter and spirit of the First Amendment to the Constitution, which preserves "the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." The right of petition has been effective on many important occasions. In England, petitions brought about the abolition of slavery, the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and the repeal of the corn laws. Petitions which prayerfully present the conclusions of the Monetary Commission will not offer the opinions of a self-constituted body of eleven men, but those of the duly accredited representatives of the commercial, manufacturing, banking, and agricultural interests in different parts of the United States. It is not impossible that a "Merchants' Petition" in the New World may give another date to the records of progress in commercial history.

The merchants of our country, moreover, in this movement which has culminated in the creation of a commission, have taken a position that indicates the appearance of a new dignity and self-respect. It is a commonplace of democratic government to insist that all forms of labor—each and all the industrial occupations—should be regarded as equally honorable, and that there are no privileged classes. The day, when no "tradesman" can be presented at the official receptions of our Government, will never dawn for an American. All this may be true, and more. It is not as generally recognized as it might be, that the great preponderance of the brains and genius of our people is to be found in the industrial occupations of our land. The men who officer the great industrial machinery of production and trade are constantly putting forth an effort of mind, a creative force, an originating power, such as seldom appear in other professions. In fact, the ablest and most

competent men are, by the operation of our social development, drawn into the service of business. Had the scholars of to-day the driving energy and intellectual quality of their industrial brothers, scholarship would advance, by leaps and bounds, far faster than it does now. Nothing in our American life is more marked than the prodigious display of virile and penetrating intelligence in all the departments of business activity. Only too often are men obliged to seek the so-called learned professions because they cannot possibly achieve success in commercial life in face of the intense competition of strong men.

And yet it is not uncommon to hear depreciative remarks about "mere business men." Indeed, by some strange survival of traditions, there has been impalpably conveyed to the public judgment a bias, more or less pronounced, which has placed the business man in a doubtful rank of influence. Strangest of all, in a democracy like ours, the man of affairs has felt constrained at times to assume an apologetic attitude toward his fellows. In view of his powers and his daily services to society, this seems quite inexplicable. In illustration of this attitude, reference may be briefly made to the profession of banking. I am fully aware that what I may say in this connection may be misquoted and misconstrued, and regarded as showing a weak subserviency to wealth. The question, however, is "What is the truth?" not "What will men say?" And it is high time that someone should have the courage to tell the truth about bankers and banking.

The widely diffused prejudice against bankers comes from persons who know nothing whatever about the business of banking, or that bankers gain a profit only from their discounts by buying and selling something in no other way than another man who may have invested his capital in dry-goods. The banker does a service which others require. No one is obliged to accept a loan. The service is rendered by voluntary action on both sides. In no sense does a banker earn his profit in any way different from a cab-driver, or an expressman: the one invests his capital in the work of supplying society with the machinery of exchanging and transferring goods, the other invests his capital in a machine for the transfer of persons or goods from one spot to another. It is as ignorant and childish to say that all bankers are bad as to say that all cabmen are good. Bankers are every day rendering a service to society without which industry could not possibly go on: they make exchanges of goods possible in a marvelously skilful manner, and increase the power of production and the efficiency of labor in ways little understood.

The relation of the banker to his clients is generally a closer and more confidential one than that of the clergyman to his parishioners. Every man in business, sooner or later, needs assistance at critical moments. Not to get it means failure, bankruptcy, and poverty for his family. Perhaps no man in the community, therefore, is the recipient of more sacred confidences, more inside knowledge of his client's struggles and hopes, than the banker. And every day we are entrusting our savings and investments to his honor and probity. Think for a moment of the service to society performed by a banker who vigilantly keeps intact for our daily use the millions upon millions of dollars of deposits! If he were ever distrusted for one hour, imagine the chaos that would supervene, and picture the loss to innocent people who are obliged to rely on skilled advice for investment! Is it not then a piece of cowardly and unmanly wrong on the part of some of our people to describe these men as "harpies" and "plunderers of the poor"? The sense of fair play should require retraction of such untruth; for untruth it is. It is set afloat by persons who have absolutely no knowledge of what they are talking about; it is tossed about by those whose stock in trade is to excite antagonism between the rich and the poor. So far has it gone, that the banker is practically excluded from public life. The demagogues and charlatans have actually led bankers to assume an attitude which admits that they have no influence.

If, therefore, this rising of the business men of the whole country means anything, it means an increasing sense of self-respect and dignity. They have as much right to unite in a movement for the protection of trade and industry from ignorant or dishonorable assault as to arrange for immunity from burglary or sandbagging. The right-minded man of affairs has the same inalienable privilege of demanding justice and freedom for his work, as the religious man has to demand protection and freedom in the exercise of his conscientious scruples. But, so long had the business interests been accustomed to bad monetary legislation that the apologetic attitude of mind was not easily thrown off: they, at first, hesitated to demand all that was rightfully theirs. Now, however, the spirit is different. It begins to assume with busy men the character of a holy war for justice and for their rights. They refuse any longer to permit matters of vital interest to employers and employed—to industry as a whole—to be tossed about the political field in the game of politics.

J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.

OUR PROPOSED NEW SUGAR INDUSTRY.

DURING the past quarter of a century, the attention of the public has been frequently called to the fact that we were annually expending enormous sums for the importation of foreign sugar, amounting in recent years to some eighty million dollars; and it has been stated that, by producing our own supply from beets, this money might be saved.

Attempts have been made at different times to establish beet-sugar factories; but it is only within the last few years that the industry has been conducted with any degree of financial success, although it has been protected either by heavy duties or by national or State bounties.

Last year, the half-dozen factories in this country produced in all some 40,000 tons; while the amount consumed by us was nearly 2,000,000 tons. During the Tariff discussion preceding the passage of the Dingley Bill, the advocates of the beet-sugar industry developed surprising strength. The whole Tariff Bill was delayed, and its passage jeopardized for a time, by the discussion between the Senate and the House as to whether the duty upon refined sugars should be fixed at twenty cents or twelve and one-half cents per one hundred pounds, *i. e.*, one-fifth of a cent or one-eighth of a cent per pound. While the newspapers of the country were directing attention to this duty upon refined sugar, the advocates of the beet-sugar industry succeeded in placing a duty of \$1.68 $\frac{1}{4}$ per one hundred pounds upon raw centrifugal sugars of 96 test,—sugars comprising the bulk of our importations. This rate was equal to 80 per cent *ad valorem* upon prices then ruling abroad. There was placed, moreover, in addition, a countervailing duty to offset the bounties paid by European beet-sugar countries, which made the duty upon German beets—our largest source of supply of that grade—about 95 per cent upon the export price. Again an attempt was made to secure a national bounty for beet-sugar. And, finally, a movement was set on foot to cancel our treaty with Hawaii, under which treaty the sugars produced there have, for some twenty years, been admitted to this country free of duty.

Owing to delay in the passage of the Tariff Act, heavy importations of sugar were made during the first half of the present year,—a

circumstance that will materially affect the revenue to be derived from this article during the first twelvemonth of the new rates. After these excessive stocks are used up, however, the revenue to be derived therefrom—if last year's importation of 1,450,000 tons of dutiable sugar be taken as the basis—will reach \$50,000,000. Thus the tax which the consumers are obliged to pay, if based upon the total consumption of 1896—1,960,000 tons—will amount to \$67,620,000. The difference between the figures given as estimated revenue and as estimated tax represents the domestic production of cane- and beet-sugars for 1896, amounting together to 315,000 tons, plus the 200,000 tons (more or less) imported free from the Sandwich Islands, all which would find a market at the duty-paid price of imported sugars.¹

The placing of a high rate of duty upon raw sugars found few opponents in Congress. First, the highest possible rates were sought by those favoring the domestic production of beets; and next, a high rate was advocated by those looking upon sugar duty as a revenue measure. But if the claims of those favoring the production of beets prove true, —if, within a few years, this country should supply its own demands for sugar,—what would become of the \$50,000,000 revenue? How could it be made up? And how could the consumers be relieved of the heavy tax until that time should arrive when there would be an excess of domestic production over requirements, and prices would fall through oversupply?

In the various European countries, the governments, many years ago, took the beet industry into their special care. When the limit of home demand had been reached, bounties were paid upon exports of sugar. These bounties, from time to time, were increased, in the vain attempt to sustain the price to producers at a paying point. As a result, the production of sugar has been artificially stimulated to such an extent that the crops of Germany, Austria, France, Russia, Belgium, and the Netherlands combined now exceed their consumption by some 2,300,000 tons. This artificial stimulation has thrown a heavy burden upon these governments in the way of bounties, and has led them to supply England, and in part the United States, with sugars at less than

¹ In the above estimate, the additional revenue to be derived from the countervailing duty against European beet-sugars is not taken into account, as the probable effect of the duty will be to turn these sugars over to England, where all sugars are admitted free. Their place will most likely be filled by cane-sugars from Java and other countries,—now going to England,—as these sugars are admitted here, upon the same basis of test, at one-quarter of a cent per pound less than the German sugars.

cost. All attempts to maintain prices at a remunerative figure by endeavoring to sustain the home markets, while shipping to other countries below cost, have failed. The consequence is that the world's markets are overstocked, and that sugars are selling in all the large producing countries at less than their average cost of production; only the best equipped and best located factories being able to make any profit.

At the time of writing (August, 1897), German raw beet-sugars, 88 analysis, are selling for export at 8s 6d per 112 lbs., or 1.82 cents per lb.

The following table shows the world's production of sugar for the year 1896-1897:—

SUGAR CROP OF THE WORLD 1896-1897, IN TONS.

Cane-Sugar.		
West Indian Islands }	1,139,000	
South America }		
United States	275,000	
Total America		1,414,000
Asia		782,000
Australia, etc.		140,000
Sandwich Islands		200,000
Egypt, Mauritius, etc.		290,000
Spain		20,000
		<u>2,846,000</u>
Beet-Sugar.		
Germany	1,845,000	
Austria	950,000	
France	750,000	
Russia	735,000	
Belgium	295,000	
Holland	175,000	
Other European Countries	201,000	
		<u>4,951,000</u>
United States		40,000
		<u>4,991,000</u>
Total World's Production, gross tons		7,837,000
Increase over past year in tons		582,760

It is a notable fact that, although Cuba's crop fell short some 800,000 tons, owing to the insurrection, there was an increase in the world's

total production, to the extent of 582,760 tons,—due to increased production in Europe.

The world's consumption is as follows:

COUNTRY.	Year Ending	Tons.
United States.....	Jan. 1, 1897	1,960,000
Canada and Provinces.....		140,000
Great Britain.....	Mch. 31, 1897	1,494,000
Germany.....	" 31, 1897	594,000
Austria.....	" 31, 1897	848,000
Holland and Belgium.....	" 31, 1897	391,000
France.....	" 31, 1897	555,000
Russia.....		500,000
Other Countries of Europe (estimated).		513,000
		6,490,000
Unaccounted for.....		1,347,000
Total production (as shown in preceding table).....		7,837,000

Of the 1,347,000 tons unaccounted for, much was taken by countries from which no statistics are obtainable. A large part, however,—254,300 tons,—found no market, and was, therefore, added to the stock which, on August 1, was estimated in tons as follows:—

WORLD'S STOCK OF SUGAR, AUGUST 1, 1897.

United Kingdom.....	82,800	
United States (Raws).....	560,000	
Cuba.....	11,000	
European Countries.....	1,141,000	
		1,794,800
Add excess of refined sugars U. S., estimated upon increased melting of raw sugar since Jan. 1, 1897.. ..		87,000
Total World's Stock of Sugar, Aug. 1, 1897.....		1,881,800
Stock at corresponding date, 1896.....		1,627,500
Increase of World's Stock.....		254,300

The world's stock of sugar, therefore, which on August 1, 1894, was 1,087,766 tons, had increased, by August 1, 1897, to 1,881,800 tons.

In the face of such oversupply and of ruinous prices, the United States—the largest consuming country in the world—proposes to establish the new industry and to produce its own sugar. With the experience of European countries in artificially fostering an industry to a point beyond the natural law of supply and demand, is it wise for us to

enter upon a similar policy? With the present duty, ranging from 80 to 100 per cent, imposed for the purpose of protecting an industry that does not as yet, to any extent, exist, and with the experience of our past sugar legislation,—duties having been changed with nearly every incoming Administration, and varying between two and a quarter cents per pound on centrifugals to free raw sugars,—will capital be attracted to the new industry?

The imports of foreign sugars are often referred to as representing so much loss to a country that should supply itself. That these sugars, however, are by no means paid for in cash, is shown by the following figures for the principal countries supplying the United States with sugar and molasses for the year ending June 30, 1896, together with our exports to those countries:—

COUNTRIES.	Imports of Sugar from.	Exports of Merchandise to.
Austria.....	\$ 981,263	\$2,439,651
Belgium.....	1,771,977	27,070,625
Germany.....	12,528,755	97,897,197
Holland.....	1,182,605	89,022,899
Dutch East Indies.....	11,388,487	1,576,316
“ Guiana.....	289,248	622,761
British West Indies.....	4,758,569	8,734,153
“ Guiana.....	3,414,368	1,749,193
Santo Domingo.....	2,459,302	1,064,116
Spain.....		11,492,428
Cuba.....	24,215,935	7,580,880
Puerto Rico.....	2,227,593	2,102,094
Philippine Islands.....	2,270,903	162,446
Brazil.....	3,776,486	14,258,187
Hawaiian Islands.....	11,388,698	3,985,707
Totals.....	\$82,554,183	\$219,708,653

In the above table, the exports to Spain are based largely upon the imports from Cuba. The mother-country sends us no sugar direct. Although at present, by reason of the insurrection, our exports to Cuba are very light, it is worthy of note that during the year ending June 30, 1893,—i. e., previous to the cancellation of our Reciprocity Treaty with Spain, when raw sugars were admitted free,—the island took from us \$24,157,000 worth of merchandise.

These figures show that our exports to those countries from which we are buying sugar reach the enormous sum of \$219,708,653; and an analysis would prove the larger part of these exports to be of agricultural products. The importance of the sugar industry to these countries is indicated by the fact that of our total imports from them, more than 25 per cent is of this article. As the cane-sugar countries have, practi-

cally, only the United States and the English markets left to them, they would be involved in utter ruin, if the former should be lost to them. Under these circumstances, they would not be able to pay us for such purchases as they might wish to make; and the European countries, unable to sell us sugar, would turn their attention largely to the production of such agricultural products as they are now taking from us.

If our farmers should produce beets at the sacrifice of their market for wheat, corn, beef, pork products, etc., where would be their gain?

With wheat at a dollar a bushel, little thought is given to the future. But we should not forget that the present scarcity in Europe is owing, partly, to the neglect of this industry abroad,—to reduced plantings resulting from low prices in the past. While sugar sowings have increased, the sowings of wheat have been neglected. Now that conditions are reversed, will there not be a tendency abroad to increase the wheat sowings? And will not a policy of extreme protection, to stimulate the production of sugar in our country, react upon us abroad another year, when, encouraged by present high prices, our production of grain may be excessive and our producers most in need of foreign markets?

These are questions to be carefully considered by both our statesmen and our investors; for, if our proposed beet-sugar industry be fostered to an unnatural growth through continued excessive government protection, our foreign commerce may become involved in most serious complications, and our farmers may be obliged to pass through another period of depressed prices for their products, such as that from which they are just emerging.

EDWIN F. ATKINS.

THE DISUSE OF LAUGHTER.

HAS laughter gone out? Are we never again to have the honest guffaw—the loud laugh, which, as the poet says, bespeaks the vacant mind? Is this really a true account of the *rationale* of cachinnation? If so, probably it *has* gone out, at any rate in polite circles. Because we are nothing now, if we are not cultured and refined; and to be vulgar and to be ignorant are worse offences than any more explicitly forbidden in the Decalogue. And yet it almost seems a pity too. It is not well, surely, to lose any innocent and, happily, infectious expression of pleasure in a world so bedeviled as ours.

These and other profound reflections suggested themselves to me the other day at a certain polite institution which is indeed ordinarily a Temple of Silence. It was the joyous hour of luncheon, when many hard-worked officials and others revisit, for a brief hour, the glimpses of the sun—if visible at all. All was genteelly decorous, as usual, the demure waiters slid about in their usual stealthy fashion, the few lunchers busied themselves with their hurried meal, absorbed meantime in those premature evening papers which relieve the tedium of the Sybarites' breakfast. At long intervals, in the long waste of little tables, acquaintances conversed in low and gloomy tones, like *Mr. Snaffle* and his sporting friend discussing *Tatterdemalion's* year, in the "Snob Papers" long ago. Two public men of mature age were discussing, with subdued animation, some entirely grave and unexciting subject,—possibly the woes of the neglected Church Catechism, or more probably, I think, from what I overheard, the details of the County Council's Water-Bill. Their solemn appearance fitted the gravity of their theme. They might well have been Venetian senators preparing to denounce an enemy to the Council of Ten.

Suddenly a curious thing happened. The elder of the two interlocutors,—a gentleman of seventy-five summers, but as full of life and ragerie as Chaucer's *January* himself,—tickled, I am sure, by nothing worse than some comical detail of the great question, suddenly exploded in fits, in bursts, in peals of delirious, choking laughter. All through the long and desolate room it rang; crackling and quavering with the

high treble of old age. It had an uncanny sound, ghostly as the snorings which assail the reveller returning home in the small hours.

The effect was prodigious. The fat steward turned slowly round with an air of pained surprise. The prim clerk at the desk visibly reddened with shame. The noiseless waiters concealed with difficulty the ghost of a well-bred smile. Two ecclesiastical dignitaries fidgeted uneasily in their chairs, as if the whole episode were exceedingly dubious, not to say compromising. I am inclined to think that their instincts, though mistaken in this case, were right. Almost all the *best* jokes indeed *are* a little profane or improper. But soon the whole trouble was over; and again the great Water-Bill debate moved on, without a ripple, on its dull and noiseless course.

What was there in this apparently trivial incident to create such a sensation? I don't know whether it was an objection to cachinnation *per se*, or only to its being indulged in by a grave and reverend *seigneur*, such as I have described. Probably an even greater effect could have been produced on those present, if he had attempted, like *Father William* in the ballad, to stand on his head.

But I think, too, that it is noteworthy, because it shows a change in manners for which there must be a reason. In the days of our forefathers, men laughed loud and long out of fulness of heart and of stomach; and nobody was surprised, however old the laughter or loud the laugh. That was the great gain of fox-hunting, of Church and State, of a couple of bowls of punch or two bottles of port *per diem*. Life, to a sincere believer in these objects of desire, was a distinctly humorous business, if not always at breakfast or lunch time, at any rate the night before. Long ago the Homeric gods laughed loud and long with inextinguishable laughter. No one thought the worse of them. But we, alas! are a weak and snivelling race, we who live to-day. A little more of this, and it will be the club usage with laughers as it now is with snorers,—Is snoring, by the way, a way of asserting ourselves, and making a noise, with impunity?—it will be the usage, I say, to let fall a ponderous volume very close indeed to the laugher's head or to send a trembling little page to entreat him to leave off, under pain of being reported to the committee.

For my own part, I like an honest laugh; though when one comes to think of it, it certainly becomes rarer with every day that goes. And it has its inconveniences, no doubt. A literary friend of mine, who lunched daily in public, would crown a long string of witty sayings, which convulsed his friends,—and the club waiters too,—with a

loud salvo of laughter, like the sudden cry of a hyena. I am told that a sportsman never hears the noise of his own gun; and so it may be that the joker is not deafened by his own laugh. But for those who are not within earshot of the joke, the loud laugh of the narrator—perhaps his audience should laugh and not he—is not by any means an unmixed enjoyment.

Probably, it is only among people of a certain age and position that loud laughter—as compared with the simper, the snigger, or the silent grin—is now going out of fashion. On the evening of the eventful day of which I have written, I took refuge from the pitiless nightly storm in a 'bus which contained other refugees,—six young fellows who, in anything less than a deluge, would have smoked their pipes outside. What a merry crew we were! One or two demure old city men, who made up the party, regarded them with envious, but kindly eyes. What spontaneous bursts of laughter to be sure, and about almost nothing at all! The ringleader was my *vis-à-vis*, so I caught all the best things. I cannot say that I saw the point of all of them; but as far as I could see, they were not only innocent, but distinctly funny. From the round face opposite, wreathed with perpetual broad grins, came, as the good things went round, loud bursts of joyous laughter. "Seen old Ted lately?" says one. "Yuss, I see him larst week carting a load of stror." "Bli me, that's wy he al'ors goes about with a stror in his mouff." Loud bursts of laughter greeted this sally. "And old Bill?" "Oh, didn't ye 'ear? A bloke offered him some work. 'Wot's work,' 'e sez, 'I don't want no bloomin' work,' 'e sez, 'I'm not tiking any.'" Roars of laughter followed, amid which the young jokers, to my regret, scuffled out into the mire and rain of the Edgware Road.

I confess I do not like the simper, whether oral or written. When I read the humorous articles—and very humorous indeed many of the hits are—of a well-known contemporary writer of the school of Thackeray, I cannot help wondering how the old lion would have liked to see his mane "*en papillotes*" and to hear his own roar reproduced, as it were, in *fulsetto*, and ending in the polite little snigger which is almost inevitable in these productions. It is Thackeray, no doubt, but with a difference,—with quite as much classical learning and power of literary allusion, with much graceful badinage, and not unfrequently a pleasant subacid humor. But it is much what *Sydney Scrapper*, the genteel and briefless Chancery barrister,—his mother, you will remember, was *Lady Susan*,—would have written if he had had genius and knowledge enough; and anything like a hearty laugh is not to be

got out of it. The utmost it can elicit is a well-bred and somewhat sickly smile. The broad fun of Dickens, of *Mr. Tupman* and *Mr. Winkle*, of *Sam Weller* and *Stiggins*, is probably thoroughly out of fashion for the present, and, perhaps, may never appeal to us again, as it did when we were young.

Of the broader humor of Rabelais, I am happy to think there are now few admirers. I recollect an eminent barrister, afterward a judge, with whom I read law, who, like Archdeacon Grantley, always had the works of that humorist, roaring with Gargantuan fun, safely ensconced in his drawer at chambers, to refresh him after too long a study of Vesey and Beames. The proper medium for grotesque and farcical humor is the modern stage. There "*Charley's Aunt*" has thrown things freely at people, and violently pursued reluctant suitors from year to year, to the uproarious delight of hundreds of thousands of honest London people. Some genuine laughter is still to be heard there,—loud, uncultured, ignorant, it may be, but genuine, and, let us at once admit it, if not very wise, yet in no degree coarse or gross.

Well, perhaps, after all, there is no help for it; and the tendency of modern civilization is to quietism, both in feeling and expression. The loud shrieks and jabbering of the savage pass, by slow degrees, through the impassioned appeals of the tub-thumper on the platform or in the pulpit, to the calm, common sense of the philosopher in his study. As it is with mirth, so it is with grief, which is not the less sincere, that it does not vent itself in hired howlings and the wail. But, reasonable as this impressive attitude is, it deprives modern life of much of its dramatic charm. You cannot be dramatic unless you are emotional, unless your passions find voice, and your sorrow and mirth also.

And so it comes to be that this old man of affairs, with his immoderate hilarity, furnishes a really good text on quite a number of important points in connection with the life of men. What led to that curious explosion which produced the striking results of which I have tried to give an account? Was it, as Hobbes said, "sudden glory,"—the consciousness of deep knowledge, preternatural acuteness, and an invincible dialectic on all questions of the Water-Supply in particular and of municipal business generally? Or was it the whole man flaming out into bitter irony and revolt against the inherent paradox of things, the antinomies which vex and perplex all thinking people? Or was it the sense of having pushed his adversary into a corner,—though, by the way, I believe the adversary was the stronger debater

of the two,—and was it only a burst of senile vanity, after all? Or was it an attempt to cover his retreat amid a storm of discordant noise, as savages do to-day with tom-toms? I am afraid we shall never know now; nor is it likely that the circumstances that gave rise to that terrific jocosity will ever be reproduced.

Alas! I fear there is no doubt that the power of irrepressible laughter is the gift of youth, and youth only, whether in nations or in individuals. Passing the drawing-room door the other afternoon, I could hear inside peal after peal of silvery, girlish laughter. It was Miss Ethel who was entertaining her school friends with tea and bread and butter and jokes. That is the time of life for laughter. I dare say the jokes would not have made me smile. But when the springtide is blossoming, and the sap is running upward in the trees, and the vernal woods are bursting into leaf and echoing with song, and, wherever you look, all is verdure and joy, almost anything can move quick laughter, more indeed than all the Water-Bills in the world. Or there is an earlier stage, when Baby is being tickled by Mamma and crows with delight. Or, though this, it is true, is often silent, there is that most beautiful of all sights,—the little blue-eyed boy or girl, who lies in the white cot at dawn and smiles, and ripples with laughter at some innocent, childish thought. It is good to hear happy laughter, it is good to watch these baby smiles.

But laughter can be not only grotesque, as in the case of the Water-Bill, above quoted, but very dreadful as well. To hear a maniac laugh, is one of the most terrible experiences. To hear a hundred laugh, as one does in nearing the Isola dei Pazzi at Venice, is a fore-taste of the lower regions.

Farther on in the downward path of life, when the end is very near, the failure of the mind is often proclaimed by violent laughter. The old man is back again in the scenes of boyhood, and is going over in a dream the days of long ago. I remember well, lying awake in London lodgings, through an otherwise still June night, unable to sleep for the loud, incessant laughter pealing from the room above, where the old man of the house lay dying. When it ended, just before dawn, the old life ended with it; and in the morning his daughter came in to announce the fact and to express the hope that I had not been much disturbed. The old man, she assured me, had been in no pain, but had been going over his boyish days again,—the old brothers, long years dead and forgotten, were with him; and they were cricketing, or gathering apples, or swinging, or swimming together across the old brook, all that sleep-

less night. One was glad it was so; but the laughter had an awful sound.

I suppose there is only one man who ought never to laugh, and he is the convinced Pessimist. There seem to be a good many people nowadays, and as yet at large, who profess this dismal faith. And I suppose one might add those festive persons, if any there be, who still believe in the doctrine of Election. I don't know,—it is possible that no man is quite so bad as his beliefs would make him,—but, if I were in the position of either of these groups of thinkers, I should have little taste or inclination for mirth. I should not, I am afraid, be able to console myself, even in the pangs of seasickness, by contemplating, as the worthy minister did, “the final doom of the unregenerate,” or even of those who were not originally chosen before the beginning of the world. Foolish as the Optimist may appear, confuted as he is by the myriad perplexities of the great Scheme of Things, he has, at any rate, this consolation,—he has still the power of appreciating the Divine Comedy of Life. But that is a long way from our starting-point and text, which latter was, it may be remembered by those who have patiently read through this paper, a burst of senile laughter over the humors of the water-supply of London.

LEWIS MORRIS.

SUCCESS OF THE LEVEE SYSTEM.

THE great flood in the Mississippi River, which attracted the attention and stirred the sympathies of the people of the United States a few months ago, is a thing of the past. But there are more floods to come, sooner or later. The problem of protection against them remains; and it is an important one, not only to the dwellers on the banks of the river, but to the whole people. To consider the problem in the light of the facts now available is worth the while of thoughtful citizens.

An intelligible presentation of the subject requires a brief description of the river, its habits, the situation of the lands subject to overflow, and the character of the floods.

There was a time, ages ago, when an estuary extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the hills above Cairo, Illinois. If the relative elevations of the sea and land then were as they are now, the Mississippi River ended in a waterfall, three hundred feet high, at the head of that estuary, and near the present site of the town of Commerce. A few miles eastward, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Ohio leaped from like elevations into the same abyss. With this enormous downpour came the sand, clay, and loam—scoured from a million square miles of watershed—with which the estuary of the Mississippi has been filled up, and from which has been formed its present alluvial valley. Into this basin has been gathered the cream of the continent, a hundred feet deep, and twenty-nine thousand square miles in area, all subject to overflow by unrestrained floods.

The quantity of sediment carried in suspension by the current of the river is at all times great, but greatest at flood-stages. The amount which the current can carry depends on its velocity. Hence a diminution of that velocity always causes a deposit of sediment. In times of flood, the overflowing water loses a part of its velocity. When the banks are covered by forests and undergrowth, as was the case everywhere in the primeval state, and is now to a large extent, this loss of velocity is sudden and great. Consequently, the depositing process is most active nearest the river. In this way the alluvial valley has been built up by overflow; and, for the reason stated, the surface of the land is highest immediately adjacent to the banks.

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Unlike the floods of the Nile, the Ganges, and most other great rivers traversing alluvial plains, those of the Mississippi occur with great irregularity, both as to time and magnitude. During the present century there have been twenty-two great floods, at intervals varying from one year to eleven years. The flood of 1882 exceeded all previous ones; and those of 1882, 1883, and 1884 were the greatest ever known in three consecutive years. Words can but feebly describe these inundations. When the five great tributaries, counting the Missouri as one, mass their floods at Cairo, their accumulated volume mounts over fifty feet above the low-water level, fills to its brim the mile-wide channel below, then, overtopping its banks,—if not prevented by levees,—spreads out in a thin, broad sheet from the hills on the east to the hills on the west, twenty-five miles at its narrowest width, eighty at the broadest, and six hundred miles long. It is as though the sea had returned and retaken possession of its ancient estuary. Except in the bayous and drains that furrow the surface at intervals, the depth of the overflow, when general, is nowhere great, compared with its extent. Usually there is just enough in the field to ruin the crop and set the fences afloat, and just enough in the house to put out the fire and saturate the beds. There it pauses, lingers from a fortnight to a month, then slowly subsides; leaving everything it has touched painted its own slimy brown. Sometimes—especially when the overflow comes in the form of sudden crevasses—the destruction caused is enormous. The direct loss in crops, fences, buildings, animals, and other property by the flood of 1882 was officially reported from sixteen parishes of Louisiana at \$12,061,910.

The region liable to overflow contains from six to eight million acres of land now tillable without reclamation, and from four to six million more reclaimable at no greater cost than that expended on the marsh-lands of Ohio and Indiana now under cultivation. It will be entirely within bounds to estimate the whole area of usable land at ten million acres, of which every square foot is clear fatness. Of this area, two million acres, approximately, are embraced in the Corn Belt, which extends, roughly speaking, from Commerce to the Hatchee River; six million acres in the Cotton Belt, which lies between the Hatchee and Red rivers; and two million acres in the Sugar and Rice Belt, which extends from the Red River to the Gulf. Protected from flood, these lands would have, in broad figures, a producing capacity of sixty million bushels of corn, four million bales of cotton, two billion pounds of sugar, and one billion pounds of rice.

Of these possibilities, not a quarter has been realized. As to corn, the loss is not serious, because we have ample space for that crop elsewhere. But the climatic conditions which limit the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and rice add a peculiar value to lands on which these can be grown. Though no longer "King," cotton is still a mighty nobleman. Our average total annual crop for five years past has been over eight million bales, of which our own spindles have taken about two and one-half millions; leaving over five and one-half million bales for export. The upland cotton-fields weaken rapidly under constant cropping, and require liberal fertilizing to keep them productive. The new uses and markets lately discovered for the seed, which formerly was returned to the land as manure, have increased this drain upon the soil. We shall do well to maintain undiminished our present production from those lands. For any considerable increase in the aggregate we must look to Mississippi-River bottoms.

The protection of this great area of fertile land from overflow is possible only by means of levees, which are simply artificial embankments of earth added to the natural banks of the river, to hold the flood discharge in the channel. The use of them began with, or shortly after, the French settlement at New Orleans, a hundred and eighty years ago. The problem was, at first, a comparatively simple one. The river then occupied, at flood-stages, the entire alluvial valley. From the latitude of Baton Rouge, this valley widens, like an open fan, to the Gulf. The overflowing flood-water had, therefore, an unobstructed exit to the sea across a front of a hundred miles or more. Hence the overflow was shallow. As the land sloped rapidly away from the river, a low levee on the bank, with cross-levees extending back to the lower lands, would protect a strip, adjacent to the river, a mile or two in width.

The first levees were probably not more than three feet high. These were gradually—at first very slowly—extended up and down the river from the point of original settlement.

But, as they progressed, they confined within the channel more and more water which would otherwise have gone over the banks and found its way to the sea across the country. It thus became necessary, as they were extended, to build them higher and higher. And that process has gone on to this day. This, in a word, is the history of the levees of the Mississippi. Beginning near the mouth of the river, they have been progressively extended up-stream; confining more and more of the water within the channel, and growing in height and strength as they advanced.

Prior to 1850, the growth of the system was slow. During the following decade, it was greatly stimulated by the increasing importance and value of the cotton crop, by the development of commerce on the river attendant upon the rapid settlement of its upper valley, and by a generous grant of lands by Congress in aid of the work. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the system covered something like two-thirds of the length of the river below Cairo. The war played havoc with the levees, as with every other material interest of the South. At its close, the work of restoration was begun with impoverished resources; and its progress was necessarily very slow. By 1882, the ground lost by the ravages of the war had been partially recovered. Then came the unprecedented flood of that year, which all but destroyed the system, and left the people of the valley in a condition of poverty and despair.

At that juncture, the United States Government came to the rescue. The Mississippi River Commission—a body of seven members, of whom three are from the Engineer Corps of the army, one is from the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and three are civilians—was created by Act of Congress, approved June 28, 1879. Its prescribed functions cover all matters of national concern relating to the Mississippi River, including a complete survey of it, the improvement of its channel for navigation, and the prevention of its destructive floods. The first appropriation made by Congress, to be expended under the recommendation of the Commission, was \$1,000,000, by Act of March 3, 1881; the second, \$4,123,000, by Act of August 2, 1882. From the latter appropriation the Commission allotted \$1,300,000 to the closure of breaks in levees caused by the flood of that year. In the application of this allotment, and of others which followed, for the maintenance and extension of levees, the Commission sought, as far as possible, by helping most those who helped themselves, to stimulate the riparian communities to do their utmost in aid of the work. With few exceptions, the response of the citizens was hearty and effective. It was recognized that all the Government would do, added to all the people could do, would be little enough. The taxes levied and paid for levee purposes went to the limit of endurance. And so, by the coöperation of local, State, and Federal authorities and resources, the levees were repaired, strengthened, and extended until, by the close of 1896, they had reached a development far in advance of anything previously attained. They represented an expenditure by the United States, since 1881, of about \$12,000,000, and by the States and communities bordering the river, during the same period, of about \$15,000,000. The total length of line

was approximately thirteen hundred miles. The grade was, in general, about three feet above the highest water previously known in the locality, but fell short of that in many places.

There was no flood in 1896 or 1895, and there had been none of importance in 1894. During those years, the work of levee-building was pushed with the utmost vigor. The longer the flood held off, and the nearer the system approached completion, the keener grew the interest and anxiety in the result of the test which, sooner or later, had to come. For the first time since the occupation of the valley, an attempt was to be made to conduct the entire discharge of the river at flood-stage between banks to the sea. The preparation made for that stupendous experiment was not complete, but it was as nearly so as it had been possible to make it. By March 14 of the present year, it was seen that the time was at hand. The gauge was 49 at Cairo, with more water in sight.

The history of what followed will be best understood by tracing the course of the flood. The trend of the river is such as to leave first, on the right, an alluvial area designated as the St. Francis basin; then, on the left, the Yazoo basin; and, in turn, the Tensas, Atchafalaya, and Pontchartrain basins.

The drainage of these basins is not into the river by lateral channels, as one would expect, but along lines parallel to the river, and into it again at the foot of the basin, except where the basin extends to the Gulf. It is therefore possible to build levees in long stretches of unbroken embankment. In a completed system, a single line would extend along the St. Francis front from New Madrid to near the mouth of the St. Francis,—a distance of two hundred miles. The portion of this line continuous until broken by the recent flood was one hundred and fifty miles long. There was also a continuous line in front of the Yazoo basin from the Horn Lakes to near Vicksburg, three hundred and twelve miles; another from near Arkansas City to a short distance above the mouth of Red River, three hundred and thirty-one miles; another from Red River to Fort Jackson, two hundred and seventy-four miles; and another from Baton Rouge to Fort St. Philip, one hundred and ninety-three miles. These are the great lines made possible by the relation of the alluvial basins to the river. A number of shorter lines are required for the protection of smaller areas requiring separate treatment.

A great flood unrestrained by levees overflows the natural bank progressively as it moves down-stream, and so inundates, first, the St.

Francis basin, an area of six thousand seven hundred square miles. The loss of this overflow-discharge retards the progress of the flood down the channel. The basin becomes a vast reservoir receiving an enormous volume of water, which, however, continues its progress toward the sea, retarded by the dense thickets and forests which cover much of the country. All the water that passes down the St. Francis basin must return to the main channel at or near the mouth of the St. Francis River. In like manner, the overflow into the Yazoo basin—seven thousand square miles in area—begins at its upper end, extends thence southward, and returns to the main channel at the mouth of the Yazoo.

If the water which thus escapes into the basins would stay there until the flood-discharge down the main channel had passed by, the temporary storage of surplus thus effected would reduce the flood elevation. And occasionally, in the case of a very short, quick flood, this may occur. But in the case of a prolonged, great flood, the exactly opposite effect is produced. The overflow-water, which escapes into the upper portion of the basin during the early part of the flood, works its way slowly downward, and reaches the foot of the basin just in time to meet the later instalments of the flood coming down the main channel; thus producing a great accumulation of water and a very high stage in that neighborhood. This is what would occur in marked degree if the floods were unrestrained by levees; and it does occur to the extent that such restraint is ineffectual.

In consequence of the development of the levee system from the lower reaches of the river progressively upward, to which reference has been made, the levees in the St. Francis front were in the most incomplete state of any on the river when the great flood of the present year fell upon them. During the last ten days of March they were overtopped and broken in numerous places below New Madrid. This admitted a great body of water into the central district of the St. Francis basin, which was joined, as it flowed southward, by the overflow across the unleveed portion of the basin. At Helena, the channel touches the hills on the west; while the Yazoo levee, beginning at the Horn Lakes, passes close to the river on the east. Down this narrow throat the whole discharge from above—overflowing and channel-flowing—had to pass; and it proved unequal to the strain. On the right bank, from Helena to the mouth of White River, the levees were insufficient in height; and on the left bank, there were some weak spots in old levees. On April 4, the gauge at Helena reached 51.8 feet—3.7 feet higher

than any previous record. On that day, Flower Lake crevasse on the Yazoo side occurred; and, almost simultaneously, there occurred two crevasses on the right bank below Helena, quickly followed by others in the same line of levee.

Here the destruction of levees by crevasses passed its worst. From the mouth of White River down, there were but few breaks, although there were a thousand miles of levee below that point. Most of these were in the Yazoo line; and some of them were large and enormous in outflow. In the Tensas line, three hundred and thirty-one miles long, there were only two; in the Atchafalaya line, of two hundred and seventy-four miles, there was none; and in the Pontchartrain line, one hundred and ninety-three miles in length, there was only one,—just below Baton Rouge,—which was closed within a few days without serious injury to property.

The circumstance, that more than three-fourths of the crevasses occurred in the upper quarter of the valley, is explained mainly by the fact that the levees in that part were incomplete, and inadequate in height and strength to the burden put upon them. Something is due also to the fact that the flood came upon them more suddenly and with greater rapidity of rise than in the lower reaches of the river; thus affording less opportunity for defence by temporary expedients than was available to the people below.

In every respect the flood was one of the first magnitude. At Cairo, measured by its height and duration, it exceeded all previous experiences. A stage of 49 to 50 at that place, sustained for a number of days, necessarily means a great flood below; and in this instance the water remained substantially at and above 49 from March 14 to April 17,—a stage and length of time combined never before recorded. The maximum reached was 51.6, on March 25. The highest previously known was 52.02, on February 27, 1883; but this, though a high flood, was a short one.

Below Cairo, the water generally reached heights exceeding any before known. At Helena, the stage exceeded all previous records by 3.7 feet; at Arkansas City by 1.6; at Greenville by 2.5; at Vicksburg by 3.4; at the mouth of Red River by 1.3; at New Orleans by 1.6.

The area overflowed has been officially reported at about 10,667 square miles,—a vast territory to be submerged from a single river. But if the destruction was great, the protection was greater. More than 19,000 square miles were not overflowed. Moreover, in the aggregate of overflowed lands are included extensive areas that were not, and

to a great extent cannot be, protected by levees. An opening must be left at the foot of each basin for the escape of the surface-water and drainage of the basin. Through these openings back-water enters at flood-stage and overspreads the country for miles above. While this incident of a levee system is unavoidable to a degree, the closure of the basins might be more complete in this respect than it is. The large unleveed openings at the lower ends of the basins are features of an uncompleted system. To this is to be added the fact that more than one-third of the projected line on the St. Francis front has yet to be built. The information is not at hand for an exact discrimination between lands that were inundated solely because of the crevasses and those that would have been inundated if no crevasses had occurred; but it is safe to say that the levees saved from overflow three-fourths of the lands which they were designed to protect. The aggregate length of levee destroyed by the crevasses was 8.7 miles, which is only .63 of 1 per cent of the total. No crevasses occurred in levees built by the United States.

The most signal success of the system was in the lower third of the valley. From Red River to the sea, three hundred miles by the river, the whole mighty flood went down between banks, with the exception of the outflow from one small crevasse; and this remained open for a week only. This was the more fortunate, as the inundation of a sugar plantation means practically a loss of three crops. In the corn and cotton country, the water left the overflowed lands in time for re-planting; and, with favorable summer and fall weather, fair crops were reasonably to be anticipated.

The loss of life was small, and of buildings and improvements not great. The severest direct property loss was in stock,—chiefly cattle,—which, to many poor men, covered all they had. The railroad companies whose lines were inundated were probably the largest losers, directly and indirectly. Their business was totally interrupted for several weeks; and the tracks were badly damaged in many places.

But such is the recuperative power of soil and people in that wonderful region, that if the army worm and frost will but kindly spare the cotton, the ravages of the flood will be measurably repaired by Christmas Day. The great majority of the laborers are negroes; and the patience and cheerfulness with which they bear the misfortunes of flood are surprising to see. They stay by their cabins until the water covers the floors, and then retreat to the nearest dry ground and wait. When the flood has gone by, they return to their fields as blithe and gay as

birds after a storm. To the white citizens—the landowners and taxpayers—the matter is more serious. There are few unmortgaged plantations. For years, all resources have been pressed to the utmost for the building of levees. The issue of bonds, secured by pledge of future revenues, has been general. Levee taxes are high: 3 per cent on the assessed value of the land is not uncommon. The fight against the last flood was terrific,—prolonged and costly beyond any former experience. Nevertheless, the planters are in good spirits; they came out better than they had anticipated. But they do not pine for any more such victories.

Upon the whole, the great flood has demonstrated—as only a great flood could—the practical efficiency of a levee system. It has disclosed the shortcomings of the present structures, and where and how they are to be remedied. Comparing what was saved by the levees as they were with what would have been lost without them, their utility and success were beyond question. The protection which they afforded against this single flood was worth many times over the entire cost of the system as it stands to-day.

ROBERT STEWART TAYLOR.

DREDGING *VERSUS* LEVEES.

IN May last, Senator George G. Vest introduced a resolution in the Senate, directing the Committee on Commerce to report on the causes of the Mississippi floods; to suggest means for preventing them; and to state what legislation was necessary. The resolution was prompted by the fact that the means employed by the Mississippi River Commission to prevent overflows and to maintain at all seasons a navigable channel had signally failed. Whenever a majority of the tributaries between Cairo and New Orleans had contributed flood-discharges simultaneously to the main river, the construction devised to carry off the accumulated volume had proved inadequate, causing breaks in the levees from five to six miles in length; while at low-water stages the depth of the channel was insufficient for navigation.

Every disastrous flood in the Mississippi brings with it advocates for creating artificial outlets for a part of the flood-discharge,—a plan opposed by the well-founded arguments of nearly all hydraulic engineers. At first sight, the proposition appears plausible. If the water-volume in the main river be reduced, it follows that the natural and artificial embankments (levees) must be relieved to that extent. But the question which cannot be logically answered is: How long does this reduction give relief, and what shall be done with the volume of water thereby diverted from its legitimate channel?

If a flow of 300,000 cubic feet per second (less than one-fifth of a flood-discharge) be turned into an artificial channel, another river as large as the Rhone or the Po is thereby created. It is officially reported that between 1861 and 1880, £2,257,872 was expended in protecting the embankment of the latter river.

Regardless of the cost, however, such an undertaking, if otherwise practicable, and the relief afforded were of a permanent nature, would be deserving of consideration. In practice the plan would be found to result in augmenting existing difficulties in proportion to the number of artificial outlets created. The Report of the Mississippi River Commission, dated June 28, 1893, says:—

“When completed, there would be two or more rivers, each presenting the same dangers, and requiring the same treatment as the present single channel.”

The following extract from a paper on the Yellow River in China, read by Mr. G. J. Morrison before the Shanghai Literary and Debating Society in September, 1888, is to the same effect:—

“When the Chinese have been troubled with floods in their rivers they have been too ready to cut extra channels to carry off the surplus water. This, as a rule, is the exact opposite of what should be done. The extra channel lowers the velocity, the river deposits more silt, the bed rises, and the level of the floods becomes higher than ever.”

Outlets in any form, whether waste weirs, artificial reservoirs, or waterways connecting directly with the ocean, all come under the same head and require the same treatment. Each separate part of the volume of which the main channel is temporarily relieved will require a proportionate expenditure for cost of construction and maintenance; and the object in view will fail of accomplishment.

The Preliminary Report of the Mississippi River Commission, dated February 17, 1880, contains the following observations, which explain the methods that have since been employed in the treatment of the Mississippi River:—

“The work to be done, therefore, is to scour out and maintain a channel through the shoals and bars existing in those portions of the river where the width is excessive, and to build up new banks and develop new shore-lines, so as to establish, as far as practicable, the requisite conditions of uniform velocity for all stages of the river.”

The Report of June 30, 1895, shows that up to that date, in accordance with this plan, \$25,871,066.38 had been expended by the Commission in protecting embankments against erosion, in strengthening and raising the levees so as to withstand higher flood-discharges, and in the construction of spur-dikes in order to concentrate the scouring force in the channel. The Report of 1893 says:—

“The effect of such improvement as has already been made has been to confine between levees a much larger high-water volume, amounting in some localities, as at Lake Providence, to an increase of 40 per cent. Accompanying this increase of volume is, of course, an increase of flood-height.”—(P. 3560.)

Since the organization of the Mississippi River Commission to the date of the last published Report,—June 30, 1896,—there have been published no estimates as to the probable maximum flood-height which the adopted system may develop. It must, therefore, be inferred that the observations made during that time do not as yet justify a positive conclusion on this all-important point.

The history of the River Po for one hundred and seventy-two years gives the following record of the increase of rise during flood-stages, showing an augmentation of height during that period of 4.6 feet:—

1705–1756, in the year 1755, rise 6.0 feet.
 1757–1796, in the year 1777, rise 7.1 feet.
 1797–1836, in the year 1833, rise 8.8 feet.
 1837–1877, in the year 1872, rise 10.6 feet.

Cenni ("Monografici sull' Idraulica," page 59) attributes the increased height of the great flood of 1839 to

"the more perfect leveeing of the Po and its tributaries, preventing the lateral escape of the waters, and sending in a canal to the sea that which previously flowed over the country."

The River Po has a total length of 417.5 miles, and, with its tributaries, drains 26,798 square miles: the Mississippi River is 4,221 miles long, and, with its tributaries, drains 1,244,000 square miles. The length of the latter is, therefore, ten times that of the former: but the resources of the Mississippi are nearly fifty times those of the Po; and to compute, on statistics of the River Po, a probable maximum height of a flood-stage in the Mississippi, when the present plans are completed, would demoralize the most sanguine advocate of the jetty system as adopted by the Mississippi River Commission.

That this continuous rising of flood-waters has been duly appreciated by the members of the Commission, is evidenced by the steady improvement in the quality and increase in the strength of material employed in revetting embankments. In 1882, the estimate of cost for each running foot of mattress laid in place was something less than twelve dollars: the more recent specifications call for thirty dollars per linear foot. The object of this increased protection is to prevent erosion, as well as to force the discharge-current to scour the river-bed for purposes of navigation, and to increase the cross-sectional area in a vertical instead of a horizontal direction.

Whether even this revetment, at thirty dollars per foot, will accomplish its purpose is questionable, since the energy of the river-volume is exerted against the plane of least resistance; and future developments will have to determine the resistance offered by a compact body of sand, which has been tamped in successive years by the weight of billions of tons of water.

The following table, compiled by the writer from the published United States gauge-readings of the low-water surface, following the

flood of 1890, between Cairo and Carrolton, shows the irregularities in the descending plane throughout the entire course of the river, which the jetty system contemplates to regulate:—

From Cairo southward.	River distance, in miles.	Surface slope per mile, in decimals of a foot.
Belmont to		
New Madrid “	47.7	0.26
Cottonwood “	54.3	0.51
Fulton “	52.1	0.37
Memphis “	54.6	0.46
Moons Landing “	45.9	0.47
Helena “	30.6	0.57
Sunflower “	46.2	0.34
Mouth of White River “	40.5	0.35
Arkansas City “	45.1	0.33
Greenville “	40.2	0.23
Lake Providence “	63.8	0.31
Vicksburg “	57.0	0.40
St. Joseph “	49.0	0.35
Natchez “	52.0	0.18
Red River Landing “	65.0	0.24
Bayou Sara “	34.2	0.14
Carrolton “	157.5	0.03

It will be seen that the slope between Belmont and New Madrid—a distance of 47.7 miles—averages .26 foot per mile; while for the following 54.3 miles, the average slope increases to .51 foot per mile.

Irregularities in slope are invariably the result of inequalities in the bed of the river flowing through alluvion: the greater the slope, the shallower the stream. The momentum of the discharge-volume between Belmont and New Madrid, with a fall of three inches per mile, is produced largely by a translative energy which benefits the river-channel; while the steeper slope of six inches to the mile between New Madrid and Cottonwood develops more attraction, or gravity, which diminishes the scouring process, in conformity with the law that what is gained in power is lost in speed. Uniform pressure only can produce uniform results. On this point, Col. Charles R. Suter, Engineering Corps, U. S. A., in his report of December 20, 1895, says:—

“Neither correction nor permanent location of channel can be secured until the paths of the high and low rivers coincide; and the work of the former is utilized in scouring out and sweeping clear the channel which the latter is to follow.”

The majority report of a special committee of the Mississippi River Commission, under date of April 10, 1896, thus concludes:—

"It may therefore be stated that the continuous revetment of caving banks from Cairo to Vicksburg, with the necessary contraction works, would cost not less than \$60,000,000 or \$70,000,000; that the completion would require from forty to fifty years, at the present possible rate of progress; that the annual cost of maintenance would be not less than \$6,000,000 or \$7,000,000; and that a navigable channel of from eight to ten feet at all stages might be expected as the result."

The river distance from Cairo to Vicksburg is six hundred miles. The foregoing estimate, therefore, covers only five-eighths of the distance between Cairo and Carrollton.

The cause of the slow rate of construction—from twelve to fifteen miles annually—is attributed to the inadequate supply of brush and willow needed for revetment, which can be secured in greater quantities only by materially increasing the cost of thirty dollars per linear foot.

During November, 1891, a committee was appointed by the Commission to investigate and report upon the feasibility of employing dredges for temporary relief to navigation during low-water stages of the river. As this was the first departure from the exclusively coercive measure heretofore adopted by the Commission, and the first recognition of any power other than that of the river itself, let us see how far the hydraulic dredge of to-day, with all the appliances of modern machinery, may become a prominent factor in solving the Mississippi River problem.

All the data collected and published by the Mississippi River Commission demonstrate that the river endeavors to create for itself a uniform path through its tortuous alluvial bed; that the concentrated energy of every low-water- or flood-discharge attempts to carry all the sediment held in suspension, and to remove to the Gulf all deposits which impede and obstruct its downward course; but that these efforts become impaired because the volume constantly varies owing to the contributions of its many tributaries. These impinge upon a former direction of current, destroy the uniformity of motion, and increase the previous slope; resulting in loss of energy and in a corresponding loss of power to carry sediment or remove deposits which obstruct the path. Every outlet from, or inlet to, a river which flows through alluvion forms a bar in the vicinity of the debouchure.

At these shoals, or bars, the hydraulic dredge affords relief by cutting a channel in harmony with the trend of the central force of the descending volume, and guides the focus of the current past embankments which are threatened with erosion.

Levee-building and jettying embankments raise the water surface.

Dredging shoals has the opposite effect, as thereby the surface is lowered, and the momentum in a succeeding flood-discharge is preserved.

Taking the river at Helena as a mean—all physical conditions considered—between Cairo and Carrollton, on May 25, 1893, the official reports show: "Gauge, 47.90; mean velocity, 6.896 feet per second, discharge, 1,540,419 cubic feet per second." This velocity is equal to 4.7 miles an hour, or 112.8 miles in twenty-four hours.

Gen. C. B. Comstock, Engineering Corps, U. S. A., in his "Note on Flood Reports," under date of June 30, 1890, says:—

"It is well known that flood-waves travel down at the rate of about eighty miles a day, this rate including any delay due to the reservoir effect of the main river."

The flow of a flood-volume is therefore retarded by resisting obstructions 22.8 miles in twenty-four hours, equal to 28.5 per cent; *i.e.*, it would travel eighty miles in eighteen hours and forty minutes,—a gain of five hours and twenty minutes, which would dispose of and make room for 29,576,044,800 cubic feet of water when these obstructions are removed.

It is a well-known fact that the burrowing of crayfish and the excavation of a kingfisher's nest are sufficient causes for a break (*crevasse*) in the Louisiana levees. This demonstrates that the energy of a body of flowing water requires but very little to concentrate it. When, therefore, the removal of deposits by dredging, at the rate of six hundred cubic yards per hour, is called in question as a means of assistance to an existing force which annually carries nearly a billion cubic yards into the Gulf, the foregoing should be remembered.

In order to arrive at some tangible data as to the scope of the work in which the dredge can participate, the following observations are offered for consideration:

The Missouri River at St. Charles, Boonville, Glasgow, and Kansas City has a deposit, some thirty-five to fifty feet deep, overlying bed-rock, as is proved by the bridge piers sunk respectively at those places. Dividing this depth by the number of years required for its deposit, the quotient will be the result. This result, a very small fraction of an inch, shows that the river practically disposes of all the sediment washed into it. It further proves that the shoals which obstruct the channel represent a quantity equal to the material removed from caving banks, or a quantity in excess of that brought into the river by its tributaries. It is this quantity—equal in volume to the

material caved from banks—that is constantly being shifted from one part of the channel to another, and that requires the aid of the hydraulic dredge to cut it through and set it in motion. And if the caving of banks be prevented, by guiding the current to scour its bed in a direction parallel to the alignment of the shore-lines, every cubic yard removed from the river by dredging is a permanent improvement.

Prior to the era of the Eads jetties at South Pass, during 1870–1871, the late Maj. C. W. Howell, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., placed me in charge, as Civil Assistant, to conduct the improvements at Southwest Pass, which was then the principal outlet. I maintained a navigable depth of eighteen feet over the outer bar, with an intermission never exceeding twelve consecutive hours during an entire year. Whenever the channel shoaled, which occurred during flood-periods in the river only, I directed the United States fore-and-aft screw-propeller “*Essayons*” to the point of obstruction. The vessel was built for this purpose; drawing sixteen feet light, and twenty-two feet with water compartments filled. After settling on the shoal to the latter depth, the screws were set in motion; the blades stirred up and loosened the deposit; and the ebb-tide carried it beyond the bar. While other elements foreign to the Mississippi River problem enter into this proposition, the foregoing illustrates how little is required to preserve a channel when once established.

The Committee on Dredges of the Mississippi River Commission, reported, July 16, 1892:—

“The shoal bars to be operated on extend from Cairo to the mouth of Red River, seven hundred and sixty-five miles. Last November, there were thirty-one crossings having less than eight feet depth; and as many of these crossings had shoal-water for a length of over a mile, it will readily be seen that the contract to be undertaken is by no means a small one.”

Col. H. Flad, of that committee, reported, January 2, 1896, as follows:—

“In my opinion the introduction of a complete system of dredging will be the only means of securing free and unobstructed navigation.”

All the official reports made in connection with the dredging project by members of the Commission confine themselves to the immediate object of securing a navigable channel, and admit of no inference that the solution of the entire river problem is contemplated. It is my opinion, however, that if the shoals were dredged to a width of five hundred feet, by a depth of four or five feet, through the thirty-five or

forty miles which now obstruct navigation between Cairo and the mouth of Red River, a permanent channel would result therefrom in which the high- and low-water paths would coincide. I believe, too, that the diminishing slope for all stages of the river would gradually adjust itself; that the energy required to preserve and improve the channel would be sustained, and the flood-surface be lowered from year to year; and that, ultimately, the entire volume would be discharged between the natural embankments without overflow, and in less than one-half the time required to complete the jetty system.

An estimate, based on published statistics, shows that a dredge removes through one thousand feet of discharge-pipe 1,000,000 cubic yards of river deposit during a river season of 1,680 actual working hours: a dredging-plant to remove 20,000,000 yards would require twenty-five dredges and tugs, costing \$3,000,000. Operating and maintenance costs would be:—

Operating expenses of twenty dredges (five months)....	\$800,000
Care and repair.....	200,000
Engineering and contingencies.....	100,000
Annual appropriation required.....	<u>\$900,000</u>

The foregoing observations may be thus summarized:—

Outlets in any form are inadmissible for permanent relief of flood-volumes in the Mississippi River.

Cross-jetties or spur-dikes should be avoided as producing irregularity in the flow of current between intervals; thereby destroying harmony of energy.

The general plan of transforming the river into a canal, by revetting the embankments from Cairo to the Passes, is impracticable on account of the length of time required to accomplish such a project, the unavoidable distress it inflicts upon the lower sections while the upper ones are placed under control, the great primary cost of construction, and the perpetual heavy charge for maintenance.

The system of dredging is a coöperative measure in harmony with the natural laws which control the great drainage arteries through alluvion; and the results so far obtained justify the construction of a dredging-plant of sufficient magnitude to meet the requirements.

Finally, Congress, in making appropriations for a great national highway for navigable commerce, confers a benefit on all the people without discrimination or prejudice.

GUSTAVE DYES.

ENGLAND AND THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

IF responsibility for the death of one man be a grave thing, that for the death of many must weigh heavily, even when upborne by a whole nation. During the last twelvemonth, famine has besieged India. Many have died : many more have suffered. Even they who were not afraid of starvation—small traders, domestics—have been left well-nigh penniless, as the doubled and trebled price of grain drew from them the last of their scanty earnings. But in India, they that save at all are chiefly citizens of large towns. In the country districts, the desperately poor *ryot* on his rent-racked farm wins at best but a bare livelihood. He can endure no more suffering than he bears already at the hands of landlord and usurer. Add famine, and he sinks beneath his misfortunes.

It was therefore in the country that the famine was felt most severely. Horrible tales were afloat early in the winter in regard to the destitution of the poor farmers and laborers in the Central Provinces, the Northwest Provinces, and the southern part of the Bombay Presidency. The Government inspectors found many too weak to eat the food brought to them. Some died without relief, some despite it. At Sholapore and Bijapore in the south, in the region north of Bhopal and east of it in Middle India, and in the arid plains of the Punjab there was at the beginning of winter one king—Hunger.

Who was responsible? The native press of India, the Radical press of England, and many of the American papers fix the responsibility on the British Government. In this country there seems indeed to be an almost unanimous opinion that England has been culpable, that her negligence caused the famine, and that her avarice maintained it. Since my return from India, in the spring of this year, I have heard expressed hardly any other view than this. It seems to be generally accepted, as a matter of course, that England, while spending millions on the Jubilee, begrudged aid to the sufferers in India ; giving it so sparingly that, but for the generous contributions of America, Russia, Japan, and other foreign nations, thousands more than actually died would have fallen a prey to starvation.

That many suffered and died, I have already stated. But, so far as I have observed, very few Americans are acquainted with the actual state of affairs. I purpose, therefore, to indicate, in a few words, the nature of the famine, the means taken to alleviate distress, and the conditions under which the needed relief was necessarily given.

In the first place, there was no universal famine in India. There were high prices, and there was lack of food among the people of certain districts; but India, as a whole, had food enough. Early in the season, with the failure of the monsoon rains in August and September, it became apparent that the price of grain would rise greatly before the winter was over. Consequently, in October, the *bunnias*, or native grain-merchants stored up all they had and refused to sell at all. It would have been absurd to expect anything else from the *bunnias*. They are keen business men. The result was that there was a good deal of looting; and the native press called on the Government to aid the looters. But the British Government could not permit looting, nor, on the other hand, could it compel the *bunnias* to sell. But, said the native press, Government might at least import grain and undersell the rapacious *bunnias*. This, too, from sound economical principles, Government refused to do. It was not a trading concern, nor could it take advantage of the famine to force grain out of an unwilling seller's hands. But it could relieve the needy. The machinery for this purpose had been ready for twenty years; and it was now at once put in motion.

But no aid was asked of England. On the contrary, the Viceroy, the sole official means of communication between India and the Home Office, telegraphed persistently that India needed no help. News of the famine had already reached England, her purse was already opened, contributions were coming in rapidly, her hand was extended generously. Then came the first cold message from the Viceroy, followed by others as chilling. These messages said in effect to England: "You are really very kind, not to say officious. When we want help, I will ask for it. At present, we need no assistance."

It must be remembered that the Viceroy spoke officially for India. Whatever blame attaches to a seeming lack of generosity on England's part must revert to the Viceroy personally. He threw a wet blanket on generosity from which it did not easily recover.

There is every reason to suppose that the Viceroy was himself deceived, when he sent the succession of optimistic telegrams which resulted in the cessation of contributions on England's part. At the

time Lord Elgin sent the first of these, he was on his annual tour of inspection. Everywhere on this tour he was met by the assurance, on the part of the native rulers, that there was no distress; that, on the contrary, everything was in a most favorable condition in their respective districts.

This was partly urbanity and partly policy. It is not polite to make an honored guest uncomfortable through the revelation of domestic unhappiness; and it is bad policy for a native ruler to admit that there is any need of interference on the part of the general Government. So the Viceroy was lavishly entertained in the northern towns of Ulwar, Oodeypore, Baroda, and other cities; and wherever he went he was assured that there was no famine! It was at this time that he sent to the Home Office the optimistic reports which stopped the outflow of charitable feeling in England. A little later, however, the Viceroy got down into the Central Provinces; and there the entertainment provided for him was a visit to the Jubbulpore almshouse,—the spot where are collected, from many miles around, the most extreme cases of destitution to be found in India. After that, the Viceroy admitted that there was something very like a famine in India—but he never recanted his report to England.

As for India herself, two questions arise at this point: What efforts were made by the Indian Government to relieve sufferers? How came it that, after famine-relief works were opened, so many died of starvation? How many, no one knows; but certainly millions less than asserted by sensational journals,—probably not a million in all.

The means taken to relieve famine-sufferers is the establishment of so-called relief-works—public improvements more or less useful—on which those in actual want may work, receiving in return fair wages and food. This system was inaugurated in 1877 by the Famine Relief Fund Commission, of which I shall have to speak again presently. These relief-works are in operation all over India; and, from a personal inspection of many of them, I can express only admiration for this stupendous charity. Hundreds of thousands of people were employed on these works. There was no hardship in the labor. At one of them, for instance, I saw more than three thousand people at work pounding stone for the highway. But this was done in the lazy manner usual in India, where no native works energetically. Each “relief-worker” had a small mallet, of about the weight of a tack-hammer; and he and his wife and children sat on the ground, contentedly chipping bits of soft stone. When the small basket, which was the centre of the

family circle, was filled with stone, the woman put it on her head and carried it to the road, while the rest of the company amused themselves in idleness till her return. The certainty of food and wages made them merry. Laughing and chatting as they worked, the company seemed more like a huge picnic-gathering than anything else. If they were starving, they were very jolly about it. But they were not starving: they were saved. And over all India such groups could be found, famine-sufferers suffering no longer—and why? Because English charity had rescued them. The numbers aided were very great. Even they who had flung up paying positions in Bombay, from fear of the plague, and had decamped to the country, found no difficulty in obtaining a place on the rolls. The Government would not interfere with trade; but it spent enormous sums in the charity of giving these poor people a substitute for their usual work in the fields. The wage, sufficient to support a man, was four cents a day,—as much as a Hindu peasant expects, and more than he usually earns. They that were unable to work were fed gratis; and in some instances they were clothed. But, as it was the common practice of those who received clothes to sell them and come back nearly naked to beg for more, it was found necessary to confine charity to the giving of food. Details in regard to the character of these works and the numbers assisted are easy to obtain. Nearly five million people were fed daily.

In regard to the second question, as to why many people died of starvation when the relief-works were in full operation, the answer is: In the first place, the number of those thus dying was much exaggerated; and, in the second place, there was scarcely an instance of real starvation where the fault did not lie with the sufferer himself.

The Hindu clings to his own village. When he is pressed for food, and quits his native place for work elsewhere, he leaves his family behind. In such a case, the family are still more loath to leave. The wife hears nothing of the absent husband, but lives in the hope of his return. The family subsist on the pickings of the street, or the charity of neighbors. It is very difficult to induce them to go to another town and place themselves under the protection of Government. When the relief-works were opened, messages were sent into every hamlet. There was no village but was informed that help was near, if the starving would come to it.

It was impossible to arrange relief-works for every half-dozen huts that went by the name of a village. On the other hand, had the inspector appeared in any such hamlet and announced that he was bring-

ing food for all that needed it, such is the character of the Hindu of low caste that the inspector would have had to feed the whole village. Everyone would have accepted charity, whether in actual need or not. Indiscriminate almsgiving was therefore out of the question. But information in regard to work and wages to be had in the neighborhood was given to all. Yet many of the benighted villagers refused to leave their homes till they were so weak that they died on the way to the relief-works, or got there in such a condition that they could not work and had to be supported at the almshouse. Many of them had simply miscalculated their staying power. They intended to remain till they were forced away from home by hunger, and when they set out on the tramp found themselves too used up to complete the journey. Others were simply dogged in their persistence. It must be remembered that the inhabitants of some of these villages are merely the remnants of wild tribes, with all the savage's reluctance to work or to enter the towns of white men.

There is, however, one point, which, albeit not well taken, was made much of by the Radical press and by the native Indian malcontents. This was the non-existence of a fund supposed to be at hand to meet every emergency in time of famine. What has become, asked the natives, of the famous Famine Relief Fund? The charge formally brought against the Government was that a fund of fifteen million pounds, raised by extra taxation for the express purpose of meeting famine, had been diverted from its legitimate object.

This would be a heavy indictment, if the premises were true. But, in point of fact, there never was any such fund, in the sense in which the word is used in formulating the charge. The Famine Relief Fund originated with the famine of 1877. The Commission appointed at that time established a fund which should represent one and a half millions yearly taken out of the annual revenue to be set aside for three objects; viz., first, for relief-works when famine actually obtained; second, for irrigation-works and railways, to enable grain to be carried into famine districts; third, for the establishment of a fund to draw on for expenses in famine years.

This whole sum was to be entered in the annual budget as an item of expenditure before any surplus could be declared. Now, in prosperous years, when there really was a surplus, this fund was of real value. But in "bad" years when there was no surplus, but a large deficit, it was valueless and, in fact, meaningless, since the operation would then consist in paying one debt and incurring another of equal value.

The fund never existed as a reserve set aside, irrespective of financial conditions, for famine purposes. It was established only as a fraction of a possible surplus. A series of bad years has, therefore, left the fund unprovided for. But, with what was raised, the most efficient work has been done already. Thousands of miles of railway have been constructed; bringing into easy communication with grain-centres those provinces liable to famine, but hitherto isolated, such as Orissa, where millions died of famine a few years ago,—not because there was no grain in India, but because it could not be carried to the sufferers.

Millions of pounds have been spent in irrigation. In the Punjab, where the arid plains were wont to hold a starving population every few years, canals as big as rivers have been constructed, and well-watered villages have taken the place of the desert. These works are on a mighty scale, and are constantly added to. The intention of the Government is to prevent famine as well as to alleviate it. It is surely good charity and good economy to do so. Moreover, it is one of the legitimate objects of the fund.

In consequence of this work, done in advance to forestall famine, India felt herself in a position to meet any ordinary scarcity, such as occurred in this last year, and occurs regularly about once in a decade. It was for this reason that the Viceroy deprecated assistance from England. India asked for no alms, because she thought herself able to meet the emergency. It takes a long time to penetrate into every village and convince reluctant savages that they must leave their huts to be saved. So, it is true that in the whole breadth of the famine-districts many did die of starvation. But it is also true that of the many whom the sensational press pictures as typical British subjects, reduced to skin and bones on account of the hardness of heart of England, the great majority are victims not of this year's famine so much as of hereditary disease and poverty, which no Government could reasonably be held responsible for.

Let anyone read in detail of the magnificent works given as charity through the whole land. Let him consider what famine meant in India, in 1833, 1869, and 1877, before England instituted these works; how many millions died because they could not be reached; at what enormous cost was purchased the relief of suffering in Bengal; and he will, I think, come to the conclusion that the Government has done more wisely in heading off famine by building railways than it would have done had it stored up a reserve fund, to find itself impotent at last through lack of means of transport.

It is easy to photograph the inmates of the most notorious alms-house in India, that at Jubbulpore, which, from its proximity to lands only recently reclaimed from savages, contains, as everyone in India knows, the worst famine-exhibit in the country;—it is easy, I say, to photograph these wretches and to pretend that they are typical cases. But let us also look at the hosts that would have been starving who are now engaged in life-giving work; at the millions found and reached, not by the casual arm of the local missionary, who does but glean behind the reaping of the Government, but by the Government itself. Let us not forget the solicitous care with which village after village has been inspected for sufferers; nor the wise mercy which refuses alms to the able-bodied, but gives work and pay to whomsoever asks for it, and food to whomsoever needs it. Let us consider, too, that in all this charity India is purely English; that, without English energy and English charity, those that died would have been counted by scores of millions, whom no Indian ruler would have exerted himself to save. Let us remember this also, that if England's own help was not eagerly accepted, it was because the English in India accepted the responsibility, and that, despite this, England yet insisted on giving ten million dollars to relieve distress. It was a beggarly sum for England to give; but if, when your poor relations are starving and you offer them ten dollars with a promise of more, the poor relations tell you, as they take the ten dollars, that they wish you would remember that they are able to take care of themselves, and that they take your ten dollars only because they don't want to hurt your feelings, why, it is asking too much of human nature to expect that you will stay away from a picnic in order to force another ten dollars into an ungrateful hand.

Without depreciating the generous instinct which prompted America to send grain to India, it may be remarked that there was no actual need of the grain. India had enough. It was well that America sent no money, for, as I have shown, charity in India is a Government matter. If money were sent to India in the care of the Government, it would merely result in reducing the annual income of the Government; for it would go into the Treasury. If, on the other hand, it were sent to the different districts, it would have to be sent to individual inspectors, or fall again into the Treasury. But the inspectors are chiefly Hindus: they are human and poorly paid. Perhaps part of the alms would reach the famine-sufferers. To send any considerable sum to other hands would be to waste a great deal of it in the machinery of distribution.

The most helpful thing to do would have been to send grain to undersell the rapacious *bunnias*, and thus to put cheap food within the reach of all. As the native merchants held their grain at twice and three times its value, it would probably have been a good speculation, as well as good charity, to send enough cheap grain to defeat their ends. It is open to debate whether the Viceroy did well in refusing aid from England; but that is a question of Anglo-Indian polity and finance. It must not be forgotten that whatever is given by India is, in so far, a gift from England, as it reduces the sum that England draws from India annually; thus the matter resolves itself, in the end, into a question of balancing the books of the Home Office. Gifts in this form were given without stint. The Indian Government poured out money freely and generously; and every rupee given was, in the end, the gift of England alone.

In conclusion, it may be said that preceding years of scarcity have made the people of India desperately poor, and that no Government on earth could prevent distress. The British Government has done all that any Government could do; and to revile England or hold her up as a monster because of the effects of the famine in India is an injustice. Such a misrepresentation of the facts is due either to simple ignorance or to a lack of honesty.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

HOW THE GREEKS WERE DEFEATED.

It was my good fortune to be in Larissa, the headquarters of the Greeks, for five weeks before the war began, and my rare good fortune to witness every important engagement of their main army.

On my arrival at Larissa I made a journey across the frontier by way of that long, narrow, rocky defile, the Meluna Pass, through which the Turkish army afterward entered the Thessalian plain. At the summit of the Pass, on either side of the boundary-line, I found the Turkish and the Greek watch-houses,—oblong, single-story buildings, twelve feet by twenty, counterparts of watch-houses on all summits along the frontier,—each being occupied in time of peace by from two to ten soldiers. The Greeks at that time had twenty men at their extreme outpost in the Pass; and at villages within a mile's radius they had three battalions. The Turks at their extreme outpost had two soldiers and a sergeant, who were all that stood between the Greeks and the Turkish headquarters at Ellassona in the plain beyond. The Greeks were distributing their army along the frontier; while the Turks were holding theirs well in hand at Ellassona. Such investigation as I was able to make, without expecting or receiving answers to vital questions, showed that the force that Edhem Pasha had thus far collected did not outnumber the force of the Greeks. He stated, however, with Oriental blandness, that he had five times as many troops as the Greeks, and could go to Athens in two weeks, whenever he chose.

The Turkish soldier's uniform was frayed, and often of humorously inharmonious parts; and the little food that he received was dealt out with great irregularity and under no set system. What the Turkish generals were pleased to call a medical corps, was pitifully inefficient. The Greek soldier had his coffee and bread in the morning, soup and mutton for dinner, and bread and cheese for supper,—better fare than he was accustomed to in his humble home. The barracks at Larissa were well built, though not over clean. Doctors, with swords clanking, swarming in the little Larissa cafés, testified to the quantity, if not quality, of surgical attendance in the Greek army. Though the hospital at Larissa was not of practical design, it was, nevertheless, a hospital.

The crack mountaineer regiments of Greek regulars, the Ephsoni, in their jaunty red caps with black tassels, and blue coats falling over the crinkly, starched fustianella skirts—the native Greek costume—were more than dimly conscious of their superiority over the ill-clad and frequently ragged fellows who glared at them from the watch-houses beyond the boundary-line. The classes of reserves at first called out were clad in full modern uniform, resembling, and of quite as good quality as, the uniform of the French soldier. Later classes, however, did not fare so well.

All the reserves were first mustered in Athens; then conveyed by transport ship to Volo; and finally by train to Larissa. Larissa was the headquarters of organization, whence troops were assigned to their posts along the frontier. Many soldiers were allowed to roam about the streets armed. Similar absence of discipline in Western Europe would have meant nightly brawls and casualties. Yet I believe no "argument" in a Larissan wine-shop had a fatal result. The only drunken man that I ever saw in Larissa was an Italian volunteer. The little Greek soldier was as free from viciousness and bad habits as he was lacking in forcefulness. His only intemperance was a racial hallucination which led him to believe he could kill a hundred Turks; whereas he did not even know how to operate the mechanism of his rifle.

Thanks to the liberality of rich Greek merchants in all parts of the world, the army was exceedingly well equipped with weapons. Their small-arm, the *Grau*,—a French pattern of breech-loader,—carried well, and could be reloaded with facility. They had nine batteries of field- and mountain-artillery of the latest French pattern. Besides these, they had six heavy Krupps, which they had placed at the left and in front of Larissa to defend the town, in case the Turks should succeed in breaking through Meluna.

Many of the Greek officers had been educated in France and Germany, and spoke fluently one language, often two languages, other than their own. They lined up their men in the morning, and left them to their own devices for the rest of the day. In the cafés they were punctiliously polite over their coffee; crying for war, and expressing supreme confidence in their soldiers and in themselves. The Greek soldier, they said, was like the French soldier. He chafed under restriction. Discipline was prone to detract from, rather than to improve, his fighting qualities. The Crown Prince, on his arrival, made a half-hearted attempt at strictness, at the expense of his popularity, and with little material result. Thus valuable time was wasted.

The corps of engineers lackadaisically built a pontoon bridge across the Pineios at a point where it was not needed; artillerymen received a certain amount of drill; a company of infantry was occasionally put through a few evolutions on the plain: but the cafés were crowded; the shops flourished; and everybody chattered.

The private soldier was not alone in believing himself unconquerable. Mayors, Members of Parliament, and bankers freely expressed the opinion that the Greek army would not stop short of Constantinople. Such a trouncing as little Japan had given big China, little Greece would give big Turkey, they said. Most rabid of all in its demand for an offensive campaign was the Ethnikè Hetairia, a secret society composed of well-to-do Greek traders in all parts of the world, which had set for itself the task of organizing an irregular campaign. From Macedonian and Albanian chieftains it received assurances that twenty thousand Greeks, resident in Macedonia and Albania, would rise when the word was given. These picturesque idlers, supplied with money for arms and ammunition, recrossed the borders after making grandiloquent promises.

Aside from the work done over the frontier, the agents of the society mobilized at Kalabaka, a mountain village, possibly as many as a thousand uncertain characters, who were divided into bands of thirty and forty. These mercenaries, who would not enlist until supplied with a new outfit of the native dress, boasted that they were ready to a man to die for their country. They squandered their ammunition in shooting at bowlders and shattering the insulators on telegraph poles. Finding its troops fast becoming unmanageable, and out of temper with the temerity of the Government in waiting for the Turks to attack, the Ethnikè Hetairia determined to force the hand of the enemy. Accordingly, early one morning, such of the irregulars as had not already deserted crossed the frontier at an unguarded point high up the mountains, each man carrying two hundred and fifty rounds of ammunition,—but not a single day's rations. They burned a Turkish block-house, and took two small villages. For twenty-four hours their sponsors were jubilant; but on the third day, when they came face to face with half a Turkish battalion, they scattered, and made their way back over the mountains as best they could, their spirits drooping, and their once immaculate, stiffly-starched "petticoats" soiled and limp. Not a single Macedonian or Albanian had risen in response to their movement; and they had lost only two men killed.

This raid, winked at by the Athenian Government, was a further

excuse for the Sultan to attack the country which, two months previously, had annexed an island belonging to his empire. As he was not quite ready, however, he waited another week before his troops fired the first shots at Analipsis, which set the frontier ablaze with musketry. Before, and throughout the campaign, the Turk was allowed to train the course of events as best suited his own interests. Anxious to avoid war while as yet unprepared for it, the Sultan's offer to give up Crete to Greece, if only the Powers would allow it,—when he knew the Powers would not,—was a stroke of Oriental policy worthy of the Yildiz Kiosk at its best. The standing order to the Turkish officers on the frontier, to put up with any insult rather than shoot at a Greek, further lulled King George into security, or at least into inactivity; while it allowed Edhem Pasha to proceed undisturbed with his mobilization. For a month before the war, the Greek army was little improved or increased in numbers; while Edhem drilled his ever-increasing force constantly. At last, when fully prepared, the Turkish army at Ellassona made war.

It was a part of Edhem's plan, it seems, that the Greeks should still outnumber the Turks at most of the frontier posts. The first shots were fired on Saturday, April 17, 1897. On Sunday, the Turks gave up to Greek forces, after a suggestively weak resistance, at least five insignificant block-houses on the frontier. Not until after the Turks attacked it with great numbers did the Greeks increase their small garrison in Meluna Pass. They were persistent in their conviction that the Turks would come through the pass at Ravenni, because it seemed better suited for the purpose. On the mountain of Vigli at Ravenni, the Turks had placed two batteries of heavy Krupps. It seemed improbable that they were going to invade a plain with siege-guns; for the Turkish field-artillery remained in the neighborhood of Ellassona, nearer to Meluna Pass than to Ravenni. However, the flower of the Greek artillery, commanded by Col. Smollenske, and supported by more infantry than there was at Meluna, was placed in the open valley of Ravenni to engage the battery of Vigli and meet any attempt to force the Pass.

On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday,—April 18, 19, and 20,—artillery-fire continued at Ravenni. The Turkish gunners shot wildly, perhaps by intention; while the Turkish infantry, after a few shots, gave up two block-houses. At times, on Monday, the guns on Vigli seemed to have been silenced. It was evident enough that the Turks invited an attempt to storm. To this, against such soldiers as the

Turks in the intrenchments on the crest of that long, rocky incline, there could be but one result. Some of the Greek officers were strongly in favor of the attack; but, fortunately, Smollenske's adverse opinion prevailed. Had the enthusiasts had their way, the Greeks would have been slaughtered at Ravenni, at about the same hour that the Turks had secured for their main army an entrance to the Thessalian plain. It is hard to resist the opinion that Edhem Pasha, with Osman Pasha on his way from Constantinople to supersede him, had planned coincident disasters at Meluna and Ravenni. As we know, Edhem's success at Meluna alone was quite sufficient to gain his personal end.

At Meluna, the Greeks had placed a single mountain-battery, which was deserted when the surprised artillerymen, who feared that they would be cut off and taken prisoners, saw the Turkish horde coming up the defile on the run. As they advanced from position to position, the Turks brought up their artillery and infantry reinforcements to add to the impact of the next attack. By Tuesday, they had taken Liguria, a village at the mouth of the Pass, which—in the absence of reinforcements which might have been brought up on Monday, when the need of them had become self-evident—was given up by the Greeks, after a tame struggle. Though Edhem Pasha's loss at Meluna was much larger than that of the Greeks, it was surprisingly small, compared with the slaughter which he must have thought necessary to gain the first and all-important advance in his scheme of campaign.

A fine military road up the Pass, which the Greeks had just completed, and a bridge which they had left in good condition, were duly appreciated by the Turkish artillery. On the taking of Liguria, the Turks had wisely waited until they were prepared to follow its occupation by entering the plain in great force; for a retreat up Meluna might have meant the loss of artillery and almost irreparable disaster.

Up to Tuesday night, the Crown Prince maintained that all was going well; though he was careful to prevent the sending of any correspondent's telegram from Larissa. Early Wednesday morning, the Greeks, who, after being driven out of Liguria, had retreated into the plain, having received reinforcements over night, advanced toward Liguria with the view of retaking it. On seeing how well Edhem Pasha had prepared himself for such an emergency, they marched back again, and were then formed in a semicircle from one mountain-wall to another of the diamond-shaped arm of the Thessalian plain, called *Mati*, there to receive the advance of the Turks, who, by midday, began de-

bouching into the field and deploying into battle order. It was plain that Edhem Pasha would endeavor to flank the Greek right wing; thus throwing its left against the mountain where the plain suddenly broadened, and cutting it off from Larissa. Gen. Macris, who was in charge of the field for the Crown Prince, was evidently somewhat dazed by this turn of events. He placed most of his reserves on his left. Late in the day, the Turks advanced their skirmishers on the Greek centre; and, after drawing the fire of the enemy's masked batteries, retired—to our great surprise—at a moment when it was only too plain that the Greeks could not withstand a general attack. Larissa was jubilant that night over the report that ten thousand Turks had been killed by Greek shells.

The Turks, however, had troubles of their own, and very good reasons for remaining quiescent. A division which was forcing the Pass of Nezeros, leading into the Vale of Tempe, in order to form a junction with the main army, not having appeared as expected, Edhem Pasha, as was natural, became a little perplexed. Now that his skirmishers had revealed the position of the Greek batteries, his artillerymen took ample time so to place their own batteries as to reap advantage from this information. Furthermore, he had grounds for hoping for a stronger foothold on the right before undertaking a general battle.

On Thursday morning, April 22, the Greeks voluntarily gave up some ground on their right. A brief artillery duel, with insignificant casualties on the Greek side, completed the second day's work of what has been called the "three days' battle of Mati." The Turks were content to wait until their delayed division arrived. On this day, owing to reinforcements brought up over night, the force of the Greeks must have equalled that of the Turks in front of them; and had they attacked with spirit and skill, they might have forced the Turks back up the Pass. On Thursday night, at Larissa, it was stated that all was going well at Nezeros.

Friday, the final day of Mati, saw more play of artillery. The enemy's shell-fire and feints engaged the attention of the Greek centre and left, while their infantry dashed forward on our right. After a brief engagement, in which about one-sixth of the Greek troops and a proportionately larger number of the Turks were in action, the Greek right was forced back. At sundown, the villages, which on Wednesday had been in the rear of the Greek right, were in possession of the Turks; and the Crown Prince's army was virtually flanked.

Early on Friday evening, Larissa was speaking of victories, the

accounts of which were brought in from the plain by crazed shepherds. At nine o'clock, straggling soldiers began to arrive from Nezeros. For saying that the Greeks had been driven out of the Vale of Tempe, they were locked up as cowardly liars by the police, who reassured the town. Two hours later, the truth could be no longer concealed. Headquarters admitted that the way was open for the enemy's Nezeros division to join his right wing. From house to house ran the versatile police, crying: "The Turk is upon us! The Crown Prince says, 'Fly for your lives with all haste!'" Probably this order, as given out by Headquarters, was scarcely so abrupt and urgent, considering that the Greek army stood at a distance of eight miles between Larissa and the Turks, with six hours before daybreak in its favor; and it is to be presumed that the policemen, Greek fashion, amended their instructions to suit their own tastes and the inspiration of the moment. The natural result was a panic among the inhabitants, quickly aggravated by the arrival of panic-stricken soldiers from Nezeros. Seeing their supposed protectors powerless, men and women alike became frantic.

Meanwhile, the Greek army was in full retreat on the plain. For three days, the reserves had lain under the hot sun by day; shivering with cold at night; exposed to shell-fire, without once changing their places or firing a shot,—enough to "take the starch" out of hardened veterans.

On Friday, April 23, the great fast-day of the Greek Church, some had disdained their usual scanty rations. To their imaginations thus overwrought, the shriek of shells, the "ung" of exploding shrapnel, however slight the execution, had furnished terrible food. As they lay, some asleep, some half-asleep, some nervously awake, the stragglers coming from the Vale of Tempe stopped long enough to tell of disaster and then to hurry on to Larissa. Then came from Headquarters an order to the guns and certain companies of infantry to begin a retreat toward Larissa. This order flew along the lines, fast following the news of the defeat at Nezeros, and was acted upon by the whole army, which moved, in increasingly tumultuous disorder, toward the road leading to Larissa. On reaching the road there was a panic. Officers forgot their responsibility; companies disintegrated; the fear of each struggling man was heightened by the community of terror in which he found himself. When the Greek cavalry, coming up from the rear, attempted to pass along one side of the road, someone raised the cry, "The Turks are upon us!" Instantly there was a universal shriek, followed by almost general firing. Many pointed their rifles

into the air ; many others, into the faces of comrades, instead of at the imaginary enemy. Officers used their revolvers with equal recklessness. Of those who fell under foot some had been shot ; others had fainted or sunk down from sheer fright. At length the very weakness of the soldiers—the result of fasting, combined with their inherent lack of forcefulness—became the helpmate of discipline. The suicidal, tumultuous crowd moved on, gradually subsiding as it lost strength, until it flocked into the town. At dawn, the spectacle in the streets told dramatically what seven days' war had cost Greece.

A few officers, poltroons, leaving their men behind, made good their escape. Some of these were stopped, and made prisoners by armed villagers. A majority of the officers stood around, helplessly inactive. A puissant minority, angered and strengthened by shame, set about getting the soldiers together and moving them off, in disorder, it is true, but in a body, toward Pharsala,—the Pharsala that saw Pompey's downfall,—where the army was to make its next stand.

In front of and about the army was the pitiful exodus of the peasantry of the Thessalian plain, with their rude belongings strapped, along with crying children, on the backs of donkeys and in ox-carts. Shepherds might drive away their herds ; but the farmers could not take their fields of grain to a place of safety. In the early morning, couriers had ridden from village to village at the rear of Larissa with the terrible news. An hour after a courier came to a village it would be emptied of its inhabitants, who cried, as they ran, that they would be massacred. The Turkish cavalry was momentarily expected to dash over the plain.

Though the phlegmatic Turks, when they awakened in the morning, were surprised to find the Greek army gone, they did not take advantage of the opportunity—revealed by the evidences of disaster lying on the plain—to finish the war then and there. Not until several hours after the departure of the last Greek, did a few Turkish cavalymen cautiously enter the town, some distance ahead of the Turkish army. It has been asserted by the Greeks that none of their guns passed into the hands of the enemy ; while the Turks' exaggeration of the number of guns actually taken is equally preposterous. I have reason to believe, that at least two batteries of light artillery were lost, as well as three of the six heavy Krupps—not one of them having yet fired a shot—bought for the defence of Larissa. Moreover, large quantities of ammunition and biscuits, and nearly all the heavier camp equipments, were left in Larissa in good condition, ready for use by the Turks.

It was the design of the Greeks to save Volo, a wealthy town, and

the haven of refuge of many of the peasants. Accordingly, a line was formed from two miles beyond Pharsala to the pass which was the doorway to Volo. About three miles from this pass was the village of Velestino; and on the hills back of it were the headquarters of Col. Smollenske, commander of this, the right wing of the Greek army. The Greek fleet, with decks cleared for action, was in the Bay of Volo; having gone there after the defeat of Mati, hoping that, in case the army failed, its heavy guns would protect the town.

After four days, the Turks, having digested their victory with cigarettes and coffee, were ready to renew fighting. Meanwhile, the Greeks had put themselves in a sort of order. Evidently, the first intention of the Turks was to force their way through Smollenske's line and on to Volo. Accordingly, they attempted to storm Smollenske's rifle-pits; but they were driven back for the first time, and with the greatest loss that any such movement had yet encountered in the campaign. This was followed by that mad charge in which the Circassian horsemen rode up a hillside, under a cross-fire of shells and musketry, in an unsuccessful attempt to take a battery in the rear. Col. Smollenske thought that half the Circassians were killed; but that is probably too high an estimate. The charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava was not pluckier nor more foolhardy. In repulsing both these charges,—which represented about all the real fighting along the Pharsala-Velestino line,—the Greek loss was comparatively small.

The Turks, after a slight resistance, withdrew from the villages in front of Velestino, which they had taken, and were soon moving over to the left. Their plan of cutting the Greek line in two was executed with energy. On the morning of May 7, Edhem Pasha sent his fearless infantry, under heavy fire, up the hollows between the mountain-ridges which ran at right angles to the Turkish line across the plain. They intrepidly scaled the ridges, and forced the Greeks from the position. Smollenske's force was flanked and separated from the Crown Prince's force; and he retreated in an orderly manner to Almyro. The Crown Prince's force had been flanked on its left; at the same time it was being flanked on its right by the force that had flanked Smollenske. The Crown Prince, therefore, withdrew to the heights of Domoko.

So apparent was now the hopelessness of the Greek cause that even the new ministry, which had been buoyed up into almost an aggressive spirit by the "victory" of Velestino, begged for the intervention of the Powers. It was granted in the form of a demand on the Sultan for

an armistice. As there are six Powers, each having a formal foreign office, this took some time. The Sultan, as usual, was more deliberate than the six tormentors, whom he in return tormented.

Being truly Greek, the Greek Cabinet seemed to believe that articles of peace would be signed the moment the necessity of peace appealed to the ministerial mind. Before the army had been at Domoko three days, every soldier believed that there was an armistice. Inquiry of the Crown Prince and of Gen. Macris brought the assurance that it was as good as signed. At the telegraph office, delicate questioning learned that an armistice was expected. A considerable number of volunteers had come up from Athens. When they were not drilled, it was scarcely to be expected that the rest of the army should be given any exercise. Two days after Pharsala, the Turkish army appeared on the plain some ten miles from Domoko. There it rested quietly for more than a week, leisurely celebrating the important feast of Bairam. This confirmed the belief of the Greek generals that the war was at an end.

The morning of May 17 found the Crown Prince's force more than ever convinced of an armistice, and quite unprepared for an attack. At nine o'clock the whole Turkish army began to advance upon the astounded Greeks—most astounded of them all were the Crown Prince and Gen. Macris—in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to its intention. The battle of Domoko which followed was the most sanguinary of the campaign. The Greek position on the ridges seemed unassailable. The lines they threw out on the plain were driven back, within five minutes, by the advancing Turkish infantry, which came forward as if intending to make the terrible attempt of hammering their way through the ravine extending up to the town of Domoko. Across the mouth of this ravine was a line of Greek infantry. The ridges on both sides were studded with Greek batteries; and below them, well protected in rifle-pits stretching out at an angle to the line in front of the hollow, were more riflemen. The Garibaldians—Italian volunteers—were placed in the open on the side of the ridge, between the batteries and the rifle-pits at the right.

Soon it was evident that the Greeks holding the centre must either fight or lose their guns and be destroyed. Once the riflemen on the angles crowded into the hollow, there would be a butchery. For three hours, that is, until sundown,—the attack having begun at four o'clock,—the Greeks steadily returned the hot fire of the Turks, who soon ceased to advance, and doggedly hung on to the ground that they had gained. The three heavy Krupps of the Greeks were at last put in

action. Placed on the heights, quite out of reach of the Turkish field-guns, they did considerable execution. The Turkish batteries, of some forty field-guns, advanced three times in the afternoon, killing more Greeks than all the rest of their shell-fire during the entire war; while the Greek mountain field-batteries hammered the Turkish infantry with still bloodier results.

During this attack in front the Turks were making a more important movement, strategically, on the right. Gen. Macris and the Crown Prince had concluded that the Turks would try to force a pass some twelve miles from Domoko, on the Greek left. Therefore, when the battle began, though the Turks were withdrawing from the Greek left and concentrating on the centre and right, where all their batteries were, the Greek generals began to send their reserves over to the left. With amazing intrepidity, during the hot action on the centre, the Turks had fought their way over the mountains at the Greeks' far right. Some reserves were sent around at sunset—but too late. The Turkish left wing was already even with the town of Domoko. Military experts maintain that the Crown Prince, by readjusting his forces over night, could have given the phlegmatic enemy a surprise in the morning, and held him in check for several days.

The retreat over the pass to Lamia began at ten o'clock in the evening; and the next morning the battalions covering the retreat were under heavy fire. The Greeks' next stand was to be at Thermopylæ. Should the Turks advance spiritedly, Smollenske's army would be cut off from that of the Crown Prince, and forced to surrender. But the Sultan, being somewhat appeased by more blood-letting, now bowed before a letter from him whom the Greeks called "a vile enemy,"—the Czar,—who, for this act, saw his influence at Constantinople supplanted by that of Germany, though the fear of Russia was undiminished. At last the armistice came,—none too soon for the demoralized army of Greece. The war had lasted just thirty-one days.

Of the fighting at Arta on the west coast of Greece by much smaller forces, I cannot speak with authority, as I did not see it. The plan of the Turks was simply to keep the Greeks from invading. This they did after one reverse. The Greeks had advanced far into Epirus; but, with Edhem Pasha at Larissa, their retirement would have been unavoidable. In its vital characteristics, the warfare in Epirus closely resembled that of the main army.

We left the Greek navy protecting Volo. It withdrew from Volo after the retreat of Col. Smollenske. At the beginning of the war

much had been expected of it; but when it found that the forts at Arta could not be obliterated by a few shells, it seemed to be surprised out of all thought of further action. The real trouble, it is said, was simple enough. King George had made war without ammunition for his battleships, or the money to buy any: he was consequently little better off than the Sultan, whose navy would not float.

Apparently, there existed in the Greek War Office a prejudice against statistics. One person in authority would tell quite a different story from another as to the total number of the Greek army. Counting all their reserves and volunteers, the Greeks must have had at least 60,000 men. The force of the Turks was greatly overestimated. Exaggeration is a part of Turkish strategy, which also strives to terrorize the enemy by tales of cruelty. The clothing of the wounded Greeks in the church at Analipsis was not saturated with petroleum and then ignited; and Greek officers, in repeating this imaginary horror, only played into the hands of Edhem Pasha. Blandly as Edhem talked of his army of 200,000 men, I do not believe that, at any time, his force was one-third larger than that opposed to him,—not an unequal proportion, considering the fine defensive positions of the Greeks. But the Greek generals took Edhem Pasha's word for it, and thought they were greatly outnumbered.

However successful Edhem Pasha's strategy may have been, it was too simple and transparent to be masterly. He was most fortunate in his opponents. The Greek army, organized by a French staff officer on as good lines as Greek politics would allow, was nominally under the direction of ten colonels—who quarreled with one another—and of a minister-of-war. It was impossible to make any one of the colonels Commander-in-chief, on account of the jealousy of the other nine. Lest the Minister of War might assume the airs of a commander-in-chief, he was supposed to take orders from the Prime Minister; and the Prime Minister, in turn, from the King. There must, however, be a head of some sort; accordingly Crown Prince Constantin was sent to the front as Commander-in-chief, under the orders of the Cabinet. He was only twenty-nine years of age, without thorough military training, and without military experience. Moreover, he was a prince of the best royal blood, who, when he remembered his more fortunate royal cousins, was not over-appreciative of being the heir to the throne of a violent little people. He had absorbed, in some measure, from them, the Oriental dislike of rapid and decisive action. Like them, he was easily discouraged. Further, in no sense did he possess the qualities of a general. I think

the charge that he was a coward can be scarcely substantiated; for I have seen him ride deliberately through the thick of shell-fire. It is hardly necessary to add, that he was not a dashing soldier of great mental force, who would throw himself at the head of a division at a critical moment; nor that he failed to inspire enthusiasm in his troops. He was surrounded by staff officers who were quick to perceive that his personal safety and theirs were one. For "practical reasons," the Government would not allow him to shoot deserters, nor, in any sense, to execute strict military law, at a time when the army was so demoralized in the face of the enemy. His chief adviser was Gen. Macris; a pleasant old man, whose experience in war amounted to a little guerilla fighting. In a measure, it may be said that he made the plans, while the blame for their failure was heaped upon the Crown Prince. At no time was there a single strong mind dominating the Greek army. The curse of the generals, of the other officers, and of the soldiers was idleness. Though the officers spoke French well, and had studied abroad, yet in all the years that they had been preparing their regular army of 20,000 men—an enormous force for a country so small as Greece—for the war that they had courted, they had never made a map of their own frontier.

As soon as they took up a position, the Greek generals formed a plan as to how they were to be attacked. This plan was based on the exceeding simple-mindedness of the enemy; and the Greek generals would not give it up, but fought until forced to retreat. As Edhem Pasha's plan happened to be exactly opposite to what they had supposed it would be, the Turks outflanked the Greeks easily in the three stands that they made. At no time did the Greeks attempt to force the enemy to certain lines of action, at no time did they show any ability to meet a new situation. They allowed the enemy to lay down the lines of battle just as he chose. Invariably the Greeks were woefully ignorant of the enemy's position, knowledge of which—in the clear atmosphere of Greece, where mountains and plains are mostly bare of trees—could have been easily obtained by a good scouting service. Gen. Macris had a weakness for getting behind a bluff, where he could see nothing; and sometimes correspondents, who are not by any means scouts, by the simple use of their field-glasses, gave him news about the position of the Turks.

The key to the Turkish success, as I have suggested, was forcing men up the hollow between two ridges, and then on to the ridges; thus flanking the Greeks. This was the simplest of methods. Yet when

the Greek generals saw a large mass of troops at a distance of ten miles moving directly at a hollow, it seldom occurred to them, until after the Turks had actually reached the hollow, to imitate the same mass-movement in their own line. The Greeks would then go over the mountain-path lackadaisically; arriving in time to join in the retreat of their comrades from the front ridges. The little engineering work necessary to facilitate rapid movements was neglected, though there was a corps of engineers,—an advantage over the Turks, who, I believe, had none.

All the surprises of the Turks were made by daylight. How much more complete would have been the paralysis of the Greek army had the Turks appeared before the heights of Domoko at dawn! How easily Edhem Pasha could have ended the war, had he followed up his advantage after the panic at Larissa! The blunders of the Turks succeeded only because the blunders of the Greeks were greater and more numerous. The Turkish army came on, like an army of fatalists, with exceeding courage, and taking its own time. In storming the ridges, the Turkish soldier exhibited a snap that surprised the world, which had already believed in his fearlessness. But it is not yet proved that the Turk, under modern conditions, would show himself to be a fine offensive soldier. We have not forgotten how quickly the Russians, by feints, surprises, and simple technical strategy, forced the Turks on to Plevna, where, once at bay, though greatly outnumbered, they hung on like grim death. Lying in line, face to face with his opponent, the Turk will hold his own with any soldier.

To the Turkish officer, however, the chess-board work of European military science is a mystery. A night march no more occurs to him than to post his pickets properly. He does not mind sacrificing his men, and often does not mind sacrificing himself, needlessly. Not until after his breakfast,—coffee and a cigarette or two at ten o'clock in the morning,—is he ready to say to his men: "If you love Allah, advance!" A British or Continental army, by its very alacrity and head-work, must soon force a Turkish army on to the defensive. I believe that a Continental army equal in number to that of the Greeks would have sent the Turks back up the Pass, after they had debouched into the plain at Mati. Much of the best strategy of the Turks was no doubt due to German advice; though German advice could not prevail upon Edhem Pasha to relinquish certain traditions having their origin in Turkish phlegm.

The successes of Col. Smollenske, the one Greek officer who dis-

tinguished himself, were largely negative. He had, besides some military talent, the art of applying, in a measure, the knowledge he had gained at school in France and Germany. He maintained a certain amount of discipline; and his soldiers had a certain amount of enthusiasm for him. His retreats were orderly; and he covered them in something like a scientific manner. Unquestionably, he was greatly superior to any other officer who held a place of considerable responsibility. Yet he could not appreciate the necessity of vigilance, of knowing the characteristics of the general opposed to him, of ascertaining the enemy's strength and positions, and of being ready for him when he moved in force against any particular point. By the way, this Greek hero was a pure Slav.

Had the Greek officers possessed the talent which they showed superficially, had they applied, in using their fairly well equipped army, what they had learned in France and Germany, they might have prolonged the war for many months. Had the expected rising in Macedonia taken place, and had there been a real general in command, the Turks might have been put on the defensive. The artillery officers and their men often fought well, giving promise of what might be expected if the Greeks were well drilled. The cavalymen had ruined their Hungarian horses by neglect before the war began. There was frequent talk of a cavalry charge; but—fortunately for the Greeks—it never took place. Cavalry, indeed, played but a small part in the campaign; the Turks missing several excellent opportunities to use their skilful horsemen on the Greek retreats. When two peasant boys, fresh from the plough, beat trained Western athletes in the race from Marathon, it was expected that the Greeks would march well. So they could have done, if they had not lost all their spirit. As it was, they crept along at almost a snail's pace.

The Greek officer did not know how to get work out of his men. His neglect of them, and his bearing were not such as to make them obedient or respectful. Being intensely democratic, and not being disciplined, every private became a strategist. Having been taught to believe that war was play, and that the Turk was a ragged fellow who would run at the first shot, it was in his nature, as a Greek, when he saw the Turk advance, so bravely, to fly to the other extreme. Everything conspired to "funk" him: The irregulars coming into the line of fire only to run away; the tales of mutilation of Greek prisoners by the Turks; the belief, inculcated by officers, that the army had been betrayed by the King and the Crown Prince. It was impossible to make

him stand in the open at all. He would lie on the crest of a ridge, until the Turks started up an incline, and no longer; whereas, if he had remained, he could easily have disposed of the few Turks—already winded by their run—left on their feet after his volleys.

After the taking of Larissa, an investigation showed that not more than seventy or eighty Greeks had been killed, and five hundred wounded. Not 10 per cent of the wounds were dangerous. Most of them were mere abrasions caused by splinters scattered by bullets hitting the rocks behind which the Greeks were concealed. The loss of the Turks, always advancing in the open, was very large.

Not until after Domoko, was a bayonet-wound brought into a Greek hospital. The body-wounds of the Greeks were usually in the back. Surgeons who came from abroad in search of experience were somewhat disappointed by the commonplace character of their work. The Martini bullet, used by the Turks, made a small clean hole which healed quickly, and the bullet itself was easily extracted.

It was sad to see how few of the Greek officers realized what defeat meant. Most of them saw little disgrace in the flying of terror-stricken, starving peasantry; and few understood that they were fighting for all that ought to be dear to them. They rather seemed to enjoy having so fine a piece of news as "a great downfall" to chatter about in their little cafés.

FREDERICK PALMER.

LETTERS TO A LIVING AUTHOR.

It was a Western cynic, I believe, who asserted that we Americans like to treat our public men as though they were base-burning stoves,—so that we can sit around them, warm our toes at them, and spit on them. The public men whom the Western cynic had in his mind when he uttered this profound suggestion were, presumably, politicians. But our attitude toward our other public men is not distinctly different; and sometimes we seem to be quite as tolerant and almost as contemptuous in our treatment of our clergymen and our authors as we are in the way we regard our politicians. We are always ready to take a liberty with them; we feel on an equality with them; and we let our friendliness burgeon into a fraternity, which claims all the privileges of brotherhood without bearing any of its burdens.

In the religious weeklies now and again one can discover signs that the clergyman is getting a little weary of being put upon eternally; and in the literary papers here and there one can catch an echo of the sighs of the author who is almost ready to rise in open revolt. Even in England, where abuses are borne patiently, if they are of long standing, the worm is turning. In a recent chapter of Prof. Max Müller's rambling "Literary Recollections," he remarks that "Authors complain, and in many cases complain justly, of the large number of letters and visits which they receive from unknown friends and distant admirers." And Prof. Müller proceeds to a personal explanation:—

"I myself, though the subjects on which I write are not exactly popular, have been sitting at the receipt of such custom for many years. It is difficult to know what to do. To answer all the letters, even to acknowledge all the books, that are sent to one from India, Australia, New Zealand, from every new sphere of influence in Africa, from America, North and South, and from the principal countries of Europe, would be physically impossible."

In another sentence Prof. Müller goes to the root of the matter:—

"Every writer imagines that he is the only one who writes a letter, asks a question, or sends a book; but he forgets that in this respect everybody has as much right as everybody else, and claims it too, unmindful of the rights of others, and quite unconscious that the sum total of such interruptions would swallow up the whole of a man's working day."

In other words, the public arrogates to itself the right to demand from the author for some of its individual members, a portion of the time which the author needs for his own work. Sometimes the appeal is more specious than it is at others; but always is the victim thought to be churlish if he do not spend himself freely in the service of the unknown correspondent. One American author has even been forced, in self-defence, to print a circular letter explaining the reasons why he cannot answer with his own hand all the inquiries addressed to him.

Many of the communications which clutter the waste-basket of a popular writer are more or less bold-faced requests for his autograph. As far as these are concerned, it is not difficult to know what to do. No attention need be paid to a letter asking for an autograph, unless it contains a stamped and addressed envelope and also the card on which the signature is to be placed. If the applicant has thus done his best to minimize the trouble needed to comply with his request, perhaps there is no harm in writing the name he says he desires. Yet even here the advantages of a private secretary are obvious; and more than one collector, twenty-five years ago, was startled by the return of cards signed, "Henry Ward Beecher per F. B. Perkins, Secretary." To requests for autographs, in which the stamped-and-addressed envelope and the card have not been enclosed, nobody need pay any attention. If a stamp be enclosed, it can be kept and utilized in a worthier cause,—the courts have more than once declared the legal irresponsibility of an involuntary bailee.

As regards the books sent to an author, avowedly out of compliment, but obviously to extract from him a few words of flattery, it is not so easy to know what to do. Mr. Gladstone sometimes dashes off on a postal card a few words of casual criticism,—eulogistic more often than not. Rogers used to write a polite note expressing the pleasure he hoped to have in the perusal of the work he had received. Perhaps, it would be well to have a form of words—suggested by this practice of the banker-poet—ready to send by return mail to all those who bombard an author with their books. And this form of words would look well engraved in script on copperplate;—but who would have the courage for so frank a response?

I have in my possession—and with permission to print a selection from them—a score of letters received in the course of a single month by a certain American author residing in New York. Some are too personal to bear quotation; and in others it has been necessary to make a few excisions. Taken altogether, they are fairly representative of the

epistles that rain themselves incessantly upon the desk of an American writer—not of the first prominence even. No doubt the weight of the burden is far heavier upon the authors who stand at the head of our literature, especially if these authors happen also to be genial, kindly, and widely beloved: the sufferings of Longfellow, from attacks of this sort, and the trials of Holmes are duly recorded in their biographies.

Some of the letters in the collection I have before me are mere requests for the author's opinion. Here is one, for example:—

“Dear Sir :

Will you be kind enough to answer the following question? :—

‘In your estimation, is *Portia* the judge in the trial scene in the “Merchant of Venice,” or the *Duke*? Can you cite me some good authority on this point?’

Yours very truly,

A. B.”

Here is another essentially similar:—

“Will you please give me your personal opinion as to the sanity or insanity of Shakspeare's ‘Hamlet,’ and oblige

C. D.”

And here is a third, more complimentary in its opening sentence,—perhaps because the writer of it was under the necessity of convincing himself that the author he was addressing was duly qualified to decide a question of pictorial criticism:—

“Dear Sir :

You are a man of taste, good taste, and, I believe, an excellent judge of paintings, being familiar with the works of the artists of the day; therefore, a friend and I have decided to select you as the arbitrator in a little difference of opinion between us, if you will be so kind as to act in that capacity.

The question is this: Which of the two men, Detaille or DeNouvelle (*sic*), is generally conceded to be the greater painter? Did DeNouvelle ever paint a picture acknowledged to be as great a creation as ‘The Siege of Champigny’ by Detaille, now hung in the Metropolitan Museum? Before his death did the works of DeNouvelle bring generally higher prices than those of Detaille, or was the reverse the case?

Thanking you in advance for your kindness, I am

Yours very respectfully,

E. F.”

The fourth letter is a type of many others, in that it concerns itself with a question of usage in English speech. On no other subject is the uninvited correspondent more prolific than on propriety of diction.

“Pardon my writing you unaddressed, but I want to ask your opinion in a dispute on which I have been able to find no printed authority. Is it more correct to write ‘I regret that I cannot come to dinner’ or that ‘I cannot go’? The

writer of the phrase questioned knew the giver of the dinner intimately; the dinner was given in this friend's own house. Believe that I hesitate to trouble you in this, but that your opinion will be gratefully received.

Yours most sincerely,

G. H."

These four letters could each have been answered by a single sentence on a postal card. The writer of the fifth letter enclosed his postal card for a reply; but he calmly asked for an amount of labor larger than that required to reply to all the other four.

"Dear Sir :

I am making a collection of the dramatic masterpieces of certain poets, and take this means of asking your opinion. The enclosed postal contains the names of the poets whose plays I am collecting.

You would confer a very great favor upon me if you would be so kind as to write opposite each name what, in your opinion, is the best play of each author.

Hoping that you will pardon the liberty that I have taken, I beg to be

Yours very truly,

I. J."

But the demand of this correspondent was modest, when compared with the request proffered by the writer of the sixth letter:—

"Dear Sir :

I inclose you under separate cover a manuscript entitled 'X. Y. Z.' It will take you about forty-five minutes to read it. That to a busy man is a great deal of time, I know; but nevertheless, I am going to ask of you the very great favor of giving me that much of your time, reading the manuscript and telling me if it is worth anything—if it would be worth while even to try again.

I do not like to ask such a favor. If I had it to do in person, probably my courage would fail me; but necessity knows no law—I want criticism—and I take advantage of the friendly cover of a letter. I trust some time in the future to be able to render you a *quid pro quo*—for the time spent. Your kindly criticism and advice I can repay only with thanks.

Very respectfully,

K. L."

This last letter is a specimen of a kind common enough,—the request for criticism of a manuscript. Sometimes the correspondents go further, and beg the author, to whom they have forwarded their unpublished masterpieces, to find a publisher for them. Sir Walter Scott once paid the postage on a bulky parcel from America only to discover that it was a second copy of a manuscript sent to him across the Atlantic by some unknown American admirer, who besought the Scotch poet to get it published for him in Great Britain.

A seventh letter may be printed as typical of a class greatly on the increase with the recent astonishing growth in the number of women's clubs, at all of which papers are read with unintermitting regularity.

"My dear Sir :

If, in your very busy life, you can find time to write a few lines to a club of women far removed from the Eastern metropolis in which you live, yet closely bound by ties of admiration to one who they feel has done so much for American literature, they will appreciate the favor. We have begun a study of American critics and criticism, and have collected your work along this line to begin with. Will you kindly give me an expression of your opinion on the subject of American criticism,—how it stands as compared with criticisms of other nations, how it may be improved, the qualifications necessary for a good critic, etc., also whom do you consider the best American critic? If you can suggest any books or other articles that will help me in preparing a sketch of your work in this field, I shall be greatly obliged. . . . Trusting that you will favor me with a reply, which I shall appreciate as a great favor, I am

Most sincerely,

M. N."

Finally, there is yet another group of correspondents who pester the author,—and in some respects these are the most pestiferous of all. Their case is the worst because they belong to a class that should know better. They are the editors who call upon the author to contribute gratuitous copy by taking part in a so-called "symposium,"—of a truth, a Barmecide feast to the poor contributors. Sometimes, however, the request is so courteously phrased that it is denied merely with a regret that there are only twenty-four hours in the day. Here is a letter of this sort :—

"My dear Sir :

I desire to ask you if in your college days you ever had any experience with the duties of the student editor. I am at present so perplexed and harassed with speculations as to how I can make the new University of Z's annual a satisfactory one to the college community, that I have determined to make a request of the five or six public men whose writings have led us to look upon them as our best friends,—a request whose impertinence would have caused me to blush in those younger and better days before I became a college editor. Will you answer for me one of these two questions? :—

First. What were one or two of your experiences when you were the editor of a college literary annual?

Second. If you were never so afflicted, what would you do if you were? What would you make your aim?

Don't feel that I shall cast a blight over your whole future career, by adverse criticisms in my editorials, if you refuse to comply with my modest (?) request. I realize that there must be a limit to the time and the good nature of everyone, and I shall continue to admire you and what you write, whatever reception my letter may meet with at your hands. So don't feel that you are being coerced.

In all seriousness, however, I am sure that our students would appreciate a few words from your pen if you could find time to write them before Jan. 22nd. We could regard it as nothing less than a great favor to the whole University.

I enclose a stamped and addressed envelope, and only ask further, that, in

case your hands are too full with other and more profitable work, you return to me the empty envelope so that I may know that my letter has not miscarried.

Very respectfully yours,

O. P.,

Managing Editor."

It is in the epistle of "Eloisa to Abelard" that Pope asserts that "Heav'n first taught letters for some wretch's aid"; and after reading the correspondence cited in the preceding paragraphs, few, I think, would be inclined to doubt the papal infallibility of this assertion. And I think, also, that few readers would deny that the time has come when the author is justified in defending himself and his working hours against these insidious appeals for gratuitous labor. Literature can now fairly claim to be one of the learned professions, fully on a level with medicine and the law and the church. The minister who acts as supply, expects to be paid; and the lawyer who has advised his client not to go to law sends in his bill.

When a man is master of his calling, his opinion as an expert is very valuable; and the basis of his charge should be not the time spent on the question submitted, but the knowledge needed to solve it. A laboring man is paid for his time, but a professional man for his skill; and the man of letters has a right to expect the pay of an expert, whenever his advice is sought. There is an old saying in the West that "a saddle-bag opinion is worth what it cost."

The sooner the position of the author is understood, the better for both sides. The public will gain as well as the man of letters; for the latter will feel bound to give good measure for the money received.

ARTHUR PENN.

AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE.—IV.

THIS article and the next—my concluding paper—will deal, as fully as their limits permit, with the rest of the archæological work of the American Scholars in Greece: their exploration of the Heræum, which has proved the most fruitful in finds; their least satisfactory ventures in Laconia; their still unreported tentative researches at Phlius; and the most promising of all their undertakings—that on the vast site of Corinth.

Early in 1891, the Greek Government conceded to the American School the right to excavate for seven years on any two out of the five sites suggested by Dr. Waldstein, who, accompanied by Mr. Brownson, examined, during the month of April, the Argive Heræum, Argos itself, Tegea, Messene, Elis, and Sparta. Dr. Waldstein decided upon the first and last of these sites; remarking very truly that at the Heræum “the excavations of Bursian and Rangabé, many years ago, certainly require completion.”

There is, perhaps, no locality in Greece so closely and so continuously connected with the development and vicissitudes of the Hellenic race, from remote antiquity to the present day, as the Argive territory. Within it stand the two renowned centres of the earliest Greek civilization, Mycenæ and Tiryns; while Argos is admitted to be the most ancient city in Greece, and has figured prominently in the history of the country down to the War of Independence.

Several places in Greece were known by the name Argos, which, according to Strabo (viii. 372), signified, in the Macedonian and Thessalian idiom, a plain. Homer distinguishes between the Pelasgic Argos in Thessaly, and the Achæan Argos in the Peloponnesus; and he employs the latter designation, or Argos simply, in three acceptations; viz., (a) as denoting the city over which Diomedes then reigned; (b) as comprising the kingdom of Agamemnon, with Mycenæ as its capital; (c) as applied to the whole of the Peloponnesus, in contradistinction to the rest of Greece beyond the Isthmus. In an even wider sense he speaks of all the Greeks as “Argeioi” (“Argivi” in the Roman poets); and this prevalence of the name is in itself indicative

of the paramount importance of Argos in the heroic period. By later Greek writers it is applied both to the city and to the entire plain, which latter, however, is more distinctly known as Argolis or Argeia.

The Argive territory is situated in Eastern Peloponnesus, immediately to the north of the Argolic gulf, where it spreads out toward the sea. On all other sides it is shut in by more or less high mountains, which thus form the "hollow Argos," as Sophocles describes it ("Œd. Col.," 378). This plain, some twelve miles in length, four to five in width, and watered by the Inachus and the Erasinus, was in antiquity fertile and famed for its breed of horses; but its higher levels were very dry: whence the "thirsty Argos" of Homer. Phoroneus, son of Inachus, the local river-god, appears in the earliest myths as king of Argos. Later, however, Danaos is said to have migrated here from Egypt (*circ.* 1475 B.C.), landing at a spot known as Pyramia. Four pyramids (the extant remains of two of which are described by Leake and Mure), which dotted the plain of Argos, seemed to testify at all times to the veracity of the tradition; the more so as similar structures are met with nowhere else in Greece. But the American discoveries have now placed beyond all doubt the early and intimate connection of Argos with Egypt. Likewise, the myth of the fifty Danaides, married to the sons of Ægyptos and condemned in the lower world eternally to draw water from a well in sieves, is but a faithful allegory of the system of irrigation introduced by Danaos. Underground galleries, such as have now been clearly traced, intercepted the rain-water, which sinks readily through the porous and sieve-like soil of Argos.

Dissensions between the descendants of Danaos led to the foundation of Tiryns in 1370 B.C., and, a century later, the Pelopidæ raised Mycenæ to great power; so that Agamemnon's sway extended over Sicyon and Corinth when the Greeks chose him as leader in their expedition against Troy. After the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, Temenos, the oldest of the Heraclidæ, reigned at Argos, which now rapidly regained its former influence and power. Argos was recognized as the mother-city of a league of Doric states; and Pheidon, the tenth in descent from Temenos, held the undisputed leadership in the peninsula, after routing the Lacedæmonians at Hysia, in 669 B.C. But their continued struggles against Sparta exhausted the Argives, who were finally defeated by Cleomenes near Tiryns in 510, and gave place to Sparta as the leading power in the Peloponnesus. By 463, they had recovered sufficiently to subdue Mycenæ and Tiryns, which they destroyed; transferring their inhabitants to the outskirts of Argos.

The entire population of the Argive territory at about that time is computed at 100,000; Argos being then, in point of magnitude and opulence, the second city in the Peloponnesus after Corinth. Its ancient civilization and its reverential cult of the gods aided the development of the fine arts; the city possessed many temples; and the temples were full of statues. Argos, therefore, at an early date became famous for its school of sculpture, especially under Ageladas, the master of Phidias, Myron, and his own townsman, Polycleitus,—the three greatest statuaries of the ancient world. Polycleitus, the rival of Phidias, continued active till 423 B.C., producing the great chryselephantine statue of Hera, which was considered superior in technique to the gold-and-ivory Athena of Phidias in the Parthenon, and the no less celebrated "Doryphoros," of which a copy exists and which, for the perfection and justness of its proportions, was styled "the Canon." The Argive school was, however, chiefly famous for its statues of victors at athletic contests.

In 146 B.C., Argos was merged into the Roman province of Achaia. During Byzantine rule, the primacy of the district passed to Nauplia, the common harbor of the Argive towns, which remains to this day the chief town of that nomarchy. The Byzantines held the place till A.D. 1247; and subsequently a "duchy of Argos" was founded by some of the Frank adventurers in whom the Crusaders had by that time degenerated. In 1388, the widow of Pietro di Federico Cornaro sold the lands and forts of the duchy to the Republic of Venice for two thousand ducats of gold and a life annuity of seven hundred ducats. In 1397, Argos was captured by Sultan Bajazet I, who demolished its walls; and the place remained for a time deserted. It was subsequently rebuilt by the Venetians, from whom it was retaken by the Turks in 1463. It was again seized by the Venetians, and for a third time by the Turks, who held it up to 1821. On December 12 of that year the first National Assembly of the revolted Greeks met at Argos, on the rows of seats of the ancient theatre, hewn in the rock of the hill from the foot of which the modern town extends into the plain.

Argos is about eight miles distant from Nauplia to the southeast, five from Tiryns in the same direction, and seven miles south of Mycenæ. The conical hill, the steep, rocky sides of which rise above the town, is the ancient *Larissa*,—a Pelasgic term signifying an acropolis or citadel. Its summit, nine hundred and fifty feet high, is crowned by the remains of the old Cyclopean stronghold, which has given place to a mediæval fortress, famous in recent times for its gallant defence, by a

handful of Greeks under Demetrius Ypsilanti, against the Turkish army of Dram-Ali.

On the *Larissa* stood the sacred shrine of Apollo Pythius, the patron of the Argive Amphictyony. But the great divinity of Argos, revered above all others, was Hera, who had won the land in a contest with Poseidon. She appears in the "Iliad" as the protectress of the Argives; and her worship remained supreme with her people to the end. Livy (xxxiv. 24) records the invocation of Aristæus, the general of the Achaean League (195 B.C.)—"Juna regina, cujus in tutela Argi sunt." In the city itself she was worshipped in two temples as Hera Acræa and Hera Antheia. But her great sanctuary was the Heræum, situated on an elevation to the right of the wayfarer from Argos to Mycenæ, nearer by two-thirds to the latter city, which, during the years of its hegemony in Argolis, presided over the sanctuary. A "sacred way" connected Mycenæ with the Heræum. It was "the common custom of the Greeks to place temples of great resort at a short distance without the city walls." On the fall of Mycenæ, however, Argos obtained exclusive control of the sanctuary, and held the appointment of the high priestess of the temple, after whose years of office the Argives reckoned their calendar.

Once in four years the great festival of the goddess was celebrated, when nearly the whole population of Argos marched in pomp and solemnity to the sanctuary; the chariot of the priestess being drawn by a pair of white oxen. It was on an occasion similar to this that, the oxen being tardy in arriving from the country, Cleobis and Biton yoked themselves to their mother's chariot, and, having drawn Cydippe to the temple, a distance of forty-five stadia, laid themselves to rest, after assisting at the festival. And the goddess, in response to the prayer of her priestess, to reward their filial devotion by the greatest boon she could bestow upon men, reposed the youths in eternal sleep. The Argives erected statues to the brothers at Delphi; and Pausanias (ii. 20) saw a relief at Argos representing the scene as Solon had related the story to Croesus, when pressed by him to name a man happier than himself (Herodotus, i. 81). For the fame of Hera's sanctuary had spread beyond Greece. In Greece itself it was esteemed second only to Olympia and Delphi; and it was here, according to a legend which reaches us through a later source (Dictys Cret., i. 16), that the assembled Greeks chose Agamemnon as their leader in their expedition against Troy, and swore allegiance to him.

The original temple was destroyed by fire in the ninth year of the

Peloponnesian war (423 B.C.) through the negligence of the priestess Chrysis, who fell asleep after placing a lamp near some dried wreaths. The fact that Thucydides (iv. 133) breaks his narrative to refer to this event is proof of the importance which the whole Greek world attached to the ancient sanctuary. The Argives, therefore, in the ninetieth Olympiad (420–416 B.C.) employed Eupolemos, their great architect, to build a new temple, on a scale of greater splendor, a little below the old one, whose hallowed precincts were not disturbed. Pausanias, who has left us a minute description of the site (ii. 17–18), states that the foundations "and whatever else the flames had spared" were visible on the higher ground; and before them was the statue of Chrysis. He then describes the new temple, above the columns of which, *i. e.*, on the metopes and pediments, were represented, on one side, the birth of Zeus and the Gigantomachia, and on the other, the war against Troy (probably the departure of Agamemnon and his comrades), and the capture of Ilium. Before the entrance were the statues of all the priestesses of the temple, and of other heroes, including that of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon. The cella contained the colossal chryselephantine statue of Hera by Polycleitus; the goddess being seated on a throne, with a pomegranate in one hand, and in the other a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo—her sacred bird. Another statue, in ivory and gold, that of Hebe, by Naucydes, the brother of Polycleitus, had disappeared. But the temple still contained many other works of art and innumerable treasures: a sacred xoanon—a wooden image of Hera made out of wild-pear and brought by the Argives from Tiryns when they destroyed that place; the shield which Menelaus took from Euphorbus at Troy; the couch of Hera; a silver altar; a golden crown and purple robe, offered by Nero; and a peacock—the symbol of the goddess—made of gold and set with precious stones, which Hadrian presented to the temple.

Pausanias goes on to define the site of the sanctuary as being on the lower declivity of Mount Eubœa, with the Eleutherion flowing on the one side, the northwestern, and the Asterion, on the other, the southeastern. Asterion, it was fabled, had three daughters, who were the nurses of Hera; viz., Eubœa, from whom the mountain on which the Heræum stood took its name; Acræa, whose name was given to the hill opposite; and Prosymna, by whose name the region below the sanctuary was known. A herb also, which grew on the banks of the river, was called Asterion; and worshippers formed chaplets of its leaves and offered them to Hera. The distances of the sanctuary from Argos and

Mycenæ are given by both Pausanias and Strabo, and also by Herodotus, in relating the story of Cydippe.

It will thus be seen that the precision of Pausanias is such as "almost to guide the antiquary by the hand in his researches." Yet the site of the Heræum, long and anxiously sought for, eluded the persistent inquiries of travellers in Greece. Leake ("Morca," ii. 387 *et seq.*) relates how, on March 17, 1806, he followed the road from Mycenæ to Nauplia "for about ten miles in search of the Heræum," and how, "not finding any traces of the temple," he crossed the plain to a spot where stood "two small ruined churches, in the wall of one of which he observed a part of a Doric column of such a large diameter that he had little doubt of its having been brought from the ruins of the Heræum." Leake, like his predecessors, was thus baffled in his search after what appeared to be a will-o'-the-wisp. He had at least the satisfaction of announcing later its discovery by a countryman of his. Gen. Th. Gordon, one of the noble band of Philhellenes who, in 1821, took part in the Greek struggle for independence, visited the country again in 1828 and resided at Argos; devoting his leisure from military duties to archæological research. He had made repeated, but fruitless, endeavors to trace the Heræum, when, in the autumn of 1831, while on a shooting expedition in no way connected with this purpose, his attention was attracted by a massive polygonal wall dividing two successive levels of Mount Eubœa. He could entertain no doubt that chance had revealed to him the secret which had not yielded to systematic search; and he soon verified, as exact, the details given by Pausanias.

The late George Finlay, who was then at Nauplia, visited the site, and sent an account of the discovery to Leake, who published it in his "Peloponnesiaca" (pp. 258-264); the testimony of Prof. Friedrich Thiersch, of Munich, the celebrated Hellenist and Philhellene, being also adduced. Finlay explains to Leake why the latter had failed to hit upon the spot: "It is a few hundred yards nearer the hills than where you passed; but two ravines [those formed by the two rivers] isolate the site and prevent it from being reached by riding close along the slope of the hills." It lies three-quarters of a mile to the left of the modern post-road leading to Nauplia; and this road runs along the easier but more extended line on the plain; whereas the ancient festal way from Mycenæ passed higher up the hills, but was abandoned when, through neglect, the torrents broke it up and carried away the bridges. This circumstance would also explain the apparent discrepancy in the distances given by Pausanias and Strabo respectively. Mr. Finlay pro-

ceeds to describe the remains then visible above ground, including "the fragment of a Doric column eleven feet six inches in circumference, with twenty flutings . . . a quantity of pottery scattered about," etc. He also speaks of certain subterraneous passages into which he penetrated for some distance.

When Gordon visited Greece once more, he undertook, at his own cost, in the autumn of 1836, an excavation on a limited scale. He was again accompanied by Mr. Finlay, whose account of the exploration is inserted in the "*Peloponnesiaca*" along with an excellent plan of the site by "J. Robertson, of the staff of Maj.-Gen. Gordon, of the Greek forces in the Peloponnesus." Gordon rightly judged that the new temple would be found under the Cyclopean wall; and there he actually unearthed its foundations. He recovered, among other objects, "part of a marble peacock, part of a large antefix of terra cotta painted like the tail of a peacock, a lion of bronze, six inches long," etc. These and other indications enabled Leake to conjecture accurately enough the character and style of the temple. Gordon's discovery is also recorded at length by Wm. Mure, in his "*Journal of a Tour in Greece*" (1842, ii. 177-182), who adds: "to judge from its success, were it to be followed up on a more extended plan, it could not fail to be productive of valuable results."

This advice was acted upon by Prof. Conrad Bursian and the Greek scholar, the late A. Rangabé, sometime Greek Envoy in Washington. Their joint exploration of the Heræum in the autumn of 1854, though limited by want of funds, elucidated practically every point that remained in doubt. Not only was the exact position of both temples ascertained, but it was established that the later of the two was a Doric peripteral temple with six columns at each end; and the recovered fragments of sculpture confirmed the belief that the edifice was one of the most perfect specimens of the great epoch of Greek art and architecture. A *stoa*, the "cross-cistern," and other structures, now completely cleared by the American explorers, were also located, as may be seen from the plans appended to Bursian's "*Geographie von Griech.*" (ii. 47) and Curtius's "*Peloponnesus*" (ii. 395, *ut*. xvi). Bursian published a more detailed account in the "*Bulletino*" (1854, ii. 13), while Rangabé's report appeared in the form of a letter to the German archæologist, L. Ross ("*Ausgrabung beim Tempel der Hera unweit Argos*," Halle, 1855). To this report is appended a list of the 552 objects recovered during the excavation; including 72 architectural and 350 sculptured fragments,—heads, torsos, arms, draperies, etc.,—2 inscrip-

tions, 17 vases, etc., all of which were deposited in the small museum at Argos.

It will thus be seen that the only task left to be accomplished was to remove the superincumbent soil from remains as to the nature and value of which there remained no reasonable doubt. Dr. Waldstein had made a very judicious choice. Never was an exploration undertaken on premises more certain, within lines more accurately defined, or on a site more precisely circumscribed. The entire extent of the sacred precinct is about 230 metres long by 110 wide. Mount Eubœa, itself a sort of foothill of the loftier Mount Tretus,—one of the two elevations between which Mycenæ lies,—slopes gently toward the south, and forms an irregular triangle with its base toward the plain of Argos. The surface of this high ground is divided into three terraces or platforms, rising one above the other. The uppermost terrace, on which the old temple stood, measures 50 metres from east to west, and is nearly as wide. It is retained on the south and partly at the ends by the "Cyclopean wall," already noticed, which is built of huge irregular blocks of great antiquity. The wall is still in good preservation and, as if to mock the failures of those that had sought the spot, forms a conspicuous object, clearly visible from the plain opposite and as far as Argos and Nauplia. The second terrace, a little larger than the first, lies twelve metres lower down, immediately under the wall. On it rose the temple built by Eupolemos. The ground then slopes quickly toward the plain; but it is precipitous on the east side, where it is retained by a wall of Hellenic masonry. Toward the west it inclines to a third terrace, which is the most extensive of the three. The entire site is enclosed on three sides by the ravines formed by the Asterion and Eleutherion, which are now dried up, except when swollen into torrents by heavy rains. These ravines offered additional facilities for the disposal of the excavated soil,—always a source of embarrassment to explorers.

The first campaign began on February 15, 1892, and was continued till the first week in April under Dr. Waldstein, who was accompanied by Messrs. C. L. Brownson, B. Newhall, and H. F. De Cou; Mr. T. A. Fox, architect, of Boston, having charge of the surveys, measurements, and plans. Work was begun simultaneously on the three plateaus with a large and gradually increasing body of men; and the explorers had not long to wait for substantial results. On the lowest terrace the foundations of a *stoa* 70 metres long were soon laid bare. Though no part of the superstructure was left, its similarity to the *stoa* of Eumenes at Athens was clear, and its masonry apparently contem-

poraneous with that of the new temple. At the eastern extremity of this terrace the cross-shaped cistern, already noticed, was identified, and near it was unearthed what seemed to be a bath. It was here, no doubt, that worshippers purified themselves before proceeding to the shrine. A little beyond, a shaft, sunk vertically in the rock, having been cleared of earth, was found to branch off into several underground galleries, one of which was followed for a distance of some thirty-four metres. The explorers express no definite opinion as to the purpose of these galleries. The conjecture that one of them was an "aqueduct fed by the Eleutherion" is not tenable, since this gallery is carried across the bed of that river, a distance of fourteen metres, by means of a walled and roofed passage. I venture to suggest that we have here a system of conduits made to intercept the water which flows under the porous soil of Argos, exactly as it does in the plain of Athens. In a formation of schist, the water, which elsewhere is drained into streams, runs underground into the sea. Many of those who bathe in the Bay of Phalerum have tasted the sweet water bubbling up from the bed of the sea. A few years ago a most elaborate system of similar galleries was discovered under the slope of Mount Parnes; and the ancient aqueduct in the plain, into which the water thus collected flowed, was traced all the way to Athens. When cleared of the accumulated soil, these galleries began again to yield a liberal supply of water. The waterworks of the town of Brighton, in England, are constructed on a like principle. I have, therefore, little doubt that the galleries under the Heræum, if cleared to their farthest extremities, would again be filled with water. The ancient sanctuary had no other water-supply.

On the upper plateau, the ruins of the earlier temple were found, —presumably much in the condition in which Pausanias saw them. They consist of a low wall 14.30 metres long, on some of the upper stones of which are visible the circles traced for the columns. A considerable extent of the terrace is paved with polygonal stones. Masses of porous stone, split by the action of fire, and a thick layer of burnt wood tell the story of a conflagration. Judging from the absence of other vestiges, the walls of the superstructure were, in all probability, of wood and clay, like those of the temple of Hera at Olympia. The foundation-walls, however, appear to be of an earlier date than the Olympian Heræum; in which case we have here the earliest temple in Hellas. Certain rude engraved stones found on this terrace are of the highest interest in respect to the history of the primitive art of Greece.

On the next terrace, the foundations of the second temple having

been laid bare, its stereobate or platform was found to measure 39.60 by 19.94 metres. Only a few drums and one capital of a column were recovered during the first season; but as the latter supplied the diameter at the neck of the column, it served as a sufficient guide to the other dimensions. The absence of more considerable remains made it clear that during the Middle Ages the temple must have suffered complete devastation. It may have fallen into ruins at an earlier date. But undoubtedly it was then plundered systematically; since nothing remains, even of the upper courses of the stylobate, and in places parts of the foundations themselves have been broken up. Block after block must have been hurled into the plain below, to be used as building-material at Argos and as far as Nauplia. Unmistakable fragments of the temple have been noticed imbedded in buildings along the plain.

Numerous fragments of sculpture were recovered—evidently parts of the subjects adorning the pediments and metopes. The most important of these is the now famous female head, unearthed on February 4, only a foot and a half below ground. A few days later a very fine male torso, in perfect preservation, was found inside the temple. Another torso, apparently of an Amazon, and two heads, certainly belonging to the metopes, followed. The beautiful female head Dr. Waldstein identified as that of Hera, from the pedimental groups, and undoubtedly the work of Polycleitus. Its ascription to Hera is generally accepted; but as to its workmanship and original position there are well-founded doubts. The style of Polycleitus, which is well known from extant copies of his works, is not clearly traceable in this graceful head, which speaks of a greater affinity with the Athenian types. Moreover, the other unquestionable fragments of the pedimental sculptures are said to be of a different marble from this.

Between the later temple and the Cyclopean wall, the remains of another portico, the "North Stoa," were discovered. It is 55.50 metres long and of a good period, though later than the temple. On the southern slope, a broad flight of steps was met with; and the conjecture that it led to a kind of propylæum, forming an approach to the temple, was confirmed by subsequent excavations. A large quantity of pottery, terra-cotta figurines, and some bronze objects were found in different parts of the ruins.

The most important find of this class of objects was made in the slope to the west of the temple. Here, at a depth of from eight to ten feet, a thick layer of black earth was met with on the incline of the underlying rock; and for three weeks it continued yielding an immense

number of terra-cotta heads and figurines of all descriptions and dates; fragments of vases and of archaic pottery; iron, bronze, stone, amber, bone, and ivory objects of all kinds; mirrors, beads, pins, and seals; figures of animals, and scarabs,—evidently Egyptian imports of very early date. All these objects were found massed together in successive heaps, mingled with the bones of animals. This latter fact confirmed the conclusion—suggested also by the stratification of these heaps—that the refuse of old altars, and cast-off offerings, once held sacred, were shot here, in order to level up the slope, at some date earlier than the building of the new temple. It is, I venture to think, more probable, that at least a large portion of this refuse must have come from the clearance of the superincumbent mass of rubbish on the upper terrace after the fire. This supposition gains strength from the fact that in the same spot were found bisected drums of columns which must have belonged to the old temple. They bear peculiarly worked holes for the ropes by means of which they were lifted into position—a device observed only in the oldest temples of Sicily. This veritable treasure trove was completely excavated during the following campaigns; yielding no less than eighty “basketfuls” of various objects,—all of the greatest value in respect to primitive art and conducive to the solution of many questions arising out of the discovery of similar objects at Troy, Mycenæ, Tiryns, Laconia, and elsewhere.

These results of the first season sufficiently indicate the nature of the entire exploration, which was completed during the springs of 1893, 1894, and 1895. Gangs of men, numbering at times as many as two hundred and fifty, were employed under the direction of Dr. Waldstein, who, being frequently absent on other quests, was replaced by Mr. H. S. Washington and Mr. J. C. Hoppin. Dr. Waldstein acknowledges the “enthusiasm and unselfish devotion” of Mr. Washington, and says: “I can hardly realize how the undertaking could have been carried out, as it has been done, without his coöperation.” Like credit is due to Mr. Hoppin, who took charge of the last season’s work, and to Mr. E. L. Tilton, who acted as architect. Most of the other students of the School participated in the last three campaigns, the outcome of which may be summarized as follows:

Immediately above the flight of steps on the southern slope of the temple, where it was thought a kind of propylæum might exist, the remains of another *stoa*, 45 metres long and 13 wide, were discovered. Of its nine Doric pillars portions were found *in situ*, the capitals lying near. The walls are of fine Hellenic masonry; and the entire building

must have formed a most imposing approach to the temple. Among its ruins were found a number of the huge drums and other architectural and sculptural fragments of the temple, which, it was evident, in falling from above, must have crushed through the roof of the *stoa*; its floor being littered in places with the remains of roof-tiles and metopes. Nevertheless it is the best preserved of all the building in the *Heræum*. A flight of steps leads up to this *stoa*; while traces of another great staircase were found covering the slope to the west of the temple.

Between the Cyclopean wall and the North *Stoa*, the foundations of two sets of buildings, of an earlier and a later date, resting on two different levels, were traced. The later one extends to a length of a hundred metres, with an average depth of ten metres. The earlier buildings are evidently of great antiquity, and, from objects found in them, are believed to have served as the dwellings of the priestesses or attendants of the original temple. The remains of several other structures were unearthed on the two lower terraces, at a depth varying from twenty-five to thirty feet below the foundations of the new temple. Their use and purpose remain undefined; but two of them, measuring 33 by 30 and 31 by 11.40 metres respectively, may have served as a gymnasium and a treasury. Close to what has been styled the "West Building," parts of a Doric entablature were met with, bearing vivid polychrome ornamentations.

The entire appearance of the *Heræum* may now be pretty accurately figured, with its "imposing buildings rising from the foot of the hill upward, tier upon tier, to the terrace of the old temple on the summit." It has also been made clear that the earlier structures and their approaches were massed on the west, toward *Mycenæ*; while the later ones faced *Argos*, to the southeast; each set thus testifying to the successive supremacy of the two cities.

Beyond the sacred precincts, to the west of the temple on the banks of the *Eleutherion*, an extensive system of Roman baths was traced and cleared; while within the precincts, but outside the *peribolus* of the old temple, some very early graves, similar to those found at *Salamis*, were discovered. About half a mile west of the temple, other tombs, of the earliest *Mycenæan* beehive shape, were met with. In one of these, 2.50 metres in diameter and 3.40 in height, no less than forty-nine vases, nearly all perfect, and several other archaic objects were found. It was fortunately possible to photograph the entire sepulchral arrangement before anything was removed, the rays of the sun lighting the interior of the tomb through the opening above.

The exploration of the Heræum, though involving no original research, has undoubtedly yielded results of high scientific importance. Without admitting that it is "the model excavation in Greece,"—for the German exploration of Olympia still holds its preëminence in this respect,—it is a source of legitimate pride to the American Scholars whose zeal and perseverance brought the work to a satisfactory conclusion; and it reflects honor on those whose liberality rendered the undertaking possible. But the actual scientific value of the exploration must depend on the manner in which its results are treated and published. With the exception of Mr. Brownson's report on the first season's work, the available accounts of the several campaigns are of a provisional kind and somewhat meagre. Exact and exhaustive treatises require, no doubt, much time and conscientious labor. Yet, for this very reason, one turns with appreciation to the able treatment which the inscriptions and stamped tiles have already received at the hands of Profs. J. R. Wheeler and R. B. Robinson respectively.

The inscriptions of the Heræum are the only class of objects which, in number and importance, have fallen below reasonable expectations. But they include one of very great interest,—a bronze plaque 8 inches square, with eleven lines written boustrophedon in the earliest Argive characters, of which very few examples are extant. The yield of sculptures has proved richer than the first season promised. Some of the best pieces were discovered during Mr. Hoppin's superintendence of the fourth campaign. The fragments recovered are now being pieced together, with the help of the Greek restorer, Koulouris, at the Central Museum at Athens. And, although one may not be prepared to admit that "even those of the Parthenon can hardly rival them," what may fairly be said of the Heræum sculptures is, that they will add materially to our knowledge of the best epoch of Argive art.

The harvest of minor objects—including gold and silver ornaments, engraved gems and glass scarabs—is simply immense. Curiously enough, iron objects are here plentiful and remarkable, among them being a strange looking object, 5 feet long and 1 foot in diameter, which proved to be a mass of iron spears held together at the ends by iron bands,—no doubt an offering after a victory or on the conclusion of a peace. These objects now fill a large room of the Central Museum at Athens, and require much labor before they can be satisfactorily pieced together, classified, and adequately elucidated. J. GENNADIUS.

The Forum

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THE POLICY OF ANNEXATION FOR AMERICA.

FEW questions are of more importance to the United States than those which are raised by the proposals recently made that the Republic should acquire territories lying in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Any such acquisition would constitute a new departure of a serious nature. It would mean the undertaking of a new set of responsibilities, the entering into new paths of administration, the adoption of new lines of policy. Evidently, therefore, it deserves to be closely examined from every point of view.

One who is not himself a citizen of the United States, even when he is requested (as I have been) to express an opinion, may hesitate to write upon a subject which properly belongs to citizens, and on which the views of a stranger may be suspected of a bias due to his European nationality. Still one who can honestly say that his only motive for writing is his interest in the welfare of the great country which he has often visited, and whose institutions and history he has studied, may perhaps venture, without fear of misconception, to say in an American magazine how the questions referred to present themselves to the minds of those English friends of America who love her almost as they love their own island.

Let me begin by saying not only that what I have to write will be written from an American point of view, but also that in Britain there exists no feeling of hostility, or even of jealousy, toward the United States in respect of these proposed acquisitions of territory. I have never heard them discussed in conversation in London. Once or twice

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a question has been asked in the House of Commons; but the subject has been immediately dropped, without the slightest sign of interest in it. It does not occupy the British mind at all, and has indeed remained almost unnoticed, except by those few persons who, having visited America themselves, have thought about its probable influence upon the well-being of that country.

Great Britain has no direct interest in the fortunes of either Cuba or Hawaii. She has no wish to obtain any fresh possessions in the West Indies; and indeed the condition of the islands which she does own is not such as to dispose her to hunger after any others,—especially islands with a population like that of Cuba. The idea of taking it has never once been suggested.

As for Hawaii, Britain might have had it years and years ago, and did not care to take it. During the last five years—since the question of the future of Hawaii was raised by the dethronement of Queen Liliuokalani—the British Government has never, so far as I know, interfered in any way. Certainly it had not done so up to the time when Lord Rosebery's cabinet quitted office in 1895; and I do not think Lord Salisbury has, in this respect, departed in any way from the policy of his predecessors. An Englishman may therefore fairly claim that his views need not be at all colored by national feeling, and that no anti-British feeling—so far as such feeling exists in the United States—need influence the American people in their consideration of the question.

The argument most frequently used in the United States, to recommend the annexation of Cuba and Hawaii, is that their annexation would strengthen the strategic position of America, by giving her two points of naval vantage—one commanding the Caribbean Sea, and the other the Eastern Pacific; thus protecting her southern and western coasts.

Now let it be noticed how exceptionally strong is the position which America already holds. Of the great Powers of the world, she and Russia are the only ones that have no insular territories to defend. All the territory of the United States is territory on her own continent; and all of it, except Alaska, is continuous land territory. Accordingly, America and Russia are the only countries no part of whose territory can be cut off from them by a naval enemy. They are also countries of such enormous size and such advantages for defence that no one thinks of invading their interior. Since Napoleon's failure in 1812, it is admitted that an attempt to penetrate the interior of Russia would fail; and an attempt to invade the United States would have even less chance of success.

Every other great European Power has territories which lie at the mercy of a stronger hostile fleet. Britain has to defend not only Ireland, but her vast colonial and Indian dominions. France has colonies which are practically hostages to England or to any other naval Power that might be able to drive France off the seas. They are not very important hostages; but, so far as they go, hostages they are. Similarly, the even less valuable colonial possessions of Germany are hostages both to France and to England, as both these countries have fleets stronger than the German; and although the capture of these outlying territories would not affect the issue of a European struggle, still the loss would be felt by any of these Powers as, in some measure, a humiliation, and would become an element to be considered in settling the terms of a peace.

Just in the same way, Cuba and Hawaii, in the hands of the United States, would be liable, at the outbreak of a war, to be seized by the fleet of any enemy stronger at sea; and the only way to prevent this would be for the United States to maintain a fleet in the Pacific and another in the Gulf of Mexico powerful enough to defend both islands. Now, of course, the United States can, if she likes, build and maintain a navy adequate for this purpose. But is it worth her while to do so? Why should she spend the hundreds of millions of dollars that would be needed? Of all the great Powers of the world, she is the one least likely to be attacked; not only because she has few occasions for quarrelling with other states, but also because no other state has anything to win by fighting her. There is not a Power in the world which would not lose more than it could possibly gain by a war with America; so that the only circumstance that can be imagined as likely to induce a war is great exasperation of feeling arising from overbearing conduct, or injurious language proceeding from one or other party to the dispute. The conclusion follows that, unless the United States desired to undertake some war of aggression,—also an improbable hypothesis,—she has no occasion for a navy equal in numbers and armament to the navies of the greatest European Powers. In other words, a great navy would be to her a luxury, and a very costly luxury. We in England are unluckily obliged to have a formidable navy, because we are confronted by formidable and not always friendly rivals, and have an immense trade and wide colonial dominions to protect. We deplore the gigantic sums that we are annually obliged to devote to our fleet,—sums all the larger because fashion in naval matters changes so fast that a ship which has cost some millions of dollars may in a few years be pronounced obso-

lete. It is however supposed—whether rightly or wrongly I need not enquire—that Britain cannot help herself, and must go on increasing her annual naval vote.

I am aware that some of my valued friends in the United States, such as Captain Mahan and Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, do not agree with the view I am stating. Nevertheless, I must again express my belief that the United States is under no such necessity as either England or her European neighbors to create a great and costly navy. A few vessels, sufficient to protect the rights of American citizens in the territories of semi-civilized states, seem sufficient for any needs that are likely to arise; seeing that the real strength of the country is to be found in its territorial invulnerability and in the fact that no other country can hope to gain anything from strife with it. With these advantages, and with her immense population and wealth, America is powerful enough to be able to dispense in the future, as she has successfully dispensed in the past, with those armaments the maintenance of which presses with such terrible weight on England and France, on Germany and Italy.

If there be any force in these considerations, it follows that the annexation of either Cuba or Hawaii would be a source not of strength, but of weakness. It may be proper for America to see that neither island falls into the hands of any possible naval enemy. Neither, however, is threatened with any such danger; and the expression of the feelings of the United States would be sufficient at any time to avert it, just as a despatch of Mr. Seward's led Louis Napoleon to withdraw his troops from Mexico.

There is another argument used by those who advocate annexation which, though seldom directly advanced, appears in the praises bestowed on the beauty and richness of Cuba and of the Hawaiian Islands. It is suggested that these islands would be desirable properties, fit for American citizens to migrate to and settle in. The continental territories of the United States are so far from being filled up, that the question of finding fresh dwellings for her inhabitants belongs to a distant future. But are these islands suitable for colonization? On the contrary, their climates are much too hot for the Anglo-American race to work in; and both of them are peopled already by races from much hotter countries, fitter to stand the heat. There is no room in Cuba, with its population of Spaniards and blacks; and the only openings to be found in it for Americans would be in commercial business. The Hawaiian archipelago has a climate more agreeable, because tempered by the trade winds: but

the strong sun forbids men of our race to attempt physical out-of-door labor; and as there are at the present time a good many Americans, Englishmen, and Germans engaged in trade and the professions, I doubt if there is space left for more settlers of the trading and professional classes—not to add that the isles are just as open to colonists now as they would be if annexed.

The mention of the existing population suggests a further and most material question. Supposing either Cuba or Hawaii, or both of them, to be annexed to the United States, how are they to be governed? The most obvious course would be to admit each into the Union as a new State. So far as the quantity of the population goes, Cuba has inhabitants enough to make a respectable State: Hawaii, however, has not; and it would probably become a mere pocket borough, quite unfit to send two Senators to Washington.

But let us look at the quality of the population. In Cuba, there are many Creole Spaniards, but many more negroes and mulattoes. Nobody can think it desirable to increase the black element in the American Union, seeing that there are already more than seven millions of negroes in the South, that in three great States there is a negro majority, and that all over the South the bulk of the white people deem it necessary to hold the colored vote under control by one kind of device or another. Moreover, in all the Southern States—even in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana—there is a large, capable, and energetic white population of Anglo-American stock, which keeps the State government in its hands, and prevents the recurrence of phenomena like those which marked the first years after the War of Secession. In Cuba, however, there would be no such American element. Creole Spaniards and negroes would have it all their own way; and it would be a way not consonant with the spirit of American institutions.

Next, as to Hawaii. According to the Census of 1896, the population of the islands consisted of the following elements (omitting the smallest):—

Population.	Number.	Population.	Number.
Hawaiians (pure and mixed) ..	89,504	Americans	3,080
Japanese	25,407	British	2,250
Chinese	21,616	Germans	1,433
Portuguese	15,291		

That is to say, out of a total population of (in round numbers) 109,-

000, only 6,700—or about one-sixteenth—belong to the three educated European stocks which are capable of working self-governing democratic institutions; while, omitting the Portuguese, 87,000, or about four-fifths of the total, are Polynesians and Asiatics, obviously unfit for free representative government. Such a population, if erected into a State, would be neither a useful member of the Union nor qualified to conduct the business of legislation and administration within its own borders.

In this connection it deserves to be remarked that the island of Jamaica—where the slaves were emancipated in 1834—had at one time a kind of representative government given to it by Britain. This government worked so badly, owing to the great number of negroes, and the angry feelings that often arose between them and the whites, that representative institutions had to be withdrawn (I think about thirty years ago); and the island is now governed as a crown colony.

Would it then be possible to make Cuba and the Hawaiian Islands Territories instead of States? This plan would avoid the mischief of allowing them to send Senators and Representatives to Washington, but would be open to the other objections just discussed; for the population would be as ill-fitted to govern themselves through a Territorial as through a State legislature. The provisions of the Constitution which secure equal rights to citizens irrespective of race and color are no less applicable to Territories than to States. It is moreover to be noted that the status of a Territory has heretofore been deemed a transitory and provisional one, intended to lead up in due time, when the region becomes more densely populated by competent citizens, to the higher status of statehood. Here, however, there is no reason to think that in sixty or eighty years either of these islands will be conspicuously fitter to be turned into a State than it is to-day. Of Cuba I have spoken already. Anyone who regards merely the area of the Hawaiian group might think them capable of supporting a much larger population. But the interior and much of the west coast of Hawaii—which is by far the largest island—being lofty, rainless, and stony, are practically desert, and will remain so; and large parts of the other isles are too rough and mountainous to be susceptible of tillage. Besides, any additional agricultural population must be a population of Asiatic or Polynesian race, since men of Teutonic stock cannot do field labor under so hot a sun.

Since neither State nor Territorial government could be introduced in Cuba or Hawaii, it follows that some form of government would have to be invented for and applied to them,—a form resembling that despotic government which Britain has found herself obliged to apply to her

tropical crown colonies. In these colonies, such as Ceylon, Singapore, and Fiji, administration is entrusted to a governor (appointed by the home government) and a small council, in which the official members always hold a majority, so that it does not act as a check on the governor, but is an instrument in his hands. The only remedy against any error, or any abuse of executive power, committed by a governor lies in an appeal to the Colonial Office in London.

This British crown-colony system works fairly well, though now and then an unwise or tactless governor gets things into a sad tangle. But its generally fair working is due to two facts: One is that our colonial officials are members of a permanent and regularly trained civil service¹—standing almost entirely outside politics—through the lower grades of which they rise to the more difficult and responsible posts. We have so many crown colonies that the service is pretty numerous; and good men can usually be selected for important posts with a confidence based upon their previous training and record. The other fact is that we have in the Colonial Office a large administrative department which is entirely outside politics, except that its head, the Secretary of State, is a member of the cabinet for the time being; and the permanent officials of this department have had a long and intimate experience in the control of crown colonies which enables them to exercise a generally efficient oversight upon the doings of the governors. Were it not for these arrangements, matured by the practice of very many years, the administration of our crown colonies would be very faulty, and might occasionally become corrupt. Were the United States, therefore, to endeavor to administer Cuba and Hawaii as we administer our crown colonies, the want of a body of trained officials for service abroad and of a properly organized Colonial Office at home would cause the greatest difficulties. The case of Alaska is nowise in point, because Alaska is a wild country of forests and glaciers, inhabited by a few savages, whereas in Cuba and Hawaii there would be a considerable number of Europeans to rule over. In Cuba, the Europeans are apparently turbulent. In Hawaii, they are orderly and exceptionally intelligent and capable; but their very intelligence would make it unfitting to place them under the arbitrary authority of a government from Washington.

The fact is that American institutions are quite unsuited to the gov-

¹Persons who have not been members of the regular colonial service are sometimes appointed to colonial posts; but they have usually been members of the home civil service or have held some public position which enables their qualifications to be judged of.

ernment of dependencies. Those institutions are pervaded all through by the principles of equality and the habits of self-government. They do not adapt themselves to countries where the population consists of elements utterly unequal and dissimilar, as is the case in Hawaii, nor to cases where the American element ought not to be expected to forego its right to self-government, but where, nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants, whether negroes or Asiatics, ought not to be trusted to govern even themselves, much less their white neighbors.

Britain has had painful experience of these difficulties in her own colonies; yet in her monarchical system and her colonial service she possesses machinery much more flexible and more adaptable to these conditions than the far more consistently democratic system of the United States has ever possessed or seems capable of constructing. In other words, the problems which the United States would have to solve in Cuba or in Hawaii, were either of them to be annexed, would be, for the United States, perfectly new and extremely perplexing problems. He must be a sanguine man who thinks that a democratic government, intended to be worked by educated men of the best European stock, whose ancestors have enjoyed freedom and been accustomed to self-government for centuries, can, without danger to its new subjects and injury to itself, either set up among an inferior and dissimilar population its own democratic institutions or so far depart from all its own traditions as to attempt to govern that population and its own citizens abroad by despotic methods.

These and other objections to the annexation of Cuba and Hawaii—for it is only to one class of objections that I am adverting—are so obvious that it is difficult not to believe that the main, though perhaps only half-conscious, motive in the minds of the advocates of annexation, results from the notion that it is a fine thing for a great country to have vast territories, and to see marked as her own, on the map of the world, dominions beyond her natural borders. This notion has certainly influenced European peoples, and may have infected some among the American people; though it seems more strange in a country whose own territory is so much richer, and so much better as a home for civilized man, than is the territory, whether domestic or recently conquered, of any European state.

France has recently been led into annexations for the sake of imitating and rivalling Britain. Envyng the commercial prosperity of Britain, she has come to attribute this prosperity to the possession of transmarine colonies, and has accordingly been led to occupy Tonking

and large parts of Central Africa, and to seize Madagascar. These acquisitions have so far been wholly unprofitable; imposing a serious strain upon the finances of France, with no prospect of any corresponding return either in revenue or in commercial development. Germany and Italy have still more recently followed in the same path. Italy has been forced to pause; and her best friends hope she will go no farther. Germany—or at least the so-called Colonial party in Germany—seems captivated by the idea that new dominions will mean new markets, and will lead to a further development of her trade. With this object, she has laid hold of great regions in East Africa, in Southwest Africa, in West Central Africa, and in New Guinea. All these regions are in the tropics, and being extremely unhealthy, are utterly unfit for European settlement. They are inhabited by savages unaccustomed to industry, and are extremely unlikely to grow into good markets within any assignable time. Many years must pass, and large sums be sunk in improvements, before they can pay for the expense of their own administration, not to add that they are, as I have already observed, virtually hostages to stronger naval Powers.

How stands it with Great Britain? More by a series of what may be called historical accidents, than from any deliberate purpose, Britain has acquired vast transmarine possessions. Most of these acquisitions were incidental to her wars with France and Spain. The war waged against France, largely in defence of the British North-American colonies, gave her Canada. The war with Napoleon gave her South Africa, where she established herself not with the intention of colonizing the country, but to secure a half-way house to India. By good fortune, Canada, South Africa, and Australasia have turned out to be territories fit to receive the overflow of her own population, and, lying in the temperate zone, are being filled with industrious and civilized inhabitants, who have received self-government. The colonies in these regions have now become so many democratic commonwealths, managing their own affairs, though protected by the navy of the mother-country. They are orderly and prosperous; and they furnish, in spite of the protective tariff which most of them have set up, good markets. But this is because their inhabitants are of British stock, industrious, and intelligent: were they inhabited by savages, they would be worthless.

The tropical possessions of Britain belong to a very different category. India, which she was led on to conquer by that sort of natural law which makes it almost impossible for a great civilized Power to dwell side by side with half-civilized states without either conquering or com-

ing to dominate them,—India constitutes a large market for European goods, but a market equally open to the United States and to Germany as to Britain; for no differential tariff has been imposed. So far from drawing any revenue from India, the state of the Indian revenue is a constant source of disquietude to us. We are proud, not unreasonably, of what we have done to establish peace and order and to promote education there. But India is not a source of strength to Britain. The responsibilities which our control of it imposes are tremendous. More than any other part of the British dominions, India gives our statesmen sleepless nights.

As for the immense regions in tropical Africa, which Britain has recently acquired, they are of no profit to us, and probably will be of no profit for a century to come. South of the Zambezi, Englishmen can live and bring up children. North of the Zambezi, save in a very few elevated spots, Central Africa is everywhere malarious, and its inhabitants are barbarous. The administration of the country will cost more than the country will return. The example Britain has set, in taking East Central Africa, for instance,—a region into which she was drawn by a train of circumstances she could hardly control,—is one not to be recommended for imitation. It cannot be denied that the impulse or fancy for coloring new territories British on the map has had something to do with these recent extensions of British authority. But the impulse has been in some cases an unfortunate one; and this needless assumption of responsibilities, with no prospect of a corresponding return, will be doubly unfortunate if it helps to lead the United States into any similar courses.

What have the United States to gain by territorial extension? No parts of the earth's surface remain in which colonies like the British self-governing colonies can be planted. Tropical dominions would cost more than they are worth; and they are occupied by races unfit to receive American institutions. Possessing on her own continent an enormous territory of unequalled natural resources, and capable of easily supporting more than twice its present population, the United States needs no transmarine domains in which to expand. One sometimes hears it said that her mission is to spread democratic principles. Polynesians and Asiatics, Creole Spaniards and mulattoes are not fit to receive those principles. Neither are negroes fit, as the history of Hayti and of most of the South-American so-called "republics" proves.

The United States has already a great and splendid mission in building up between the oceans a free, happy, and prosperous nation of two

hundred millions of people. And one of the noblest parts of her mission in the world has been to show to the older peoples and states an example of abstention from the quarrels and wars and conquests that make up so large and so lamentable a part of the annals of Europe. Her remote position and her immense power have, as I have said, delivered her from that burden of military and naval armaments which presses with crushing weight upon the peoples of Europe. It would be, for her, a descent from what may be called the pedestal of wise and pacific detachment on which she now stands, were she to yield to that earth-hunger which has been raging among the European states, and to imitate the aggressive methods which some of them have pursued. The policy of creating great armaments and of annexing territories beyond the sea would be, if a stranger may venture to say so, an un-American policy, and a complete departure from the maxims—approved by long experience—of the illustrious founders of the Republic.

JAMES BRYCE.

THE WOLCOTT COMMISSION AND ITS RESULTS.

THIRTY years have elapsed since an authoritative declaration in favor of the single gold standard of value was first promulgated at the International Monetary Conference which assembled at Paris. Other conferences have been held; and other agreements between the leading commercial nations of the world looking toward the regulation of the coinage of the money metals have been undertaken; but no change from the pronouncement of 1867 has ever been made.

Apparently, international bimetallism is to-day more hopeless than at any time in the history of the movement. This is true, notwithstanding the repeated efforts put forth by parties and governments in its behalf. If it be possessed of soundness as a principle of monetary science, of value as a business necessity, or of practicability in the business world, at least three conferences of the great Powers have failed to disclose such facts. The most earnest advocate of the cause cannot complain that it has not been fairly treated or given a generous and impartial hearing. It is certain that such complaint cannot be lodged by anyone in the United States who has believed in the potency of bimetallism as a factor essential to relieving the country of the financial distress from which, at recurrent periods, it has suffered.

The Federal Government authorities, irrespective of political affiliations, have always been willing to further any plan that would tend to incorporate into international commercial transactions a standard recognizing silver and gold as of equal dignity and value. At each conference, the American representatives have been urgent in their demands and earnest in their appeals; but their suggestions have never been assented to, nor have they ever been able to report satisfactory progress. The best that has been given out by any of those who, on behalf of the United States, have participated in the conferences has been that there is an awakened interest in bimetallism in Great Britain, France, and Germany on the part of the agricultural classes, and even in the financial centres; but somehow the reported change never reaches proportions sufficient to control the legislative bodies of those countries, or to affect the responsible ministry to the extent of taking any really serious steps toward rehabilitating silver. It was one of these sporadic

awakenings, which in the opinion of the Bimetallist meant the accomplishment of something substantial, that caused Congress to enact a measure authorizing the President to appoint a commission to visit Europe, to secure attendance at another international monetary conference. If the public at large took little note of the undertaking at the time, it is now willing, in the light of known facts, to credit those sent abroad with earnestness and honesty in their endeavors to succeed.

The effective force upon the Commission was the junior Senator from Colorado, Mr. Wolcott. It is doubtful if the President could have chosen from his supporters a man better fitted for the duties to be discharged. However much one may differ from Senator Wolcott, his abilities are not to be denied, nor can his strength in advocating a matter in which he interests himself be overestimated. He has the power of eloquence quite as much as anyone in public life, and an address which, when called into play, makes him thoroughly persuasive. The Bimetallist in the United States never had a more thoroughly equipped representative at the courts of Europe, nor one who had more at stake. Mr. Wolcott stood as the recognized spokesman upon a great issue for the new Administration, with whom he had cast his lot, as against the position taken by his colleague in the Senate and the people of his State. Success gained would give to him a prestige abroad, a higher position in the Senate, and reestablish his power at home. With so much at issue, he must have labored so zealously as to make it impossible to believe that the Administration was not sincere in its attempt to secure a bimetallic standard through international coöperation.

The failure of the Commission, under these circumstances, to interest the governments concerned even to the extent of calling a conference together should be accepted as contradictory to the boast that the Bimetallists are increasing in numbers in any European country. It is true the French ministry, on the surface of things, seemed to give encouragement to the American plan; but it was on the surface only. An analysis of the part really played by them proves that underneath it all there was a great deal of diplomacy. I am confident that the impossibility of obtaining a conference, or of gaining consent to the propositions laid down as the basis of action in behalf of silver, was apparent to the French supporters of Senator Wolcott and his associates; but the responsibility of demonstrating that fact could easily be shifted to the British cabinet, and France be thereby relieved of the charge that it no longer took an interest in the subject. It was international politics and not the hope of securing international bimetallism that dictated the at-

titude of the French representative at the meeting with the Marquis of Salisbury and the American Commissioners on October 15. If the French people wish international bimetallism, it is not because of any belief in either the wisdom or the practicability of it as a monetary principle, but for the purpose of unloading the silver now possessed by them upon this country. With this accomplished, the plan could be permitted to fall to the ground without either regret or protest on their part.

It is boasted that the Commission was very near a complete success; and the interest of France in all that was done and the plans proposed are pointed to as confirming this claim. But this cannot stand when the diplomatic side to the whole affair is considered. How far removed was anything substantial is also proved not only by the absence of any representative of Germany, but by the fact that the German authorities scouted the whole thing. No party considerations, based upon a hope to satisfy the demands of the agriculturist or lessen his power, caused the slightest evidence of a wish to change from the standard maintained throughout the years of that empire's growth in political power and commercial importance. This position of absolute straightforwardness and unyielding adherence to gold monometallism on the part of Emperor William's government stands in striking contrast to the shifting position of Lord Salisbury and the British cabinet.

It can be fairly doubted if at any time Lord Salisbury designed to yield at all to the views of those who were urging favorable action. The byplay with the Bank of England, ending as it did, only made the governor of that bulwark of English financial power ridiculous, and brought down upon his head and that of the Prime Minister the condemnation of the English business world. The terms conditional to the Bank keeping one-fifth of its reserve against bank-note issues, named in the letter of the governor, were, in the very nature of things, impossible of being carried out; but even so much of a concession was felt to be a weakening influence to the institution. It was signifying a willingness, if the plan was entered upon, to substitute a partially fire-proof structure for a wholly fire-proof one. Such an act could only lessen the power of British credit everywhere, and reduce the standing of the English pound sterling to the level of the moneys of those countries which have been indifferent to their standards of monetary value and have tampered with their currencies. If the letter was ever authorized, it certainly was never carefully considered. If it was drawn out by Lord Salisbury in order to test the sentiment of British constituencies upon the subject of his willingness to carry on a coquetry with silver,

it was speedily disclosed to him how strongly averse they were to yielding a single inch. The interests of the British Isles, great and small, embracing all classes and all avocations, recognized at once the danger which the whole proceeding invited. The earnest protest of the bankers of London did not shift from the government to themselves any odium whatsoever. The masses in this instance found their views expressed clearly by the bank presidents; and the effectiveness of the action taken was quickly recognized in the announced change of intention on the part of the cabinet.

If Lord Salisbury was at any time sincere in the encouragement held out to the advocates of bimetallism, he certainly displayed a lack of knowledge of the strength of the gold-standard adherents throughout the Empire. The reply of the Indian government signified that that standard was desired for India, and that such was the end sought when the mints were closed to the free coinage of silver. It was impossible that India should so soon undertake a new experiment; nor could there be a belief indulged in that the par of her exchanges would be made more stable by entering upon something that theretofore had not brought about such a result. The Bimetallist has nothing to hope from the Indian government. Lord Salisbury's note, addressed to the United States Ambassador and to the French Ambassador, makes this so plain that he who runs may read.

Thus deprived of support from India, and denied aid and comfort at home, neither Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, nor Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, no matter how friendly they may be to silver, dare commit the government to an act which, in the smallest degree, could be interpreted to show a willingness to swerve from a strict maintenance of the existing standard of value. The proposals of Senator Wolcott, on behalf of the Commission, to Lord Salisbury embraced things impossible to grant, with the authorities of the Bank of England, of whom only a very small minority probably ever entered into the suggestion, driven to the wall, and the Indian government withholding a willingness to accede to any change whatsoever. The proposition made to join with France in a change of the ratio to a point still further reducing the commercial value of silver in the dollar, only added to the embarrassment of the situation. It was yielding far too much to gain a showing of harmony of action and purpose on the part of the representatives of the two countries most in danger from their accumulations of silver. The impossibility of making good such an offer cannot have occurred to the Commission even if made in good faith.

Moreover, there is nothing to warrant the belief that an Act embodying such a proposition would be passed by Congress or, if enacted, would receive Executive sanction. The authority for committing the Government to so great a piece of folly could not have been vested in the Commission, for no administration would wish to stand sponsor for a change so vitally affecting every interest in the land.

With the return of our representatives, bearing neither acceptances of a new monetary conference in the interest of international bimetalism nor promises of a future consideration of the subject, it would seem that every thoughtful citizen and law-maker must realize, in the light of all the facts, how impossible is the task of accomplishing the thing sought. American representatives have attended monetary conferences for nearly a third of a century, in order that something might be done for silver, only to see nation after nation desert the use of it to adopt a gold standard. The laws of Congress have failed, as against the decrees of commerce; and, with advancing refinements in the science of bank exchanges, the use of silver will be still further lessened. The countries of the Orient have deserted the silver standard in order to conform to commercial necessities, as have also the republics of South America. No great nation save ours is striving to move backward, because, in no other great nation is the question discussed in the hope of attaining political place and power. There is no virtue in the eloquence of a Commission or the finesse of diplomacy sufficient to gain the assent to any scheme of international bimetalism; and the part of wisdom is to abandon the attempt and to accept the fact.

The professed Bimetallist who deems the adoption of bimetalism by the United States alone a possibility, "without the consent or aid of any other nation," is a silver monometallist using the term "Bimetallist" either because he deceives himself or thinks he is deceiving his neighbors. If he searches the financial history of his own country, he will find that he is without warrant for the assertion that it now is or ever has been a practicable scheme.

It is not feasible to maintain simultaneously in practical operation the things essential to the maintenance of the bimetallic standard. The ratio must be maintained between silver and gold as fixed by law. In addition, the coins made from the metals must be moneys of absolute redemption; every dollar coined being of the value of every other dollar entering into circulation. Every dollar must maintain itself independently, so that one dollar can be exchanged for another without loss, or that property may be transferred in exchange for either silver or

gold dollars with equal freedom and profit. The legal-tender properties attaching to each and every dollar coined from the metals must be full; and the coinage of the metals must be free and unlimited for the owner of the metal, without profit accruing to the Government. When all these elements are provided for, full concurrent circulation of the dollars so coined must be always present. If, at any time, any one of the factors enumerated be wanting, it is not a bimetallic standard that is established, nor a bimetallic circulation in operation, but either an alternating standard and circulation or a single standard with a single coin in circulation. The history of the United States under the operation of any of our coinage Acts fails to show a time when these things, prerequisites to a bimetallic circulation, have ever been in combined action. At no time have the coins from the two metals circulated independently of one another; each coin maintaining of itself its full value independently of the other. An independent, concurrent circulation of the two coins, with equal redemptive value, without the sustaining power of one under the other, has never characterized our metal circulating media. The maintenance of the silver dollar with a gold prop under it, or *vice versa*, deprives the one or the other, of the character of a money of redemption. The country's coinage laws have always given heretofore a single standard of value and a single self-sustaining circulation. At one time, a silver standard and a silver circulation; at another period a gold standard and a gold circulation; but never a bimetallic standard and a bimetallic circulation.

The history of the past ought to be a guide to the future. If an international agreement be, from all the facts, an impossibility, that phase of the money question ought to be abandoned by the American people. If bimetallism within our own country has never existed, there is no ground for belief that it ever will, and the undertaking of it now is fruitless. In its last analysis, the final contest must be between the adherents of the single gold standard and those who believe in the single silver one. This at least is made plain by the return of the Commission and this is the measure of the benefit—no small one—gained by its trip abroad. The question ought to be definitely settled and should no longer enter, as an element of doubt, into the commercial life of the American people. It should be eliminated from the arena of politics, so that, with each recurring national election, every contract and every value may not be rendered uncertain or disturbed.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

NOTABLE LETTERS FROM MY POLITICAL FRIENDS.—III.

THE collection of letters now presented must form the last of my contributions to *THE FORUM* for the present, as my time is claimed by other duties.

MR. E. D. SANBORN, born at Gilmanton, New Hampshire, May 14, 1808, was for many years a professor in Dartmouth College, where he enjoyed a high reputation, and where, when a vacancy occurred, many thought he ought to have been appointed to the presidency. He was a very popular public lecturer; and the churches of neighboring towns were eager to obtain his services in the pulpit when their own clergymen were absent. Occasionally he came on these errands to my native town of Strafford, where I made his acquaintance and was glad to have him as a guest at my house. It has been related that a minister in Connecticut asked the minister of a neighboring town to exchange with him so frequently that the church finally voted, that an exchange would "no longer be granted without a peck of beans to boot." Had such a demand been presented in Strafford, the "boot" would, without doubt, have been promptly paid. Prof. Sanborn was the father of Miss Kate Sanborn, the authoress.

In 1861, the upheaval of parties in Missouri was excessive, and the State became too warlike to be enjoyed as a home residence. The Professor, having removed to St. Louis to stay, was in a quandary—not knowing where to go—when he wrote me the following letter:—

ST. LOUIS, MO., Jan. 17, 1861.

DEAR SIR:

Looking over, to-day, Emerson's new work entitled "The Conduct of Life," I find the following remark: "A man who stands on a good footing with the heads of parties at Washington reads the rumors of the newspapers and the guesses of provincial politicians with a key to the right and wrong in each statement, and sees well enough where all this will end."

Emerson is called the "Sage of Concord"; but in this oracle of

his I doubt whether his sagacity serves him well. On reading the paragraph, the thought occurred to me that there might be a shadow of truth in it; and, thinking over my friends at Washington, I resolved, at once, to put the question directly to some of them. Now, my good friend, do you, from your point of observation, see through this matter? Can you predict, with any confidence, where it will end? When I lived at Hanover, I used to follow, with deep interest, your Congressional labors. I saw that you were laboring for the public good with a zeal and earnestness worthy of the highest commendation. The bills you introduced and advocated, with so much ability, called for my sympathy and my *admiration too*. Since I came to St. Louis, I have lost sight of you and your labors. The present troubles of the country hang a cloud of gloom and despondency about this thrifty city. I begin to doubt whether its past history will not be its best memorial. I can almost say, with *Hamlet*, "It goes so heavily with my disposition, that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why, it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours."

I used to be hopeful, and thought I never should despair of the Republic; but I begin to fear that our fair experiment of self-government is ended. The fifth act of the great drama has come to a close in the very youth of the players. Can it be so? This State is under the control of Secessionists. They may prove its ruin. Northern men will find small consolation in a Southern Confederacy. Do you see aught to encourage a reasonable man? Or must the inevitable negro ruin us all? If the two sections are permanently separated, let them take, for their coat of arms, respectively, a negro crowned and a negro fettered; and, with such pictorial emblazonry, sail in all seas.

If you have leisure to write me a friendly line, on public or private affairs, it will be gratefully received.

Yours truly,

E. D. SANBORN.

HON. J. MORRILL.

On the receipt of a copy of Greeley's "*Essays on Political Economy*," I sent the author the following letter. His reply, also subjoined, contains a very frank criticism of John Stuart Mill.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 15, 1870.

DEAR SIR :

I have to thank you for the copy I have received of your "Essays on Political Economy," although I had not failed to read them as they appeared in the "Tribune." I know of no work wherein the facts and arguments are so plainly and forcibly presented; and I cannot doubt that it will have a wide circulation and be the means of exposing many of the sophisms of Free Trade which are now circulated by means obtained from those directly interested in the spread of un-American ideas.

On reading over the work, I find many pages written with such power and admirable clearness that I cannot but regret that you could not have devoted at least a year of your time to a work less popular perhaps, but more elaborate, and such as might find a place in our institutions of learning, where nothing is now taught except what is found in the masterpieces of Free-Trade authors. Students now have no other food; and they often write to me for something with which to refute Adam Smith, Ricardo, McCulloch, etc., etc. All I can do is to refer them to Carey; but unfortunately, with Americans, Carey is not a popular author, and is rather too diffuse. But I merely wished to express my wish, as you have shown your ability, that you would give to the world a truly great work. For what you designed to do, nothing could be better than your "Essays"; but we need the work I have indicated, I fear, more than you are aware of. All our college-educated men are educated as Free-Traders. This ought not to be so.

Very sincerely yours,

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

HON. HORACE GREELEY,
New York.

NEW YORK, Jan. 16, 1870.

DEAR SIR :

I fear if I should attempt such a work as you suggest, I should make it as hard reading as Carey. Don't you think Stuart Mill at once heavy and commonplace? He has whole pages of non-essential truisms; and his profundity is often dullness.

I may try a larger work by and by; at present, it seemed to me best to be short, sharp, and to keep to the points actually in dispute.

Yours,

HON. JUSTIN S. MORRILL,
U. S. Senate.

HORACE GREELEY.

Of many letters received, cordially approving my antagonism to the San Domingo treaty, one came from Amasa Walker, father of the distinguished Francis A. Walker, late President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Mr. Walker was born at Woodstock, Connecticut, May 4, 1799. At one time a merchant, he ultimately became a Free-Trade writer on political economy.

The letter referred to is as follows:—

WASHINGTON, April 8, 1871.

HON. J. S. MORRILL.

Dear Sir: You made an admirable speech on the San Domingo Question; and it will have a telling effect. Its statistics and economic views of the productions, trade, and resources of the island are valuable; and, as a matter of reference, I should like a pamphlet copy, if you have the speech printed in that form. Direct to me at Census Office.

I am, with great respect,

Yours truly,

AMASA WALKER.

P. S. The American people don't relish the idea of being cheated in a bargain; and your speech shows that they would be, if they took San Domingo at any price. It is for that reason that I anticipate more effect from it than, perhaps, any other speech. A. W.

The only letter received by me not in harmony with my speech against the San Domingo annexation treaty, was one in a jocular mood from my friend Israel Washburn, of Maine, who, as stated in the November FORUM, had been appointed (by President Lincoln) Collector of the Port at Portland. It reads:—

PORTLAND, May 1, 1871.

MY DEAR JUSTIN:

I fear you have been too long in the damp, steamy atmosphere of Washington, and away from the healthful influences of the breezy hills of Vermont. You seem to have lost something of your confidence in human nature. Believe me, Justin, all the world is not going to the bad. "Boss" Tweed will come to grief; Sardanapalus Fiske will go where the "woodbine twineth," and the city of New York will put on clean garments; Grant will be reëlected; the Ku-Klux will be besquelched; honest men will come to their own. San Domingo will keep Nebraska in check, and steady all the States and give Protestantism a foothold

in the West Indies. The Collector at Portland will retire to the green hills of *old* Oxford; and tears shall be wiped from the face of the Senator from Vermont. So mote it be!

Amen!

I. WASHBURN.

I was opposed to the San Domingo treaty of President Grant, and made a speech against it, based upon the impolicy of the admission of a part of that island into the Union as a State to be represented in the United States Senate and House of Representatives; but I made no assault upon the President. Some valuable statistics were obtained by me from Gen. Sherman.

As time progressed, both Senator Sumner and Horace Greeley appeared to me to be getting ready, for different reasons, to resist the re-election of Grant, should he be renominated, as it seemed most likely he would be. I felt it to be a duty to try, in a quiet way, to prevent any Republican rupture, and wrote not only to Senator Sumner and Greeley, but to the Secretary of State on the same subject. Mr. Fish was then conciliatory; but the voices of Sumner and Greeley were for war, bitter and relentless.

At a recent meeting of the Massachusetts Republican Club, Senator Hoar, with his usual wit and acumen, spoke of Grant and Sumner as follows:—

“It was not strange that, under the circumstances, President Grant and Mr. Sumner should have failed to do justice to each other. One was a man of war: the other, a man of peace. One was a man of deeds: the other, a man of words. It has always seemed to me as if Mr. Sumner thought the rebellion was put down by a few speeches which he made in the Senate, and that he looked upon the battles fought as the noise of a fire-engine going by while he was talking. But where they are now, they know each other. Grant knows now there was never a braver, truer man than Sumner. Sumner knows there was never a nobler, better man than Grant.”

The following are the letters referred to:—

COTUIT-PORT, 8th Sept., '70.

MY DEAR MR. MORRILL:

I am obliged by your excellent letter, so full of friendly suggestions. While I feel very much its kindness, I ask myself constantly what there is in my public life that should lead anyone to suppose that I should sacrifice any public interest to personal objects. I am a public servant

bound to consult the interests of my country ; and when human prejudice is buried in my grave, my enemies shall judge me in this respect.

We are to act on facts. Of course such incidents as have lately occurred—the insane pressure of the San Domingo Treaty, the brutality of conduct toward an illustrious citizen of Massachusetts, the indignity to this State, the open offence toward her senators and representatives—must be taken into account in our estimate of the President. But we must make the best of him, and do as well with him as we can. So far as there is a breach now, it is of his making. What may be our relations in the future, will depend upon him. But he can do nothing which can make me swerve from my duties to my country as a Senator.

The brutality toward Motley is absolutely without precedent in our history. Never was there anything like it,—such a citizen degraded and insulted before the whole civilized world by the President who had appointed him. But this utterly indefensible conduct is aggravated painfully by the excuses, apologies, and reasons which are obviously pretexts, subterfuges, and after-thoughts. The President *thinks* he is governed by them, and then *says* so ; but *he deceives himself*. He will not deceive others. So far as I am concerned, I make no issue. I did not in the Senate. I avoided all allusion to myself. If any reference is made to me it is by others ; and so it will be always. The excuse he assigned to you is No. 4 or 5. Driven in succession from others, he adopts another as untenable as all others. But if this were the reason, why degrade Motley ? Why be angry with him ? Why speak insultingly of him ? Why say that he would rather have “Jonathan Root as Minister to London” ? There was a time when he felt grateful for Motley’s speech and support. What caused the change ? When did it occur ? On what evidence ? At what prompting ? Nye came to me before leaving, and told me that Mr. — was at the bottom of the business,—that he had taken advantage of the President’s anger about San Domingo and excited him against Motley. It was Mr. — who first announced, at 11 o’clock at night, at the “Herald” office, on Newspaper Row, that a change would be made. Now, his reasons are perfectly well known. He did not conceal them. He came home offended with Motley, and during the late session, got in the same condition toward me, from general antagonism on foreign relations,—especially Cuba and San Domingo. He advised the President to make an example of Sumner’s friends, and to begin with Motley, who was a “snob.” The President’s first excuse (No. 1) was that he desired “somebody more American,”—as if Motley were not *ultra*-American and red hot.

Wilson came to see me two or three days ago. I found him feeling stronger than ever about the treatment of Motley. He said that every excuse from the President or his friends made it worse; that there was but *one real origin* for it. I met Boutwell at a large dinner at Franklin Haven's. The question was much discussed, when B—— interposed a Presidential excuse. Rev. Dr. Lothrop at once exclaimed, "This makes it worse, and shows that the public has not been wrong in attributing the reason."

Governor Washburn, of Mass., and Geo. Bemis have just returned from Europe, full of indignation about the course of the President. Washburn wishes to do something; believing Motley a deeply injured man. Both report that Motley felt sure that there was nothing in the reports which preceded his recall—"because the President and Secretary of State were both his friends"! How little did he know! If the President had had a cabinet, this could not have been done. Somebody would have resigned.

From various intimations there is reason to believe that the President will push the San Domingo treaty again. I wish that our public were better instructed upon it. Why not publish your speech? It was, like everything you do, faithful and able. The country ought to see it. The old understanding was that a Senator might publish what he said himself, if it contained no allusion to the position of another Senator. If not in this way, then print it as a lecture.

I have consented to lecture this autumn, and am now in the hands of the Lecture Bureau. What subject shall I take? Give me your judgment.

- (1) San Domingo and Annexation of the West Indies.
- (2) The word "White."
- (3) Foreign Relations generally, and the Duties of our Republic abroad.
- (4) Free Public Libraries and their Importance.

I always try to take advantage of the hearers I obtain, and press some points of importance in our affairs. Which of these do you approve? Or can you suggest something?

I have come here for a week,—where quiet reigns and office-seekers do not come,—to do some work. I shall not be in Boston before the middle of next week.

Ever sincerely yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

To this I replied as follows:—

STRAFFORD, VT., Sept. 10, 1870.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER,
Boston, Mass.

My Dear Sir: I was glad to receive your favor from Cotuit, and yet it leaves something on my mind to regret. When Grant ceases to be President, he will be mainly remembered as the leader of the Union Army. At present he is the first man in the nation; and you should not expect him to be oblivious of this fact. He will make no advances to you. The only course for even tolerable harmony is to accept the facts. Motley cannot anywhere be retained after what has occurred; but I think the President might be quite willing to keep silent, if you would. Nothing can be made by discussion; and to stand on the defensive all summer will be irksome even to the President. But you characterize his acts, and that with severity,—perhaps with greater severity than you are aware of. Your words must leap out in your conversation, and they will inevitably reach the ears of the President. "Brutality," "indignity," "offensive," "utterly indefensible conduct," "excuses, apologies, and reasons which are obviously pretexts, subterfuges, and afterthoughts," would make any man's ears tingle. It may be too much to ask you to forget and forgive; but I think it might be wise to let the subject "alone severely," and at the proper moment advise Secretary Fish of your purpose to do so. Otherwise, I feel sure that before six months elapse there will be attempts made to read you out of the party of the present Administration.

Can you not save Schurz? He is a charming Senator, but, like Drake, very impulsive; and I hope he will not be crowded into any corner where he will have to enter upon a campaign against Grant and for Free Trade, and at last be forced to jump into the embraces of the enemy. I think a word from you to him at once would be timely.

As to lecture topics, you are more competent to judge than myself; but I think the public are wearied with the word "White," and perhaps enough has been said by congressional orators. At any rate, no matter how ably handled, the subject is stale. "Free Libraries" is unquestionably a good topic; but it is bookish—as good for any other literary man as for yourself—and unlikely to awaken as keen an interest in your audiences as would "Foreign Relations generally and the Duties of our Republic abroad," which all the world would be eager to listen to and would recognize your fitness to handle.

Very truly yours,

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

GARRISON, Sept. 6, 1870.

MY DEAR SENATOR:

Your letter reaches me this evening. I will forward the enclosure to the President at Long Branch. I am to meet him on Friday at Washington, and will enquire if the letter has been received, and, if not, propound the questions in your letter.

I hope you may succeed with Mr. S. His article about M——on his supposed return was a misfire. M——is still in London. I hope that S——may be pacified; but he is manifesting an uncomfortable amount of resentment. He must not be allowed to throw himself away. If you can use a little stern remonstrance, and point out the danger to him, rather than the loss to the party, it will be well. He is of great value and importance to us; but, unfortunately, he thinks that value and importance to embrace the existence of the party. It is hard, with one of his age and long service, to speak frankly and tell him that the party is of more importance to every man within its ranks than any man, be he who he may, is to the party. I shall labor and hope; but I confess to much fear. He nourishes his supposed griefs, and seems to take comfort in imagining everything that is done without him, or contrary to his wishes, as a personal offence aimed at him; but "sicker children have been cured," and we must not give him up.

Very faithfully yours,

HAMILTON FISH.

HON. J. S. MORRILL,
U. S. Senator, Strafford, Vt.

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HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 26, 1871.

HON. J. S. MORRILL, of Vt.,
U. S. Senator.

Dear Sir: You asked me to procure you some statistics of the sanitary condition of the English troops in Jamaica, with a view to a comparison, in case we have San Domingo.

I beg you will be careful not to draw me, one way or other, into the controversy which naturally and properly accompanies every great movement in our country; for, although I have most positive opinions on this and most questions, it would be exceedingly improper for me to express such opinions to you, a Senator. Simply because from curiosity I went one day to the Senate to hear the debate on the San Domingo Question, I

was universally reported to have been there to logroll for the success of the scheme ; whereas, long since I told the President that all my predilections were *against* the incorporation into our Union of States of any of the West-Indian Islands. But as to statistics,—you have in hand a document published this year at the Public Printing Office entitled “Report on Barracks and Hospitals—Circular No 4, from the Surgeon General’s Office, War Dept.” On pages 27 and 28 is a carefully prepared tabular statement of the death-rate per 1,000 men of our own army in the several districts of our country, and of the English army stationed all over the world ; the highest death-rate being in Bombay and Jamaica.

In your Library of Congress you will find a most admirable work, in annual volumes from 1859 to present date, giving the results of the medical reports of the English army on its sanitary condition. See the table on page 133 of the volume for 1860. Apart from the death-rate, epidemic and malarial fevers in Jamaica and San Domingo will kill or disable one-third of a Northern regiment per annum. Where good food, clothing, and quarters can be supplied, the black troops lose more per thousand than the white ; but the latter fail most rapidly when exposed to the rains, dews, and woods of the tropics.

If you feel disposed to follow the subject as to white colonists who must work, see Beckford’s “Account of Jamaica,” pages 330 and 331, volume II. I will also send with this an account of the attempt made in 1863–4–5 to colonize some of our emancipated blacks on an island off the south coast of San Domingo, which so signally failed that our Government actually chartered a ship and brought them back.

I am, with great respect, truly yours,

W. T. SHERMAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 11, 1872.

HON. HORACE GREELEY,
New York.

My Dear Sir : I have been a life-long subscriber to the “Tribune” ; and its present attitude grieves me. Whether intended or not, your blows, aimed at individuals, hit the party ; and ere long it is evident you will not be a recognized leader of the party. It must have an organ that at least is just. I care not how fiercely any rascality is assailed ; but surely the whole Republican party has not suddenly become rotten. I feel also that this may be an episode that you cannot afford,—it will not well round off your life. You cannot afford

to sunder old party attachments ; but you can afford to labor for the purification and elevation of the party which has so long looked to you for counsel and advice. . . .

It seems to me we ought to improve and stand by the great principles of the Republican party ; and I should view with profound regret anything which may mar or extinguish your usefulness.

I have lamented the personal bickerings of the Senate, and still hope there may be some way by which they may be healed. You could aid much in such a result.

I trust you will pardon the freedom I have taken, and believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

NEW YORK, March 12, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR :

Can you really believe that the maker of the first Grant cabinet (or anyone subservient to that) is fit for a President ? I cannot.

I forgive the ignorant, who talk as you do ; I hold such as you responsible for misleading them. The man who could make such cabinets as Grant has had, is hardly fit for a justice of the peace. And the cabinets are symbolical of the whole concern.

Gen. Grant has seen fit to make especial war on my friends in this State. He did this repeatedly, and without excuse. He made a very fair distribution of his patronage in this State. There was no complaint, and no cause for any. The next year he undid his own work, and proscribed all who were formerly known as Radicals, lately as "Fenton" men. No true reason for this can be given that does not discredit his sagacity or his integrity.

We did not make war ; we were warred upon, and had to stand on the defensive. It is now too late for reconciliation. We must go to the wall, or he must.

The man cannot be reëlected. At least, I think so. That he ought not to be, I believe you think as well as I do.

As to myself, the end of my career cannot be distant. I was a pack-horse for Weed and Seward for the first half of my career. I revolted at last, and was not ruined. I can bear whatever the future has in store for me.

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

HON. J. S. MORRILL.

The visit made by me, with Mr. Blaine, to Europe in 1867, was a very delightful one. Wherever we went, he seemed better informed, in relation to the historic events of the locality, than even the residents. When he was in Europe again, in 1887, he wrote to me as follows:—

IMPERIAL HOTEL, CORK, IRELAND,
Aug. 10, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. MORRILL:

Being here on a general run through Ireland, I am forcibly reminded of the morning, twenty years ago in June last, when you and I reached here after one night at Queenstown. The recollections of that trip have always been among the most pleasant of my life, and are, of course, indelibly and most agreeably associated with you. Much has happened since, which neither of us could foresee then; but through it all, throughout its sunshine and its storms, I have always felt that I had your regard, as you have had mine in a full measure. . . .

This is a distressed land, and, as they seem to me, a broken-hearted people. The spring and elasticity, which you and I found in them twenty years ago, seem all gone now; and sullen despair appears to have come in its place. With success and esteem, my dear friend,

Yours most faithfully,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

HON. J. S. MORRILL.

To this I replied as follows:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 18, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. BLAINE:

Your much esteemed favor of last August should have had an earlier response, but I have waited to learn to whose care I could address you, and have only just ascertained from Senator Hale.

Of course I have not failed to notice that you have occasionally revisited places around which my memory still lingers, where twenty years ago we were together and enjoyed, as Yankees do a dinner, a good deal in a short time. How marvellous was the first view of the beauty of the Emerald Isle, as well as that of the land of Burns and Scott, and then of Shakespeare and Chatham, with the cathedrals and Houses of Parliament, Kennebec Morse and our prim and able plenipo., Adams, and the Chichester races. Across the channel we found Napoleon the Little, with his troop of 100 black horses at his heels, in all his glory,—but all that has vanished.

I suppose you may, if you choose, still have your "immortal gorge"¹ of picture galleries; but it will be more difficult to get enough of the Simplon and Mont Blanc. It is difficult for me wholly to dismiss from memory even the minor notes of our trip: the Irish dog-carts and Blarney Stone, the Alpine horn, the serviceable G—— (who subsequently fell so far), ex-Gov. Curtin, who wanted to be our next Republican V.-P., and the British M. P. who ignored the "No smoking" notice on the French cars. I had a delightful 120 days; and they were made specially delightful by having you as a companion. You have a better fortune now, in having Mrs. Blaine, your daughters, and the witty and brilliant "Gail"; but I believe the latter did not reach you early enough to obtain the credit of your late *Message* from Paris; and now you will have the credit of whatever she writes for the "North American Review"! . . .

We miss you in the Senate, though it is not dull all the time now. It strikes me that our friends are less aggressive than we should be. Politically, parties at the last election were pretty equally balanced; and at our next election, the vote of the State of New York will be decisive, and that will be determined by the size of the Democratic vote in the City of New York. We all think that the *Message* of the President will restore the country to the hands of the Republicans. Our opponents of the late Kentucky school are equally confident the other way. . . .

I am, as ever,

Truly yours,

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

When the magnificent present of diamonds from the Khedive of Egypt came to Gen. Sherman, as a wedding present to a daughter, it at once occurred to me that it ought not to subject the General to a large payment of duties. It was a pleasure to me to render some service, by a joint resolution of Congress, providing for the free admission of the gift, which was finally accepted. Instead of being given to one daughter, however, as was intended by the donor, the diamonds, I believe, were distributed among the ladies of the family.

In reference to my action in this matter, I received from Gen. Sherman the letter printed on the following page.

¹ Referring to a fellow-student of Mr. Blaine's, who told his landlady that he had had his "immortal gorge" of gingerbread, hot or cold, three times a day.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE
UNITED STATES, ST. LOUIS, Mo.,
Feb. 19, 1875.

HON. J. S. MORRILL,
U. S. Senate.

My Dear Sir: My brother, the Senator, has written me of your kindness and courtesy in the matter of those diamonds; and I beg to thank you in the name of my daughter, the ultimate beneficiary. Honestly, I am so conscious of the possession of an elephant of the largest dimensions, that my thanks would be hollow. My daughter is married to a young man who has to scratch hard for a living. His whole income would not pay the tax which will be levied on this bauble, if brought within the State of Missouri. Therefore, it must remain hidden away, subject to expense and all the chances of robbery and charges for keeping.

It is a worse investment than the Sphinx, for that cannot be stolen or carried away; yet in the eyes of women it is the subject of envy. Had I dreamed that the Khedive had such a purpose in his mind, I would have frankly notified him, with the full belief that, as a man of sense, he would have changed his purpose. As it was, I sent him word, the moment the thing came to my knowledge, and begged him not to embarrass me by the possession of what could not minister to my honor or pleasure; but my letter must have reached Cairo too late.

If, without any agency on my part, these diamonds could be restored to their original hiding-place, I would so order; but the women-folks will hold on, though it carry them to the bottom of the sea.

If it requires any positive act on my part to obtain possession, I shall simply refuse to take it, and allow Uncle Sam to keep it in his safe-vault till I and the Khedive are dead, when the delicacy of the gift will be gone; and then this costly gift may be in a measure utilized. Now, it is simply a tax on my already strained purse.

Thanking you for this and many past acts of kindness,

I am, with great respect,

Your Friend,

W. T. SHERMAN,
General.

It will, I think, be admitted that this letter is thoroughly characteristic of one of the ablest and most lovable generals of the Union army.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

THE NATIONAL GUARD AND OUR SEA-COAST DEFENCE.

THE Artillery of the United States is in a stage of transition. It is not changing, like the oft-cited chrysalis, from the industrious grub to the idle, frolicsome butterfly; quite the reverse being the case. The beautiful parade artilleryman, with his white gloves and brightly polished brasses, is developing into the grimy, oil-saturated, hard-working fortress defender. The grassy slopes of Governor's Island and the Presidio of San Francisco already miss his martial tread; and the reaches of Sandy Hook and Point Bonito will soon claim him as their own.

While, in the future, the life of the artilleryman will be far from easy, it will, nevertheless, be full of interest. He is rapidly being transformed into a mechanical engineer; the problems that he will be called upon to solve requiring the highest scientific attainments.

The appropriations for permanent fortifications for the year ending June 30, 1897, were the largest ever made for that purpose in a single year; and the work on the new batteries has been pushed forward with the greatest vigor. Under these appropriations emplacements have been finished or are under construction for thirteen 12-inch, forty-seven 10-inch, and eighteen 8-inch rifles, and seventy-six 12-inch rifled mortars, besides rapid-fire- and machine-guns. This is but an excellent beginning; since many more batteries must be provided before our proposed scheme of sea-coast defence will have been completely carried into effect.

But who are to man these new fortifications in case of war? Our regular Artillery consists of only five regiments, which will allow fifty batteries of sixty-five men each for sea-coast defence: in time of war the light battery is as distinct from the fortress defenders as is the Cavalry. To man properly the defences of New York City alone,—as far as completed on July 1, 1897,—will consume one-half of our Artillery force.

For years, every annual report of the Commanding General of the Army has recommended an increase of the Artillery; but the increase has not yet come. When it does come, as it certainly must very soon, it will probably provide for only two additional regiments. This country will never support a corps of fifty thousand sea-coast defenders, any more than it will maintain a standing army of half a million Infantry.

Should war come, the hope of the country, both for Infantry and Artillery, lies in its National Guard. Forces, to almost any number, could be mobilized in a few days to operate against a land attack; but our enemies will not come by land. From the nature of our isolated situation, they must come in ships; and their object will be not so much to destroy life as to exact tribute. Within ten days after the declaration of war by a first-class naval Power, at least one of our principal harbors would be besieged by a fleet. Unless we could defend ourselves, a ransom of millions would have to be paid; for no city could afford to endure even half an hour's bombardment with the guns of the present day.

We could not rush laborers into our forts nowadays, to do the work of artillerymen. Colonel Waring's corps march admirably; but they would be as much out of place in a modern battery as in an astronomical observatory.

During the past thirty years quite as great an advance has been made in engines of war as in the appliances of peace. The guns and gun-carriages of to-day are as little like those of the Civil War, as are our office-buildings and railroad-cars like those of three decades ago. During the War, our largest gun, the 15-inch smooth-bore, had a muzzle energy of only 3,537 foot-tons; while our 12-inch rifle has a muzzle energy of 30,570; and our 16-inch rifle, now under construction, will have one of 64,084 foot-tons.

To the layman, the term "muzzle energy" gives but little idea of power. Perhaps the force contained in a 1,000-pound projectile, leaving a 12-inch gun with a velocity of 2,100 feet per second, will be better understood when it is borne in mind that the energy developed by this gun,—which is less than half that of the 16-inch gun,—is *five thousand foot-tons* greater than the energy stored up in a train of cars comprising a 60-ton locomotive and eight sleepers, weighing thirty tons each, traveling at the rate of fifty miles an hour. It is considered wonderful, and rightly so, that the Westinghouse air-brake will stop such a heavy train as this within five hundred feet; but the hydraulic brakes on a 12-inch carriage check the recoil of the gun without a jar *in four feet*.

The carriage used with the low-power guns of the War was a simple support for the trunnions, called the "top carriage," which, in the recoil, ran back upon an inclined pair of rails and was checked by friction and the dead-weight of the gun. The modern disappearing carriage is a mechanical marvel. It is as carefully made as a lathe, and deals with forces of enormous power. To raise and lower a mass of steel weighing

sixty tons is no easy matter: the Crozier-Buffington carriage, however, not only does this, but does it while the gun is hurling 1,000-pound shells with a speed of over 1,300 miles an hour. Such carriages are made as simple as possible; but, like other machines, their action must be studied and mastered before they can be properly used. One can imagine what would happen in a machine-shop, if an ignorant laborer should undertake to run an electric crane or operate a steam-hammer. A similar wreck would probably result if men, ignorant of breech mechanisms, the hydraulic brakes, and the method of raising and lowering the gun, attempted to work a rifle on a disappearing carriage.

These heavier guns and carriages also require more men than did those of the War time. Fifteen men are needed at the 12-inch gun,—not including men for magazine, range-finder, and relocater service. Making allowance for casualties, it may be readily seen that, in a fortification of any considerable number of guns, a very large number of men would be required in a protracted engagement.

There is another disturbing element, unknown to veterans of the Civil War,—an element which may prove so important a factor as to make it necessary frequently to change *all* the defenders of an attacked battery. This is the use of high explosives.

The action of these has been very thoroughly investigated abroad, both as to their effect upon troops in the field and in fortifications.

In one case an attack was made upon a structure representing a permanent fortification. The explosive used was not of the highest order, and was supposed to be a composition of blasting gelatine and sulphate of ammonia.

A correspondent thus describes his observations:—

“The charged shells, especially those fired from the 21-centimetre (8.27-inch) mortar, seem to have had a wonderfully destructive effect on the works at which they were fired, and to be capable of a most damaging influence on the nerves of men who are in the vicinity when they burst.

One day, the permanent work was to be bombarded by these mortars; and a number of officers got permission to remain in one of its casemates, or some other well-protected apartment, during the firing. After remaining there during a very slow fire for about two hours, a telegram was received from them saying they could stand it no longer; and the firing was stopped.

Although they had been perfectly safe, they were found to be in a very bad state of demoralization. The concussion produced by an exploding shell was so great that all found it impossible to remain seated when one burst on impact. One officer was quite sick for several days; and some, if not all, of the others, were in such a highly nervous condition that they could not sleep at all during the whole of the following night. This result is attributed to the extraordinary concussions,

the violent and sudden change in the density and pressure of the air, caused by the bursting of large shells filled with a high explosive. . . .

On the whole, the result of these exercises was to produce the conviction that no fortifications, as now built, are capable of offering a long resistance to modern artillery, firing shells filled with high explosives; and further that, if a fortification be subjected to a fairly accurate and not too slow fire of such shells, bursting on impact, although not a single man may be hit, the physiological effect produced by the concussion alone will in a short time compel the defenders to leave their guns, or at least incapacitate them from serving them."

From the above it will be seen that, should we be attacked by a first-class naval Power, the Artillery would not only be an exceedingly important branch of the service, but would require a very numerous personnel. Indeed it is not going too far to say that we should need 50,000 skilled artillerymen to defend our enormous coast-line.

As our regular forces can never form more than the nucleus of such an army, the supply of the remainder must necessarily fall upon the National Guard of the United States. But is the latter ready for this work, or has it even made a beginning toward preparing for such a demand?

The organized militia of the nation aggregates 111,867, of which 4,716—officers and men—belong to the Artillery arm. The State of New York, with the metropolis of the Union to defend, has an Artillery force of 402 men! But even the men counted in the State reports as Artillery know nothing about modern sea-coast defence. They are organized into field and Gatling-gun sections, or they exercise with the obsolete smooth-bore batteries, which have been erected in a number of the States: probably few of them have ever seen a high-power rifle.

A sea-coast Artillery organization, as a part of the National Guard, should be encouraged by the Government and be insisted on by all States adjacent to the seaboard.

There should be annual summer encampments at those forts that are provided with all the modern appliances; and practice should be had under the direction of regular officers of Artillery. In the winter, instruction should be given through lectures, delivered by Engineer, Ordnance, Artillery, and Naval officers, supplemented by the study of models. At the United States Military Academy, the Department of Ordnance and Gunnery is provided with exact working-models of every gun and carriage used in the service.

Our guardsmen will find the study an absorbing one; the mere firing of the guns being but a small part of modern Artillery practice. The good old days are past, when the gunner would affectionately pat his gun and invite "the old girl" to bring down the enemy's flag, and then

leisurely aim at the topmast of some old wooden tub a quarter of a mile away, speeding along at the rate of four miles an hour. We shall, in future, begin to fire at a range of 10,000 yards at ships having a speed of twenty knots an hour; and we shall not be able to waste many rounds at four or five hundred dollars a shot.

Until the ship is within a thousand yards of the battery, however, there will probably be but little firing in which the gunner will *sight* his gun at all. The guns will be aimed by "indirect laying"; and possibly no one at the battery will even know what the target is. The gunner will be given a certain elevation and azimuth, or angle of direction, by which he will set his gun; and there his responsibility will end.

With our 12-inch mortar batteries, no other method is possible; for the mortars are placed in deep pits, and the gunners cannot in any way see the object at which they aim. The design of these mortar batteries was worked out by General Abbot, of the Engineer Corps; and they have become a very important feature in our scheme of harbor defence. Each battery consists of four pits of four mortars each. The mortars will throw a 1,000-pound deck-piercing shell, filled with high explosive, about six miles; and they are very accurate.

A Board of Artillery Officers, called the "Board on the Regulation of Sea-Coast Artillery Fire," has been working for the past two years upon a system of fire control and direction for sea-coast forts. They have already submitted an outline of the system they recommend; and this has been approved by the Board of Ordnance and Fortification and adopted by the Secretary of War.

There are two principal systems of locating a ship or other object in a harbor; viz., the square system and that of polar coördinates. In the former, the whole harbor is divided on the chart into squares or other plane figures, which are numbered or lettered. It is then necessary only to indicate to the gunner the square in which the ship has been located by the range-finder, or in which it will be at a certain time, and he lays his gun accordingly; the elevation and direction of the gun necessary to reach that particular square having been previously ascertained. In the system of polar coördinates, the ship's distance and direction are obtained by means of a position-finder; and these two coördinates completely determine the position of the target. The square system was formerly prescribed for the Artillery; but the system of polar coördinates has now superseded it.

In the adopted scheme of fire control, all the guns are of course under the general direction of the commanding officer of the fort. The

fort would be organized into one or more "fire commands"; their size depending upon the area to be defended, or upon the number of guns that one officer could direct in action, or upon local conditions. Each fire command would be subdivided into a number of "groups"; each group consisting of as many guns as could be efficiently supervised in action by one officer and regulated by a single position-finder. Under the group commander would be the "gun directors,"—ordinarily non-commissioned officers,—each in charge of a single gun.

The instruction to the National Guard would therefore include the use of range-finders as well as the method of "tracking" vessels,—locating their successive places on a chart, and predicting their positions at stated times. Practice in predicting the position that a moving vessel will occupy at any given instant is a very important exercise. The Board on the Regulation of Sea-Coast Artillery Fire has devised a method of conducting this practice without firing which renders it almost as interesting and stimulating to the gunners as would be the case if they were actually "pegging away" at a target.

There will certainly be no lack of interesting material for study for the Sea-Coast Artillery branch of the National Guard. In fact there will be familiar work for everybody. Machinists will find much to interest them in the working of the carriages and the breech mechanisms; salesmen will find trolley-lines for projectiles that will remind them of the parcel-lines in their stores; electricians will find many old and some new friends among the electrical appliances; and brokers will find the fascinating ticker grinding out angles and distances.

There will also be an opportunity for the ambitious. During the War, the gallant Seventh New York furnished to the armies of the United States no less than six hundred and sixty-two commissioned officers, ranging in rank from major-general to lieutenant; and the crack Sea-Coast Artillery regiment of New York City will, without doubt, supply many Artillery officers to the next war.

The Government, of course, expects to fit up all its forts with the most efficient equipment; but Fort Wadsworth, at the Narrows, has been selected as a typical Artillery station. This fort, which is within easy reach of the Metropolis, will be the first to be provided with all the appliances essential to modern armament. The National Guard of the Empire State is the natural leader in every new development; and it cannot too soon organize a regiment of Sea-Coast Artillery. No one can predict within how short a time the country may need its assistance.

JAMES COOPER AYRES.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE.

It is a commonplace of the political discussions of the day, that many questions likely to press for solution in the coming century will be economic in character. Without endorsing as exact or adequate such socialistic opinions as those entertained by Karl Marx and his disciples, it must be allowed that the general admission of the working classes to the electorate has given a new prominence to the position and claims of labor. Even in the days of De Tocqueville, competent students of society considered that a grave danger to democratic government lay in the possibility that classes admitted to an equal share of political power might, as a natural consequence, seek economic equality; and no one who now closely observes the signs of the times will pronounce such a danger imaginary. Social problems are in the air. The philosopher meditates on them in the seclusion of his study; they enter into the calculations of the practical politician; and they engage the attention of all who are eager to discern the drift of affairs, and to keep abreast of the currents of opinion.

Under these circumstances it might be supposed that economic science would meet with increased consideration. At a time when important changes in the framework of society are recommended, it would seem but natural to consult the judgment of the expert. When many of the issues raised in political discussions are avowedly economic, it would appear that the advice of the specialist might conduct to a speedier and more satisfactory solution. It is true that in England, at any rate, some interest in economics is now widely diffused. This is shown by the extensive publication of essays on current economic questions; but, though occasionally pithy and pregnant, these essays are rarely adequate. Among men of the world, again, an acquaintance with at least the outlines of economic science is considered a necessary part of an intellectual equipment. But the interest thus evinced is usually of a superficial nature, and represents the easy acquisition of the amateur rather than the laborious industry of the professed student. Upon the whole, it must be admitted that economic science has lost some of the general esteem which it once enjoyed. Its supposed doctrines are often

dismissed by journalists with an air of careless impunity, which their predecessors would have been unwilling or afraid to manifest. Its truths are admitted by responsible statesmen, but are treated as applicable to the actual conditions of any planet other than our own; and its laws are set aside by impatient reformers as null and void. Although the tone in which such opinions are expressed may not be always scornful, it invariably implies ill-concealed distrust.

This doubtful, if not hostile, attitude of the popular mind to economic science may be traced to a number of causes. In the first place, it frequently proceeds from a natural unwillingness to consult an oracle from which an unfavorable answer is expected. The professional economist is apt to be cautious and conservative; for he is aware of the complicated nature of the social organism and of the unseen forces which operate beneath the surface. He is inclined to deprecate ill-considered, ambitious proposals of destruction and reconstitution. It is not surprising, therefore, that impatient reformers suspect that, by having recourse to the systematized learning of the professional student, their haste will be moderated and their extravagance checked.

But the indifference to the opinions of political economists undoubtedly finds a more real justification in the unsympathetic attitude frequently adopted by irregular, irresponsible disciples of the great economists of the earlier part of the century. From many passages in their writings it is evident that the older economists themselves were often men of ardent enthusiasm, actuated by a sincere desire to promote practical reforms. Unfortunately their *dicta* were frequently misinterpreted; and the very precision which they endeavored to give to their reasoning tended to associate their teaching with rigid, abstract, narrow dogma. The peculiar odium attaching to the laws of political economy, the frequent, often unintelligent, use of the epithet "dismal," and the rhetorical banishment to the planet Saturn, may be traced in part to this limited and erroneous conception of the attitude and teaching of the older economists.

And now, by the irony of fate, it has happened that the popular mind, recoiling from the misinterpreted dogmas of the earlier economists, has been equally deterred from seeking the counsel of their successors. This circumstance, in its turn, is due primarily, we believe, to an erroneous impression that economic science is in a state of flux and uncertainty; and the error lies in attributing to the actual present what was true of the recent past. Lately, economic science has, no doubt, been passing through a period of transition. Its methods of inquiry

have been rigorously tested. Its theories have been revised in the light of new information. Its conclusions have been questioned with freedom, and not always in vain. It has been assailed from without and within; and its enemies in its own ranks have been scarcely less persistent than its external foes. But the controversy between the "old" and the "new" schools of economists, at one time waged with such uncompromising hostility, may now be regarded as closed; and recent attempts to stir the dying embers into fresh activity have proved comparatively futile. It may be asserted with confidence that what is true and permanent in the new school has taken its place with what was solid and enduring in the old, and that, tested by the same broad standard which would be applied to any cognate study, economics now represents as harmonious and definite a system of knowledge as can be found in any other mental or moral science. This contention may be supported by a brief review of the change which economics has lately undergone in England, the classic home of the study.

Economic science, which may be briefly defined as a systematized scheme of knowledge relating to the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of wealth, has been subjected to attempts at demolition and reconstruction proceeding from two quarters. One class of assailants has asserted that the older economists were aiming, by an erroneous method, at a mistaken goal; while another hostile band of critics has affirmed that the fundamental error lay not in the method itself, but in deficiencies of application.

The first line of assault is usually associated with adherents of the "historical school." The term, however, has been applied indiscriminately; for the most valuable contributions to the advocacy of the historical method of inquiry have been made by an author who was, strictly speaking, a controversial essayist rather than an economic historian,—the brilliant and attractive writer, Cliffe Leslie. The criticisms of the deductive method contained in his "Essays" are admittedly cogent, and have served to accentuate the following important considerations; viz., that economic theories should be constantly tested by a comparison with facts; that they should be applied to practice only after they have been duly qualified; and that theories, based on certain conditions of time and place, may be inapplicable to different circumstances. All these points required emphatic assertion; and by dint of the argumentative ability, the untiring repetition, and the persuasive enthusiasm of Cliffe Leslie, they have now become such commonplaces of economic thought that those unfamiliar with the his-

tory of the past are inclined to wonder that statements so obviously true ever required affirmation.

The result of Cliffe Leslie's work is most evident in two directions :

(1) It has called attention to the special circumstances under which some of the characteristic doctrines of the older economists were formulated. (2) It has stimulated an inquiry into the conditions existing *prior* to the promulgation of those very theories.

(1) The theory of population, for example, formulated by Malthus, contained elements of truth applicable to all time, but was marred by an exaggeration of emphasis suggested by prevalent conditions. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, the population of England was increasing rapidly, while Nature apparently failed to respond to the additional demands made on her resources. These conditions were attended by a great amount of misery and want among the poorer classes, and necessitated a continual resort to less and less fertile soils in order that the demands of the people for land might be supplied. The theory of overpopulation formulated by Malthus seemed at this time, therefore, to be established in all its bearings by prevailing conditions ; and the law of "diminishing returns," with which it was connected, though not definitely formulated, was dimly perceived by him and more precisely expressed by his successors. So powerful indeed was its influence that even John Stuart Mill, who recognized its limitations, was manifestly haunted by a dread of overpopulation as the ever-present enemy of social improvement. He passed judgment on every proposal of reform—on peasant proprietorship and coöperation, on allotments and trade-unionism—according to the degree in which those measures seemed likely to promote, or arrest, the growth of population.

If we turn from Malthus or Mill to some standard treatise of the present day, we find that the emphasis has been shifted by the discovery of new relevant facts. Current statistical evidence seems to indicate a greater moral restraint and a higher degree of comfort rather than an increase of population ; and physiological inquiry has pointed to the possibility of some connection between intellectual development and a diminution of fertility. France has already reached a stationary stage in the growth of population ; and England seems to be within measurable distance of the same condition. Nor has subsequent inquiry failed to qualify the corollary of Malthus's theory ; for the improvement constantly effected in methods of cultivation has considerably modified the practical significance of the law of diminishing returns. But the most

revolutionary factor in this respect has been the development of cheap and easy transportation. Improved methods of carriage have enabled the nations of Europe to draw on America and elsewhere for those food-products which in the Old World have reached the stage of diminishing returns. These products they receive in exchange for manufactured goods, to which a law of increasing, rather than one of diminishing, returns would apply; and in recent economic treatises both laws have been accorded equal consideration. Thus the Malthusian theory has been modified, owing to changed conditions and to the discovery of new, important facts.

In the same way, much of the error to which Ricardo gave occasion might be traced to the restless stir of his age, to the bustle and confusion of that industrial revolution, when population was violently dislodged from its old abodes and hurried to new centres in search of gain, and when the relations between employer and employee, which had existed almost unchanged from generation to generation, were superseded by an unsympathetic, unsentimental "cash nexus." In such an age, the assumption of the mobility of labor, like that of the mobility of capital, seemed fairly to represent the actual facts. It was, therefore, not unnatural, that Ricardo should have failed to give, in his own writings, the necessary qualifications supplied by later commentators, who had the advantage of the more rigorous scrutiny possible in less agitated times.

(2) The second direction in which historical inquiry has been useful may be indicated by a brief reference to certain opinions expressed by Adam Smith and his contemporaries. These writers, impressed with the conspicuous evils of their own day, occasionally sought to dispute the theoretical justification of those evils; and their efforts were sometimes crowned with remarkable success. Later experience, however, has not only tended to modify the strength with which these convictions were expressed, but has also brought a broader and more tolerant spirit to bear on the examination of the older opinions which they supplanted. Thus, historical inquiry has penetrated to a period anterior to Adam Smith, and shown that, while the mercantile system and the usury laws, so severely condemned by him and his contemporaries, continued to exist as mischievous hindrances after their day of usefulness was over, they were suggested by the conditions of previous times, and the harshness with which they were condemned required revision. Adam Smith himself, as careful students of his writings are aware, was by no means unwilling to admit exceptions to that principle of "natural liberty" for which he pleaded so passionately. But a modern economic writer,

animated by the historical spirit, would go further, and justify Adam Smith's qualification by the actual evils attending natural liberty in the early days of the Factory System.

In the same way, future investigators may find it necessary to modify doctrines now current. Such a possibility may be illustrated by a reference to some notable opinions expressed by the Duke of Argyll; for, if not a professional economist, he may fairly claim the title of an acute and accomplished student of economic science. He has remarked, in language often quoted, that the two great discoveries of the present age in economic practice have been the desirability of removing restrictions on the free exchange of goods, and the absolute necessity of imposing conditions on the free disposal of labor. While the latter assertion would now be accepted as a truism by nearly all professed economists, the validity of the arguments for Free Trade might be questioned by some. They might insist on the great practical objections existing to governmental interference in the shape of Protection; but they would probably be prepared to admit that the contentions of many Free-Traders had been expressed too absolutely, and that a broader review of possibilities and a wider survey of facts might suggest modifications of the current doctrine.

Thus the criticism of the historical school has been effective in rendering more comprehensive and adequate the range of facts of which the economist takes cognizance. The activity with which historical researches of an economic complexion are pursued in various countries is an encouraging evidence of the vigor and freshness of the study of economic history, and is also a convincing proof of a beneficial change of attitude on the part of historical and analytical economists alike. But this activity of historical research, it must be noted, stands somewhat apart from the study of economic science as it is usually understood, and from the criticisms advanced by Cliffe Leslie. Economic history may be pursued without superseding the work generally known as economic analysis. The former, it is true, is mainly inductive; and its chief endeavor is to record and investigate actual facts systematically. The latter, on the other hand, is largely deductive, unravelling the complex skein of phenomena into an orderly system. Economic history, however, avails itself of a deductive process when tracing causal connections; while analytical economics employs the aid of induction in constructing and testing theories. For this reason, the two classes of study may be pursued independently, and yet render mutual assistance; while the controversy on economic method, which Cliffe Leslie, in par-

ticular, did so much to stimulate, may now be treated as closed, by the virtual admission of both sides that neither was in possession of the whole truth, but of complementary portions only.

In addition to the attacks of the historical school, the science of economics has met with criticism within its own ranks; and this is true of what is generally known as analytical economics. But here again we may be sanguine enough to believe that the contest, so far as the essential points at issue are concerned, has reached its termination, and that the final result, as in the larger field just examined, has been a reconciliation of the new with the old, and the substitution of a coördinating unity for a diversity of opinion.

Among the successors of Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill, the name of Jevons is most conspicuous; and the influence exercised by that mathematical writer has been fully as remarkable and enduring, in its sphere, as that of Cliffe Leslie on the historical side. It is not easy to write in any detail of the services of mathematics to economic analysis without using technical language. But it may be possible to indicate the great importance of those services, by a brief review of the changes through which the central conception of economic science has passed. That central conception is undoubtedly the theory of *value*; and the mathematical treatment of the subject has not only tended to establish and confirm the theory in a central position, but it has also succeeded in grouping the other parts of economic speculation around it in such a way as to impart unity to the whole scientific scheme.

Obviously, the terms on which services and commodities are exchanged for one another may be considered from two sides,—from that of the seller and that of the buyer, respectively. The older economists threw the stress of their reasoning on the side of the seller, and devoted the main part of their investigations to the influences affecting *supply*. While they did not ignore the side of *demand* or *consumption*, their characteristic doctrine was one which sought the chief factor of value in the cost of production. Recent investigation, however, has given a new importance to the department of demand or consumption; and the conception to which Jevons, more particularly, assigned the greatest prominence was that of *final* or *marginal* utility. It is obvious that buyers will give more for what they want and less for what they do not want. In other words, the greater the utility or desirability of a commodity, the higher is likely to be its value. It is equally obvious that, when buyers already possess sufficient of any one commodity,

they are not so likely to desire a greater quantity. That is to say, the larger the previous supply, the less the demand for an additional quantum. In consequence, there will always be purchasers hesitating to buy,—on the brink or *margin* of demand,—who will be tempted by the slightest fall, and be deterred by the most minute rise, of price. They are like the last weight placed in a balance; and on their action depends the final result. And so, from the point of view of *demand*, the price is said to be settled by the *final* or *marginal* utility of the commodity in question. In the scientific elaboration of this idea, mathematical precision has been of great service; and in Jevons's hands the theory was illustrated diagrammatically and reasoned mathematically.

But subsequent inquiry, also of a mathematical character, has carried the investigation a stage further. While recognizing the importance of the additions made to the theory of value from the side of demand or consumption, it has not permitted the new emphasis to obliterate the old. It has pointed to analogies between the two sides, which existed, but required formal disclosure. The older economists, for instance, had affirmed, with regard to agricultural products, that, where commodities were supplied to the same market at different costs of production, it was the cost of that part of the supply produced at the greatest disadvantage which determined the price from the point of view of the sellers. We may briefly explain the reason. Assuming that the corn or farm-produce sent to the market was all of the same quality, the whole would, by what is known in technical language as the law of "indifference," command the same price. The sellers who were more advantageously situated would find a surplus left in their hands, after they had met the cost of production; and this surplus would represent the rent that they would be compelled to pay for the superior advantages of soil or situation. But, naturally, the producers or sellers laboring under the greatest disadvantage of soil and situation would be unable to furnish the requisite supply unless recouped by the buyers. And just as, on the side of demand, there are buyers on the margin, who are hesitating whether to buy or not, so, on the side of supply, there are sellers on the margin of production, who, by their hesitation to produce, become also the final determinants of value.

This conception of rent, as measured by differences in fertility and situation, and this description of land, as being on the margin of cultivation, had been commonplaces in economic treatises long before Jevons elaborated the analogous conception of final or marginal utility. One

step more was needed to bring the new reasoning of Jevons into accord with the older theory of Ricardo and Mill; and this has been accomplished by the aid of the mathematical conception of *mutually determining influences*. Jevons, like the Austrian economists, who have independently elaborated a theory similar to his own, was inclined to treat the work of his predecessors as obsolete. But it seems more rational and comprehensive to endeavor, with Prof. Marshall, to effect a unification of the old and the new. And the means of reconciliation are easily furnished by the conception of the mutually determining influence of supply and demand. This conception, which is essentially mathematical in its origin, and can, perhaps, be best expressed diagrammatically, has not been applied to the theory of value only, but has left its mark on many subordinate departments of economic science. Here, however; we are concerned with it only as it affects the theory of value; and it is easy to see how it has contributed to the centralization of this theory and to the consequent reestablishment of unity in economic science. On the one hand, we have production, and on the other, consumption; and, corresponding to either, we have the influences affecting supply and demand. If supply and demand are mutually determined and determining through the medium of value, they are connected with and dependent on one another; and the theory of the mechanism which unites them occupies a position of central importance.

Thus, in the case of the internal development of economic analysis, as in that of the external influence exercised by the historical method, the forces which make for unity and harmonious progress are more powerful, though perhaps less evident, than those which seem to indicate flux and uncertainty. The criticisms and controversies of the past generation have undoubtedly paved the way for a reconciliation of the various factions of students and for a reconstruction of the various departments of study. Perhaps the most important result, however, has been to create a necessity for dividing the vast region of economic inquiry into manageable areas, on which separate tastes and distinctive abilities can be usefully employed. For, into economic science, as into every other branch of study, specialism has entered, and prescribed subdivisions. Nor of narrow dimensions are the tracts of possible knowledge contained in these subdivisions. The department of historical research covers an immense field, of which, competent economic historians affirm that scarcely more than the surface has yet been explored. The development of economic analysis has been declared by

one of the most successful of its expositors to be in its infancy. Statistical investigation is now commanding increased attention in most civilized countries.

In all these various departments of economic inquiry, many able and zealous students are busy. They have learned to assist and appreciate the work of their colleagues, rather than to hinder and decry it. They have become more sensible of the necessary limitations and, therefore, more confident of the real capabilities of the special branch of economic knowledge which they themselves are studying. And in the presence of such a spirit, we may feel sure that economic science, revived and conscious of its strength, will not fail to illuminate the many difficult practical problems now rising on the political horizon.

L. L. PRICE.

THE DRAMAS OF GERHART HAUPTMANN.

GERHART HAUPTMANN possesses two qualities rarely combined in one author. As subtle as Ibsen in the analysis of character, as frank as Zola in placing the brutality of life before us, Hauptmann nevertheless introduces into nearly every one of his dramas some *motif* so poetically conceived as at once to impress us with the fact that we have in him both a realist and an idealist.

Taking up his plays in the order of their production, and analyzing them with the view of determining if his artistic development has been along certain well-defined lines, we shall find a steady progress toward idealism, a poetic impulse which, in two of his latest works, "Hannele's Himmelfahrt" and "Die Versunkene Glocke," becomes so pronounced that he even draws upon the supernatural; giving us in "Hannele's Ascension" a child-soul's vision of heaven, and in "The Sunken Bell" a dramatic representation of neo-paganism. As there is no published English translation of any of Hauptmann's plays, this method of analyzing and describing them will enable me not only to show the development of his idealism, but also to give the English reader, within the limits of a single article, a tolerably complete idea of everything of importance that Hauptmann has written.

To appreciate Hauptmann's position in literature, we must consider for a moment the new literary movement that sprang up in Germany about ten years after the Franco-Prussian War. A new generation had arisen, and was waiting for a new word from the old leaders of thought, — a word that never came. The world had begun to move with modern celerity. Influences were accumulating so rapidly that it required a new kind of artistic sensitiveness to absorb and assimilate them, a hypersensitiveness which has now become so lightning-like in the rapidity with which it receives impressions that, while one who is able to exercise it is apt to ripen early, he is equally apt, because of the constant nervous tension which its exercise implies, to decay early. And so we have writers who, though still young in years, are already voted veterans and even supernumeraries.

It was, I presume, this rapidity of aging which prompted a modern German writer to say: "I suppose I may class myself as a contempo-

rary, although I am more than nineteen years old,"—a possible hit at a certain youthful German dramatist who, having scored a success with a play at twenty, has just made a failure at twenty-two. In the good old days, even a failure at that early age would have been a distinction.

The new German literary movement, like that which swept over Germany toward the close of the eighteenth century, is due to foreign influences rather than to an original national impulse. When German writers in the last century sought to burst the bonds of French classicism they hoisted the standard of Shakespeare and of Rousseau. To-day, they have embroidered the name of Ibsen on their flag; and the usual modern German dramatic product is "decadent" Scandinavianism, filtered through German minds. With the modern German, the playwright's art is pathological—the expression of nervousness and hysteria. This tendency is indeed so pronounced that, if it long continues, I believe it will affect even the lighter forms of art, until the next century shall perhaps produce a waltz composer who will write a series of dances no longer entitled "Life is a Dream," but "Life is a Nightmare." Another favorite motive with the "decadent" Scandinavian and German dramatist is protest against marriage, an institution which, after all, the history of civilization has taught some sane minds to regard as not wholly unmeritorious.

Hauptmann, like the majority of modern German playwrights, has paid his tribute to Ibsen; but it is his chief claim to distinction that, with that tribute, he bought his freedom. Relying solely on his own genius, he has become perhaps the most original creator in the dramatic world since Goethe. In his very first play, "Vor Sonnenaufgang" ("Before Sunrise"), he puts into the lips of one of his characters the following opinion of Zola and Ibsen: "They are not poets, they are necessary evils. What they offer us is medicine." Hauptmann offers us drama, not physic; poetry, not pathology.

"Vor Sonnenaufgang" might be classed by some critics as an Ibsen play; for it deals in a strong and almost brutal manner with the curse of heredity. But thus early Hauptmann proves that, while he is a physiological expert, he is not a physician. He treats the subject—a family steeped in the curse of alcoholism—with the hand of a master who has studied the soul as well as the body; who knows his psychology as well as his physiology. The family which he holds up to our view is as thoroughly repulsive as any of the figures in Zola's "L'Assommoir." He shows us the household of a rich peasant, a household in which drunkenness and its attendant vices are rampant.

In this loathsome household there blooms, like a flower between the crevices of a mouldering wall, a pure and exquisite young girl, a daughter who has happily been brought up beyond the contaminating influences of the corrupt life of this den of iniquity. It strikes terror to her innermost fibre; but, in what seems to be her darkest moment, there comes to her a promise of release. A social agitator, named *Loth*, whose special enthusiasm is temperance reform, arrives in the village. He meets *Helene*; and a mutual love soon ripens between them. To her, he seems a savior. But he has the weakness of his type: he has not mastered his principles; they have mastered him. Instead of controlling them, he is their slave; and, when he discovers that the curse of alcoholism rests upon *Helene's* family, he deserts her and leaves her to her fate, even though he realizes the danger that she may, in despair, sink into the loathsome morass which forms her social environment. But the girl has a terrible courage with which to offset his weakness; and the climax which Hauptmann works out at the end of this play is one of the most awful, as well as one of the most powerfully constructed, tragedies that dramatic literature can offer.

The girl, deserted by her lover, hears her drunken father approaching. Seizing his hunting-knife, she goes into an adjoining room. A servant, who is looking for her, enters the room into which she has just disappeared. A moment later, this servant, almost crazed with terror, rushes out, and, with piercing cries, dashes past the father, who utters a few thick, drunken exclamations as the curtain falls.

It is interesting to note that in this, his very first drama, Hauptmann shows, in the contrast between the exquisite and highly poetic character of *Helene* and the brutal realism of the dramatic *milieu*, that characteristic which gives him a unique place among modern dramatists—the impulse and ability to unite realism and idealism in one and the same play.

The weakness of the social reformer *Loth* at a personal crisis in his life is a bit of unsparing dramatic vivisection. The scalpel has penetrated the veneer of the social reformer, and laid bare the meanness of soul in a man willing to sacrifice a woman for the sake of an ethical principle. Attention should be drawn also to the impression of completeness left by the drama. There is even a sense of satisfaction in *Helene's* suicide. We realize that she has saved herself from two equally tragic fates—from her family, and from the weakling who would probably have made her life as wretched as was her death.

The value of the play, aside from its literary qualities and its clearly

defined presentation of the contrast between the strong and the weak, the pure and the impure, lies in the fact that it is a play and not a treatise. It is not "one of the poisoned arrow-heads which the delvers in natural science have exhumed." Whatever there is in the play for us to philosophize over is incidental. A play dramatically so effective could never have been written with the purpose of expounding a theory. A family steeped in alcoholism was not chosen for the *milieu* of the drama in order that the horrors of drunkenness might be set forth; but because these horrors, in contrast with the purity of the heroine, formed a strong, if repulsive, dramatic background. In other words, the play had its origin not in a philosophic, but in a dramatic impulse. "Art," Hauptmann himself has said, "lies wholly outside any question of ethics. A dramatist is not a teacher, nor is pedagogy art."

Hauptmann, who was born in Salzbrunn in 1862, had not intended originally to become a man of letters. His first art-impulse was toward sculpture; and he sought to develop his talent in that direction by study in Italy,—a period in his life during which he may have received those impressions of idealism which have saved him from being wholly absorbed by modern realistic tendencies.

His first published literary work was an epic poem, "Promethidenlos"; and he has also put forth a volume of "Novelistic Studies." But his fame rests upon his dramas. "Vor Sonnenaufgang" was published in 1889. Each succeeding year, excepting 1894, has seen at least one new play from Hauptmann's pen; while four were published during the years 1892 and 1893. In chronological order his published dramas are as follows: 1889, "Vor Sonnenaufgang" ("Before Sunrise"); 1890, "Das Friedenfest" ("The Peace Festival"); 1890, "Einsame Menschen" ("Lonely Beings"); 1892, "Die Weber" ("The Weavers") and "Kollege Crampton" ("Colleague Crampton"); 1893, "Hannele's Himmelfahrt" ("Hannele's Ascension") and "Der Biberpelz" ("The Beaverpelt"); 1895, "Florian Geyer"; 1896, "Die Versunkene Glocke" ("The Sunken Bell").

"Das Friedenfest," Hauptmann's second play, also deals with a "corrupt" family; but the corruption here is mental, not physical. And the play has a happy ending; the saving grace being a pure girl, led home by one of the sons of the house, who has remained untainted. This is one of the first gleams of light in the modern heredity drama. A modern playwright admits that heredity is not invincible; and the triumph is brought about by woman's love, pure and simple,—surely an idealistic touch.

I was going to say that while Hauptmann differs from Ibsen and most of the "decadent" dramatists in that he can draw pure, loving girls and faithful wives, he has refrained from giving us "die Deutsche Hausfrau,"—almost as terrible an example of modern Philistinism as the "British Matron," who writes letters to the London "Times." But, after all, we have "die Deutsche Hausfrau" in Hauptmann's third play, "Einsame Menschen," on the dedicatory page of which he has written the following significant words: "I place this play in the hands of those who have lived it." And how many men of genius have lived it! The leading male character, *Johannes*, is a writer and a dreamer, wedded to a commonplace woman, *Frau Käthi*. Into this household there comes *Anna Mahr*, a young student thrilling with the new intellectual movement, yet full of womanly traits and in complete sympathy with the tendency and genius of the lonely *Johannes*. Naturally, they are drawn toward each other; and mutual love is the result. But *Anna* is a woman of moral as well as intellectual strength. She realizes that in her and *Johannes'* love lies the wife's ruin; and she has the courage to leave the household, never to return. Almost her last words to *Johannes* are: "Were we to meet again, we would lose each other." But *Johannes* is unable to bear the strain of separation, and in despair drowns himself.

"Einsame Menschen" may be a problem drama, but it is one that throbs and thrills with the rich, warm current of love and despair; and it deals with something of which the world has hitherto taken little account. We hear much of the "unhappy wives of men of genius." But what do we hear of the unhappy men of genius whose souls are fettered, whose aspirations are checked, and the fire of whose genius is quenched through want of sympathy and inspiration in their everyday surroundings? Unheard, they die—delicate vases shattered on the hard clay of commonplace humanity.

When "Die Weber" was produced at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, it was hailed as a literary event of the first importance. This play deals with the uprising of the starving weavers of Silesia in 1844. In the criticisms concerning it, great stress was laid upon the fact that Hauptmann had devised a new form in dramatic art, because there was no figure of special prominence around whom, as a hero, the facts of the drama were grouped. But in reality the critical deductions were all wrong. For, while there is no leading character in the play, there is a hero, one stronger and more impressive than any human hero could be. The hero of "Die Weber" is Hunger, stalking grim and gaunt through every scene, from the rise of the curtain to its fall, and laying

his hollow and withering hand upon the unfortunate beings who are grouped in the action. "Die Weber" is a wonderfully realistic play, a series of graphic pictures of famine and despair; yet, realistic as its scenes, taken singly, are, they would not hang effectively together, and the play would leave an impression of incoherency, were it not for the hero—Hunger.

After all, dramatic form is pretty thoroughly established; and the dramatist who disregards it is, as it were, harnessing up his *Pegasus* and forgetting the traces. Hauptmann himself, in speaking of "Die Weber," has disclaimed any ethical motive in writing it. He says:—

"I wrote 'Die Weber,' simply because I have lived among that class of people and know them. My grandfather was a weaver; and from my father I learned the story of the misery that stalked through the Silesian Mountains in 1844. I saw in it the groundwork for a drama, and I wrote a drama. To teach avaricious employers to deal humanely with their employees, never entered my head. Any such interest which attaches to my play is secondary to the dramatic impulse under which I wrote it."

The same year that saw the production of this cruelly realistic play saw the production of another drama by Hauptmann, of a wholly different character. "Kollege Crampton" is sad enough, it is true; but the pathos of it is relieved in the end. It deals with the almost complete ruin of an artist who has seen better days, but who is at war with established conservative art-elements represented by *Die Akademie*. His downfall is also hastened by certain personal irregularities, among which is a too great fondness for looking upon the wine when it is red. But there is in this drama a reaction from the extreme realism of "Die Weber," as if Hauptmann could not long restrain his idealistic impulse. For, side by side with sadness in "Kollege Crampton," there is an element of poetic beauty in the touching devotion of the daughter of this man for her ruined father. Indeed, this poetic motive is the mainspring of the play; for it is through the daughter's devotion and that of a young art student who loves her, that *Crampton* is finally saved.

The play has been criticised as showing evidences of hasty work. This seems to me to be picking an unnecessary quarrel. It is capitally constructed, from a dramatic point of view,—indeed, when acted, is one of the most effective of Hauptmann's plays,—and the language is often pointedly satirical. *Die Akademie*, from the principal director down to the janitor, gets a lashing which would delight the soul of any modern artist of the Impressionist school. *Crampton* says to his young pupil:—

"You tell me one can be a little dissipated, if one has talent. My dear fellow,

you may think so, but the high Academy does not. Why, you know well enough yourself, that it is absolutely unnecessary for an Academician to have talent. Behavior, behavior, my dear fellow; respect and honor for the teachers, from the principal director down to the janitor, that is the main thing;—and you wanted to thrash the janitor! Just think of it, think of it! Why, you could have thrashed the director's wife twice and not a hair of your head would have been harmed,—not a hair, I say. But the janitor of the Academy,—just think of it! You actually wanted to give the janitor a drubbing!"

Hauptmann's plays differ from each other as much as Wagner's music dramas; yet, like these, each bears its author's unmistakable stamp. There is another point of similarity between Hauptmann and Wagner,—for the blending of realism and idealism is as characteristic of Wagner as of Hauptmann. In no play of Hauptmann's is the blending of these two apparently irreconcilable elements more apparent, or more effective, than in "*Hannele's Himmelfahrt*," the climax of which, while so idealistic that it deals with the supernatural, is worked up from a solidly realistic foundation.

A young girl, a mere child, horribly bruised and beaten by a brutal father, seeks release from her sufferings by attempting to drown herself. She is saved, almost at the point of death, by a young schoolmaster, who, on a bitter winter's night, tenderly carries her in his arms to the poorhouse,—the only place in the village district where he knows she can be cared for, the villagers themselves being too poor to undertake such a burden. The realism of the play lies in the wonderful reproduction of the atmosphere of the poorhouse, the sordid jealousies and bickerings of its inmates, and the fidelity to life with which their various repulsive characteristics are drawn. It is only too apparent that the child will soon succumb to the shock that her system has sustained. Her poor little body shows the marks of the brutal treatment to which she has been subjected; and all the pathos, not to say horror, of a child half-beaten to death, half-dying by her own act, are portrayed with the keenest appreciation for dramatic effect. Equally effective, however, are the supernatural elements in the climax, which is a triumph of spirituality and idealism in drama. In her dying moments, the child has a vision, in which her dead mother appears to her as an angel; she sees the Saviour; and all the beauties of Heaven are disclosed to her. She herself dreams that she is ascending to Christ; and, when the apparitions have faded away and we see the dead body of the poor, bruised child lying upon the pallet, we feel that, for her soul at least, her vision has become a reality. Wonderfully subtle and poetic are the touches, throughout the drama, by which the schoolmaster,

Gottwald,—young, faithful, tender, and self-sacrificing,—becomes, in a way, symbolic of the Saviour, a symbolism that, in the performance, should be heightened by the actor's make-up, which must resemble the Christ apparition in the "Vision" scene.

It is impossible in any written description to give an impression of the beauty of this play, either as an imaginative work of art or as an acting drama. In the performances, the mistake is usually made of having the apparitions in the "Vision" scene walk upon the stage or come up through trap-doors and then pose or group themselves. The effect is immeasurably heightened when they are thrown, by the reflection of mirrors, directly upon the spot on which they are finally to stand.

This "Vision" scene gave Hauptmann an opportunity to demonstrate the value of the psychological effects in the drama. It enabled him to show the working of a child's soul,—its secret longings, dreams, and motives. It was a daring experiment; but it was wholly successful.

Hauptmann's next play was a failure. "*Florian Geyer*" was an attempt to write a drama in which the social question at the time of the Reformation would form the main motive. The scenes are as realistic as those of "*Die Weber*": but in the case of "*Florian Geyer*" its very realism was one of the elements which contributed to its failure; for it was so realistic that one would need be a sixteenth-century contemporary to understand it. Written upon the most prodigal scale, it consists of a prologue and five long acts, and calls for no less than seventy-seven speaking characters. The only one of these which assumes real human interest on the stage is the girl *Marei*, a swarthy, unkempt, dark-haired creature, devoted to the hero unto death,—a character which, without any real dramatic similarity to *Kundry*, nevertheless, in a subtle way, reminds one of that Wagnerian heroine. The scene of the hero's death in the last act is also pathetic and effective. But the one character, *Marei*, and this one scene are not sufficient to save the play, as a play, whatever interest it may possess from a purely literary point of view,—and it is most interesting reading, the language being sixteenth-century German, reproduced not only phonetically, but even to the curious, old-fashioned spelling. Hauptmann is said to have taken the failure of this play very much to heart. He had had the subject in mind for years; and it is significant that two years had intervened between this play and "*Der Biberpelz*," the one that preceded it. The latter, a curiously contrived thieves' comedy of questionable value, was the second of his two productions in 1893.

But the play which followed "*Florian Geyer*," "*Die Versunkene*"

Glocke," is as poetically beautiful, from a literary point of view, and as dramatically effective as anything he has produced. In it he has yielded wholly to the poetic impulse; the play even being written partly in rhyme, partly in blank verse. He calls it a "fairy drama"; but the word "fairy" is hardly significant enough. It is rather a drama of the supernatural.

Heinrich is a bell-maker in a small village at the foot of a mountain. He has just produced what he considers his masterpiece, a bell for a chapel which is building high up the mountainside. But, as the bell is being drawn up the mountain, one of the wheels of the wagon breaks, and the bell-maker's masterwork plunges down a steep incline into a deep lake. *Heinrich* himself is carried down part of the way with it. Bruised and bleeding, he reaches a mountain fell. There, an exquisite being, *Rautendelein*, half elf, half human, tends him. Overcome by her beauty, as well as by the soft, round tones of her voice, the reproduction of which in a bell is his uncontrollable ambition, he vows eternal faith to her, deserts wife and children, and becomes a child of nature, working with almost Cyclopean energy upon the bell in which he hopes to reproduce the elf's voice. In vain, emissaries from the valley come to persuade him to return to his sorrowing family. A last effort is made by the parish minister; and, when *Heinrich* repels even him with "No more than the sunken bell shall sound again will I return," the minister warns him that its tones may yet once more resound from the depths of the mountain lake. And they do. *Heinrich's* forsaken wife drowns herself in the lake. As she sinks, her fingers sweep over the bell, and it rings out with deep, booming notes that strike terror to his soul. His children, pale and emaciated, appear to him in a vision, bearing an urn filled with their dead mother's tears. Overcome by remorse, *Heinrich* leaves *Rautendelein* and goes back to his native village. Here he finds himself an outcast because of the ruin and death he has brought upon his family. Painfully he finds his way back to the fell, to die, a child of nature once more, in *Rautendelein's* arms.

One of the important literary features of this play is *Heinrich's* apotheosis of nature as the all-ruling power of the world, and his proclamation of himself as a child of the sun. The play is neo-pagan in tendency; and its outcome, the final return of *Heinrich* to the arms of his elfish love, is distinctly a triumph of the elemental forces of nature over those of human civilization.

In addition to much that is original "Die Versunkene Glocke" shows Hauptmann's wide acquaintance with dramatic literature. There

are elf-dances which give a decidedly Shakespearian character to certain scenes; and the apparition of the children reminds one of the "Dream" scene in "Richard III." Among the characters are a faun and an ancient water-spirit. This latter has Aristophanic exclamations quite as characteristic as those of the *Rhine-daughters* in Wagner's "Rheingold"; but, whether the suggestion came to Hauptmann from Wagner or from Aristophanes, the exclamations are effective details. "Brekekekex!" and "Quorax, Quorax, Quorax!" look very amusing in print; yet in one of the scenes, when the water-spirit is bemoaning the love of *Rautendelein* for a human being, these strange words are uttered with really heart-moving pathos.

"Action upon the stage," Hauptmann has said, "will, I think, give way to the analysis of character and to the exhaustive consideration of the motives which prompt men to act. Passion does not move at such headlong speed as in Shakespeare's day, so that we present not the actions themselves, but the psychological states that cause them."

This is a very pretty theory; but in practice it would never result in an acting drama. Fortunately, Hauptmann has not carried this theory into practice, although he may think that he has. His plays are analytical; but they also have action, the throb of poetry, and the warm glow of passion. He is not a "decadent" dramatist. He is no more to be classed with Ibsen or Maeterlinck than Goethe is. He is the greatest figure in German literature—perhaps in all literature—to-day. He is the one living poet who is also a born writer of plays, the one living master of realism who is also a master of idealism.

GUSTAV KOBBE.

THE POETRY OF NATURE.

"THE poetry of earth is never dead," wrote Keats; and, though the statement sounds, at first thought, a dangerously sweeping one, there is no doubt that if he had been called upon to argue the point he would have successfully maintained his thesis. Regarded subjectively, the poetry of earth, or, in other words, the quality which makes for poetry in external nature, is that power in nature which moves us by suggestion, which excites in us emotion, imagination, or poignant association, which plays upon the tense-strings of our sympathies with the fingers of memory or desire. This power may reside not less in a bleak pasture-plot than in a paradisaical close of bloom and verdure, not less in a roadside thistle-patch than in a peak that soars into the sunset. It works through sheer beauty or sheer sublimity; but it may work with equal effect through austerity or reticence or limitation or change. It may use the most common scenes, the most familiar facts and forms, as the vehicle of its most penetrating and most illuminating message. It is apt to make the drop of dew on a grass-blade as significant as the starred sphere of the sky.

The poetry of nature, by which I mean this "poetry of earth" expressed in words, may be roughly divided into two main classes: that which deals with pure description, and that which treats of nature in some one of its many relations with humanity. The latter class is that which alone was contemplated in Keats's line. It has many subdivisions; it includes much of the greatest poetry that the world has known; and there is little verse of acknowledged mastery that does not depend upon it for some portion of its appeal.

The former class has but a slender claim to recognition as poetry, under any definition of poetry that does not make metrical form the prime essential. The failures of the wisest to enunciate a satisfactory definition of poetry make it almost presumptuous for a critic now to attempt the task; but from an analysis of these failures one may educe something roughly to serve the purpose. To say that *poetry is the metrical expression in words of thought fused in emotion*, is of course incomplete; but it has the advantage of defining. No one can think that

anything other than poetry is intended by such a definition; and nothing is excluded that can show a clear claim to admittance. But the poetry of pure description might perhaps not pass without challenge, so faint is the flame of its emotion, so imperfect the fusion of its thought.

It is verse of this sort that is meant by indiscriminating critics when they inveigh against "nature-poetry," and declare that the only poetry worth man's attention is that which has to do with the heart of man.

Merely descriptive poetry is not very far removed from the work of the reporter and the photographer. Lacking the selective quality of creative art, it is in reality little more than a presentation of some of the raw materials of poetry. It leaves the reader unmoved, because little emotion has gone to its making. Poetry of this sort, at its best, is to be found abundantly in Thomson's "Seasons." At less than its best it concerns no one.

Nature becomes significant to man when she is passed through the alembic of his heart. Irrelevant and confusing details having been purged away, what remains is single and vital. It acts either by interpreting, recalling, suggesting, or symbolizing some phase of human feeling. Out of the fusing heat born of this contact comes the perfect line, luminous, unforgettable, with something of mystery in its beauty that eludes analysis. Whatever it be that is brought to the alembic,—naked hill, or barren sand-reach, sea or meadow, weed or star,—it comes out charged with a new force, imperishable and active wherever it finds sympathies to vibrate under its currents.

In the imperishable verse of ancient Greece and Rome, nature-poetry of the higher class is generally supposed to play but a small part. In reality, it is nearly always present, nearly always active in that verse; but it appears in such a disguise that its origin is apt to be overlooked. The Greeks—and the Romans, of course, following their pattern—personified the phenomena of nature till these, for all purposes of art, became human. The Greeks made their anthropomorphic gods of the forces of nature which compelled their adoration. Of these personifications they sang, as of men of like passions with themselves; but in truth it was of external nature that they made their songs. Bion's wailing "Lament for Adonis," human as it is throughout, is in its final analysis a poem of nature. By an intense, but perhaps unconscious, subjective process, the ancients supplied external nature with their own moods, impulses, and passions.

The transitions from the ancient to the modern fashion of looking at nature are to be found principally in the work of the Celtic bards,

who, rather than the cloistered students of that time, kept alive the true fire of poetry through the long darkness of the Middle Ages.

The modern attitude toward nature, as distinguished from that of the Greeks, begins to show itself clearly in English song very soon after the great revivifying movement which we call the Renaissance. At first, it is a very simple matter indeed. Men sing of nature because nature is impressing them directly. A joyous season calls forth a joyous song :—

“Sumer is icumen in,
Lhude sing, cuccu.
Groweth sed and bloweth med
And springth the wude nu.”

This is the poet's answering hail, when the spring-time calls to his blood. With the fall of the leaf, his singing has a sombre and foreboding note; and winter in the world makes winter in his song.

This is nature-poetry in its simplest form,—the form which it chiefly took with the spontaneous Elizabethans. But it soon became more complex, as life and society became entangled in more complex conditions. The artificialities of the Queen Anne period delayed this evolution; but with Gray and Collins we see it fairly in process. Man, looking upon external nature, projects himself into her workings. His own wrath he apprehends in the violence of the storm; his own joy in the loveliness of opening blossoms; his own mirth in the light waves running in the sun; his own gloom in the heaviness of the rain and wind. In all nature he finds but phenomena of himself. She becomes but an expression of his hopes, his fears, his cravings, his despair. This intense subjectivity is peculiarly characteristic of the nature-poetry produced by Byron and his school. When this Titan of modern song apostrophizes the storm thundering over Jura, he speaks to the tumult in the deeps of his own soul. When he addresses the stainless tranquillities of “clear, placid Leman,” what moves him to utterance is the contemplation of such a calm as his vexed spirit often craved.

When man's heart and the heart of nature had become thus closely involved, the relationship between them and, consequently, the manner of its expression in song became complex almost beyond the possibilities of analysis. Wordsworth's best poetry is to be found in the utterances of the high-priest in nature's temple, interpreting the mysteries. The “Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey” are, at first glance, chiefly descriptive; but their actual function is to convey to a restless age, troubled with small cares seen in too close perspective, the

large, contemplative wisdom which seemed to Wordsworth the message of the scene which moved him.

Keats, his soul aflame with the worship of beauty, was impassioned toward the manifestations of beauty in the world about him; and, at the same time, he used these freely as symbols to express other aspects of the same compelling spirit. Shelley, the most complex of the group, sometimes combined all these methods, as in the "Ode to the West Wind." But he added a new note,—which was yet an echo of the oldest,—the note of nature-worship. He saw continually in nature the godhead which he sought and adored, youthful protestations and affectations of atheism to the contrary notwithstanding. Most of Shelley's nature-poetry carries a rich vein of pantheism, allied to that which colors the oldest verse of time and particularly characterizes ancient Celtic song. With this significant and stimulating revival, goes a revival of that strong sense of kinship, of the oneness of earth and man, which the Greeks and Latins felt so keenly at times, which Omar knew and uttered, and which underlies so much of the verse of these later days.

That other unity—the unity of man and God, which forms so inevitable a corollary to the pantheistic proposition—comes to be dwelt upon more and more insistently throughout the nature-poetry of the last fifty years.

The main purpose of these brief suggestions is to call attention to the fact that nature-poetry is not mere description of landscape in metrical form, but the expression of one or another of many vital relationships between external nature and "the deep heart of man." It may touch the subtlest chords of human emotion and human imagination not less masterfully than the verse which sets out to be a direct transcript from life. The most inaccessible truths are apt to be reached by indirection. The divinest mysteries of beauty are not possessed exclusively by the eye that loves, or by the lips of a child, but are also manifested in some bird-song's unforgotten cadence, some flower whose perfection pierces the heart, some ineffable hue of sunset or sunrise that makes the spirit cry out for it knows not what. And whosoever follows the inexplicable lure of beauty, in color, form, sound, perfume, or any other manifestation,—reaching out to it as perhaps a message from some unfathomable past, or a premonition of the future,—knows that the mystic signal beckons nowhere more imperiously than from the heights of nature-poetry.

CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.

RAILWAY POOLING,—FROM THE PEOPLE'S POINT OF VIEW.

MR. GEORGE R. BLANCHARD has recently published a pamphlet containing seven articles on railway pooling. Mr. Blanchard is chairman of the Joint Traffic Association, is thoroughly versed in all matters pertaining to railway interests, and has presented that side of the subject with great detail and considerable force. Presumably, from his position, he speaks by authority. According to these articles our railroads are *in extremis*. What with "drastic" decisions of the courts, "inimical" laws of "hostile" legislatures, and especially the unreasonable internecine warfare that railroad companies have waged against each other, rates have been unsettled, revenues depleted, and a condition of general demoralization induced, from which no escape seems possible, save by the immediate enactment of a pooling law.

Much of this is unquestionably true. The state of our railroads, as a whole, is sufficiently deplorable. The right to pool would, beyond doubt, relieve many difficulties under which they labor, and correct many of the wrongs which they inflict upon the public.

If, then, great advantage may be reasonably expected from pooling legislation, why is it that many people well informed on the subject oppose the passage of such a law? The purpose of this article is to state briefly, without attempting to elaborate or discuss, some of the reasons.

In 1871, it cost thirty-one cents to transport a bushel of wheat from Chicago to New York. In 1896, the cost of the same service was twelve cents. At a recent hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission, the general manager of the Chicago and Alton Railroad testified that within the last twenty years freight-rates in the State of Illinois had declined 48 per cent. Mr. Blanchard, in the monograph above referred to, states that, if the current freight-rates of 1873 had been charged for the freight actually carried in 1895, the earnings of the railroads of the United States would have been \$1,215,844,000 more than they were. These figures sufficiently indicate the enormous reduction in railway transportation charges during the last quarter-century, and the consequent saving to the people who have paid those charges.

What has occasioned this decrease? To a certain extent, it has been brought about by legislation, which in several States has gone to the extent of making the rate; but for the most part, and altogether in the case of interstate traffic, it is due to the action of competitive forces. It is earnestly insisted by the advocates of pooling that competition, as exhibited in other forms of business, does not properly exist between common carriers. However that may be, there is between those carriers a continual struggle of the fiercest kind for competitive business, which, for the want of a better word, may be termed "competition," and to which, acting in various ways, the above reduction is mainly due. This competition is not altogether between railways. Water competition has been a potential factor in the reduction. There can be no question that the rate on grain between Chicago and New York would have been very materially reduced by water competition alone, which is for some months in the year a controlling element between those two points. A reduction in the rates between Chicago and New York would force down the corresponding rate at other points. In the great majority of instances, however, there is no water competition. Moreover, testimony taken recently before the Commission shows that in many instances, where such competition was formerly active, it has practically ceased to exist. To use the expression of the witnesses, "The railroads have driven the boats out of the water." After all due allowance has been made for this and many other causes, the fact still remains that the extremely low rates prevailing in the United States are due mainly to competition between the railways themselves.

Now the purpose of a pooling law is to eliminate entirely from railway operations, with regard to the traffic which it affects, the factor of railway competition. The advocates of such a measure strenuously deny this. Mr. Blanchard says that railway pooling does not discourage, but, on the contrary, encourages, competition; that its nobler forms, so to speak, do not end, but only just begin, with the passage of a pooling bill.

In attempting to unravel the absurdities surrounding many of the rate conditions in this country we are often met with the objection, more or less plainly expressed, that the ordinary mind cannot comprehend these problems; that only a "transportation expert" can be expected to understand why railroads should render a given service for nothing in one case and charge an exorbitant price for it in another. In much the same spirit, Mr. Blanchard has woven around this discus-

sion a maze of figures, and covered it with a cloud of reasoning apt to be confusing. Fortunately, however, there is nothing about the subject itself which is difficult of comprehension by the non-expert mind. The problem is a simple one, and is best understood by a simple illustration. For this purpose, let us take two points like Chicago and Kansas City. The traffic between these two cities is extensive. They are connected by six lines of railway, with no water connection to complicate the situation. The present condition of things is this: Each of these six railroads is seeking to obtain the business which moves between the two cities, and is holding out every possible inducement to attract it to its line. When other inducements fail, it reduces the rate.

Assume that a pooling law is passed, and that a pooling contract is made between these carriers. That contract is, in essence, extremely simple. It merely declares that each of these six lines shall be entitled to a certain part of the competitive business which passes over the whole six. If any line obtain more than its agreed proportion, then business shall be diverted from that line to the line which is in arrears as to its proportion; and if the business refuse to be diverted, then the carrier receiving more than its part shall make compensation by money payment. The details for ascertaining the entire amount of traffic, and for dividing the same according to the contract may be somewhat complicated; but the contract itself is nothing more than above indicated.

What is the objection to legalizing that contract? The common law declares it illegal as against public policy; and, while there is current, both in and out of Congress, a good deal of nonsense upon the subject of trusts and monopolies, it is pretty generally conceded that the monopoly of a necessity should be guarded against. In this regard, I think it may be said that there are few, if any, combinations of capital which present a better opportunity for the abuse of combination than railway pooling.

It should never be forgotten, in discussions of this question, that the *people* pay the freight, and that the people, therefore, are ultimately interested. The freight-rate is of vital consequence to the manufacturer and to the merchant, but only to the extent of its relative, not its absolute, fairness. Unless some individual competitor, or some competing locality, enjoys advantages in the matter of rates which the merchant does not, the rate itself is of minor consequence; for the merchant adds to the cost in market the cost of bringing his goods from market, and the sum is the amount upon which he charges his profit. The consumer of the article is the one whom the freight-rate finally touches.

Bearing this in mind, I say, then, that no trust can be so dangerous as a transportation trust: First, because no other trust, or combination of trusts, can affect so large a number of things. There is nothing which we eat or drink or wear that the freight-rate has not entered into; and in many cases it forms the larger part of the value. A slight increase—so slight as to be almost imperceptible, and as to pass unnoticed in many instances—will, in the aggregate, amount to an enormous sum. Mr. Blanchard has well illustrated this in a statement made for use in another connection. He says that the addition of but one cent per ton to the rate on each ton of freight carried in 1895 would have amounted to \$7,000,638; that a similar addition to the fare of each passenger carried during the same year would have realized \$5,439,742; yet that those additions are so small as to attract no attention in the individual instance.

In the second place, a transportation trust is the most dangerous of all trusts because it absolutely dominates the situation. A barrel of kerosene oil or of sugar can be refined anywhere. Tobacco can be manufactured at all points. Articles manufactured abroad may compete with the same articles manufactured at home. The cost of the plant required to produce most articles is not great.

Recur now to the illustration of a pooling contract. Whatever traffic passes between Chicago and Kansas City *must*—assuming them to be the only lines—pass over one of the six lines of railroad which are parties to that contract. No other line can be constructed which can become a competitor for that traffic without the outlay of millions of dollars. It cannot be denied, therefore, that this combination of railroads controls the traffic between Kansas City and Chicago more absolutely than any other trust could control a thing of common necessity, with the exception of the supply of gas or electric light or water. Let us follow a little further the working of this pool.

It is an axiom of recent days that a railroad is entitled to earn so much. It does not very clearly appear just what the origin of that title is, nor what is the amount to which it extends; but it is settled, upon the highest judicial authority in the land, that there is a point below which the revenues of a railroad cannot be reduced. Now at the end of six months some one of the six lines looks over the income-sheet and ascertains that, upon a particular basis, it is not earning what it is "entitled" to. The matter is taken up with the other members of the pool; it is agreed that the rates are too low, that they ought to be advanced somewhat; and, accordingly, an advance is made.

Would or would not this be the result? If not, why? Mr. Blanchard says that the railroads of the United States earned in 1895 but 1.57 per cent upon their capitalization; that, although the cost of operating the American railway is greater, our rates are much lower than those of the Continent, and only about one-half as high as in England. He declares that they are unreasonably low; and every railroad manager in the land will agree with him. Is it credible that, if these managers had the unrestrained power to do so, they would not raise the rates?

Mr. Blanchard says that, "No American pool ever advanced rates, unless to restore unjustifiable rate-war reductions." The fact that he qualifies this statement by the use of the word "American" would indicate that English and European pools, which are held up to our admiration in the same articles, may have advanced rates; but of this a word hereafter.

His statement is that pooling has never advanced rates "unless to restore unjustifiable rate-war reductions." This is exactly the point. Almost every reduction has been a rate-war reduction; and who is to say whether it was justifiable or unjustifiable? Rates may be too low. In many instances they are too low. In such cases they ought to be advanced; but who is to say whether they are too low or whether they ought to be made higher? Is that question to be left to the railroads alone? A pooling bill like the Foraker Bill leaves it there.

The proposition is this: Give the gentlemen who manage the railroads in this country the unlimited power to determine what they ought to earn, and they will exercise that power fairly. Put this lamb into their hands to be shorn, and they will shear it tenderly. Undoubtedly; but let it ever be remembered that the shearing is for the wool, not for the comfort of the animal.

No imputation is intended to be cast upon the fairness of railroad managers; but they are actuated by exactly the same motives as other men. They are put in charge of the properties which they operate, to look after the interests of those properties, not of the public. Hitherto competition has forced down the rate and kept it down. If that restraining force be removed by statutory enactment, something else ought to be put in the place of it; and if that something be not supplied the people who pay the freight must suffer.

In this connection one argument, which Mr. Blanchard repeats at almost every page, should be noticed. It is that a pooling bill should be enacted because the present law is not obeyed.

About the first of June in the present year, the newspapers announced that the presidents of the Pennsylvania and New York Central roads had taken the Baltimore and Ohio to task for its demoralization of rates, and that the managers of that road had agreed to do better. Mr. John K. Cowen, one of the receivers of the Baltimore and Ohio, apparently smarting under these imputations, published an interview upon that subject, which was printed in most of the leading newspapers. In that interview,—I quote from the "Washington Post" of June 5,—Mr. Cowen said:—

"Mr. Murray and myself had an exceedingly pleasant interview with Messrs. Thompson and Depew. There was no pretence by anyone present that any of the railroads out of New York were maintaining rates, with the single exception of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western; and the pretence that the Baltimore and Ohio is acting differently from other roads is one of the persistent humbugs which has been resolutely and constantly published, and for which there is not the slightest foundation in truth."

Here, then, were the representatives of three lines leading from New York—two of them most powerful ones—discussing the rate situation; and there was "no pretence" that either of the three was obeying the law.

Just about the same time, it transpired, in an investigation before the Commission at Chicago, that the lines leading from that city east had agreed by arbitration what percentage of the total east-bound competitive traffic each line should have, and that one carrier, in obedience to this agreement, had passed over considerable quantities of traffic to two of the competing carriers. This means that the lines leading east from Chicago, in open violation of the fifth section of the Act to Regulate Commerce, had organized and were maintaining a freight pool.

Now all these lines are members of the Joint Traffic Association, which is asking, through Mr. Blanchard, for this legislation. It is not intended to suggest that the gentlemen who thus violated the law were not quite justified in so doing. They urge with great force that they must either do it or sacrifice the properties which they administer. But is it not pertinent to inquire whether, if these men justify themselves in defying the statute law in the interest of their properties, they would not, in the interest of these same properties, advance a freight-rate which they believe to be too low, and of which they are given absolute control?

But if the formation of this contract were legalized, would there be nothing to restrain these lines from an arbitrary advance in rates?

Certainly. Precisely the same influences which operate in other business relations would operate here. First, there would be what may be termed the moral element. We all read in boyhood days the fable of "The Goose and the Golden Egg." Any considerable advance in rates consequent upon the passage of a pooling bill, would raise a storm of indignation which would speedily repeal the law itself. The railroad men of this country are altogether too astute to be guilty of that folly, whatever they might deem just.

In 1894, all the railroads centring in Chicago agreed to impose a switching charge of two dollars per car on live stock taken to the Union Stock Yards. The amount in the case of a single car is trifling; but the aggregate is about seven hundred thousand dollars a year. In 1890, the carriers between Florida and Northern cities agreed to an advance of ten cents a box on oranges. The amount per box was slight; but the aggregate on all the oranges raised that year in Florida would have been three hundred thousand dollars. It should be observed that in the latter case the advance was made, notwithstanding the existence of the most active water competition. These are illustrations of what might be expected. In the last ten years, the changes have been mostly downward. In the ten years following the enactment of a pooling law, they would be mostly upward. I am not saying that in many, perhaps in most, instances that would not be justifiable; but I do say that it should not be left to the unrestrained judgment of a combination of carriers to say what is and what is not just.

Mr. Blanchard states that at the present time no fault is ever found with the rate as being too high. Here he is in error. In April of the present year, the Commission heard cases in which were directly brought in question the rates upon vegetables from Florida to the North, the rates on cotton from Texas points to the seaboard, and the rates on corn from Kansas points to Galveston and New Orleans. The reductions asked for in these cases would amount to many millions of dollars annually; and the witnesses for the complainants testified that their women and children were working in the fields because of the exorbitant freight-rates.

These witnesses believed exactly what they said. If they were wrong, the railroads deserve the judgment of some impartial tribunal to stand between them and public opinion: if they were right, in justice to the people, the rates should be reduced.

The second consideration would be a business one. Any considerable advance in the rate would divert business to circuitous routes: in

the case of some kinds of freight a very slight differential will do this. Again, the rate must be such that traffic can move under it. A considerable amount of the traffic between Kansas City and Chicago is grain, which is raised west of Kansas City and passes through there on its way to market. Of this grain, some may be used in Kansas City, some in Chicago; while large quantities are consumed in the East. Other portions of it are consigned for consumption in the South; while very large quantities are exported through different ports. Now, that carried from Kansas City to the East need not necessarily go by the way of Chicago; that is to say, some line other than the six competes for the business. This means another pool upon grain from that section to the East. That part of it which is exported may go either through the Atlantic seaports, such as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, etc., or through Gulf ports, such as New Orleans and Galveston. Here, then, is a new set of competitors, begotten of the struggle between the roads leading south and those leading east, for this export business; and this means still another pool.

Is this absurd? Why? In January, 1897, the railway lines leading east established a rate of seventeen and one-half cents per hundred pounds on corn for export from Mississippi River points to Boston and New York; and that rate was maintained until about September 1. The rate from the same points during this period for local consumption was twenty-five cents to Boston, and twenty-three cents to New York. The low export rate would probably be excused by some reference to the foreign market; but it was in reality made for the purpose of diverting traffic from the roads leading to the Gulf ports. Would these companies find it more profitable to maintain that rate, or to pool the export traffic?

Mr. Blanchard asserts that it has been said in debate on the floor of the Senate that the passage of a pooling law would consolidate the American railways into one gigantic corporation; and he adds that it is impossible to discuss such screeds seriously. It is not stated from what individual source this sentiment proceeded. From whomsoever it came, it contained fully as much truth as does his characterization of it. It may not be that the Boston and Maine would pool with a Los Angeles line, but it is reasonably certain that a line having its terminus at Galveston would pool with another line having its terminus in Boston.

Our railroads have become exhausted and disgusted in the attempt to maintain rates upon competitive traffic. If pooling were to be legalized to-day, the best railway talent would find employment in that field,

and the years would be few before the great bulk of competitive business, of whatever kind or locality, would be the subject of such contracts.

The gist of what has been said is this: Competition gives a low rate; but it produces a succession of evils which are deplorable. Pooling, by removing competition, does away with the evils: but it puts into the hands of the carriers absolute power over the rate; and that power should not be entrusted to them until some effectual restraint is put upon the exercise of it.

Even to Mr. Blanchard, there comes an inkling that the people may have some stake in the matter; for, he assures us, his employers have carefully provided for this. At page 53 of his pamphlet, he says:—

“The railways propose to protect the public, in the first instance, by submitting their rates to the preliminary review of the Interstate Commerce Commission.”

I am at a loss to know just what Mr. Blanchard means by that statement. The Foraker Bill provides that pooling contracts shall be filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that, if disapproved by the Commission within a given time, they shall not go into effect. But those contracts merely provide for the division of the traffic. Neither the Interstate Commerce Commission nor the public are interested in that. What concerns the public is the rate; and this contract which is to be filed makes no mention of rates. There is nothing to approve and nothing to disapprove. If the carriers who are parties to this contract subsequently make a rate under which the traffic shall be carried, that rate is filed with the Commission so many days before it takes effect. It is also posted in the stations of the carrier, subject to the inspection of the public; and the public has exactly as much power to prohibit that rate as the Interstate Commerce Commission has. This is the only submission that is ever made to the “preliminary review” of anyone. In the same way, the Government submits his sentence to the “preliminary review” of the condemned criminal. It is read to him. And the murderer under death-sentence has just as much power over the execution of that sentence as the Interstate Commerce Commission has over the putting in force of a rate.

If the proposed law required, as every pooling Act should require, that the contract specify the maximum rates, and that no higher rates should be charged by the carriers during the term of the contract, there would be something upon which the approval of the Commission might act; and the public would thereby acquire a limited protection.

It is said that, under the Foraker Bill, the Commission has an indirect power over the rate, for the reason that it may, under certain conditions, order rates changed or modified, and may even, if it find the operation of the pooling contract baneful, declare the contract void. With reference to this claim, two observations should be made :

First. As water competition does not stop with the shore, so the influence of pooling contracts would not cease with the traffic to which they refer. Under the operation of the long-and-short-haul section, the competitive through rate forces down the non-competitive local rate. Once give railway companies the right to make contracts by which competitive business is controlled, and you have strengthened them immensely in respect to all their business. The inability to pool in the past has reduced the rate not only on competitive traffic, but upon all traffic. The right in question would tend to raise the rate upon all traffic.

Second. It is not clear what the effect of these powers would be, nor, indeed, to what extent they might be exercised. It is enough to say, with reference to this qualification and several others which have been suggested by way of amendment to the Foraker Bill, that they appear to have been drafted with a view to granting as little as possible, and with the hope that they might be ultimately held to grant nothing at all. This should not be tolerated. Whatever rights the people acquire should be so clearly expressed that they cannot be frittered away by judicial decision. The history of the present Act to Regulate Commerce demonstrates this. The framers of the Act unquestionably supposed that a means had been provided by which an interstate carrier could be compelled to make a reasonable rate upon interstate traffic. From the very first, it was assumed by the Commission that it might, in declaring a rate unreasonable, prescribe a rate that was reasonable. For years no serious question was made about this. When the right was first questioned, the most eminent counsel which the Commission could find declared that the contrary claim was preposterous ; and the general opinion coincided with this. Yet the Supreme Court of the United States has recently held that the power does not exist ; and this decision is the climax to a series of Federal decisions which have shorn the Interstate Commerce Law of the effective part of the much-exploited powers with which it began its career ten years ago.

No question is made as to the correctness of those decisions ; but the fact is a perpetual lesson to whomsoever stands for the people in this issue, that he must not give away the protection which competition has and does furnish the public, until he has some guarantee in

the place of it, written in language so plain that judge and layman cannot fail to read it alike.

It is said that the Commission has control over the rate because it may declare that rate unreasonable and order reparation to the person injured; and the Supreme Court, in deciding that no power exists to make a rate for the future, so intimates. A moment's consideration will show that this power, while something in the statement, is nothing in the execution.

Suppose that the roads between Kansas City and Chicago determine that the rates on corn are too low, and advance the rate one cent per bushel. The Commission has power, if it find this advance unreasonable, to say so and to award damages. But, in the first place, who is to make the complaint? Complaints entered in cases of this sort are now ordinarily made and prosecuted by some board of trade or association; for an individual cannot incur the expense. In such cases, the complainant is entitled to no reparation, because it has suffered no damage. We will assume, however, that some shipper who has actually suffered damage makes a complaint. The Commission is of the opinion that the rate is unreasonable, and awards reparation to the complainant. What progress has he thereby made in the collection of the amount awarded? Absolutely none. He must go into a Federal court and try there, by jury or by court, the identical question which was tried before the Commission. Infinitely better is it to begin before the court; for, if the decision of the Commission be adverse, he loses his remedy altogether; whereas, by beginning in court, he avoids that chance of defeat.

That, however, is not the worst of it. In almost every instance these damages do not belong in equity to the party who pays the freight. An advance of one cent per bushel in the rate on corn to Chicago makes the corn one cent higher in Chicago or one cent lower where it is raised. Either the consumer pays the additional cent or the producer receives that much less for his product. The shipper, who is generally neither the producer nor the consumer, buys and sells upon the rate as it is. No judgment in damages will therefore place the loss where it actually falls. Nothing can correct the harm done in the past: the only remedy is to make a rate for the future.

In the present state of the law, therefore, the Commission has absolutely no control over the rate. Furthermore, as the law was supposed to stand before this last decision, while it exercised a theoretical it had no substantial power of that sort; for, while it did make orders fixing the maximum rate, those orders had no terror for the carriers.

It is worse than useless to confer authority unless the means of enforcing that authority are also provided. Moral suasion may be efficacious in certain quarters; but, as applied to the interstate carriers of this country in the aggregate, it has proved a lamentable failure. The Commission never can be a regulating body until its order, when made, means something. Granting that there should be in all cases the right of appeal from its decision, the order, except in extraordinary instances, should remain effective until set aside. This may be "drastic"; but there cannot be even the beginning of regulation without it. In England, whose example upon the pooling question is eloquently held up to us by Mr. Blanchard, the powers of the Railway Commission are much more extensive than those of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and there is absolutely no appeal from its decision upon questions of fact. An experience of thirty-four years—from 1854 to 1888—taught the English people that they had no protection otherwise.

It is not, however, the purpose to discuss here the defects of the Interstate Commerce Law, but simply to make it plain and emphatic that the Commission has no effective power over the rate. If that body be relied upon to protect the public against the possible abuses of pooling, it must be invested with authority which it does not now possess.

Mr. Blanchard cites the opinions of many eminent men to the effect that pooling ought to be legalized; and this, with persons who have never given any particular study to the subject, will certainly be the most convincing part of his argument. An examination of these opinions, in connection with the context with which they were delivered, will show, however, that, almost without exception,—perhaps without any exception,—they approve the enactment of a pooling law upon the supposition that there either is or will be some restraining power along with it. That is not the position for which Mr. Blanchard contends; and hence his quotations are unfair and misleading. His conclusion is that the railroads should be allowed to pool, whether or no. The opinions quoted declare that they should have that right, *provided* they are sufficiently under control of the Government to prevent an abuse of it. His inference is, "Pass the Foraker Bill." The actual proposition is, "Enact that law, provided you enact, as a part of it, a measure of effective regulation."

There is no space here to examine in detail all the various quotations. I will select one—which is perhaps entitled to as much consideration as any other—from the opinion of Judge Reagan. It will be

remembered that Judge Reagan was chairman of the committee having the Interstate Commerce Act in charge in the House of Representatives. He was, in some sense, the originator and champion of that Act, and at the time of its passage earnestly favored the enactment of the fifth section, which prohibits pooling. Later on, he left Congress and accepted the position of chairman of the Railway Commission of Texas, which had been created by a statute framed in accordance with his ideas. He is, therefore, exceptionally well qualified to express an opinion; and it can hardly be supposed that his opinion would be unduly favorable to the railway interests. Mr. Blanchard quotes the following language used by Judge Reagan in May, 1896:—

“I have believed and do believe that the pooling of freights and division of earnings could be authorized by law, and so regulated as to prevent, to a large extent, if not entirely, railroad wars and unjust discriminations in freight-rates, with advantage both to the railroads and to shippers.”

This language was used in a report to the Eighth National Convention of Railroad Commissioners; and the same report contains this language:—

“To authorize the pooling of freights and divisions of earnings by the railroads, without the limitations above mentioned, would be to sanction the restoration of the abuses and wrongs which caused Congress to adopt the fifth section of the Act to Regulate Commerce.”

What Judge Reagan said was, therefore, that pooling might, with advantage, be legalized, *if properly restricted*. Few people who have given the subject any attention deny that. The question is how to properly restrict it.

Mr. Blanchard also points frequently and emphatically to the example of foreign nations upon this subject. He tells us that on the Continent and in England pooling is universally allowed; and he insists that the experience of these countries has shown that its results are most beneficial. He urges that the United States ought to be guided by these examples. He omits to state, however, that in nearly every country on the Continent where pooling is permitted the government owns and operates either all the railways, or one or more important railway lines; in the latter case, exercising a much stricter supervision over the others than we have ever deemed possible.

He dwells, with especial satisfaction, upon the fact that England permits pooling. Does he intend to suggest that his employers will accept the measure of regulation which England has meted out to its

railroads? If so, the people may well accede; for England has kept a firmer hand upon its transportation agencies than has the United States. As early as 1854, England enacted a measure of railway regulation. In 1888, it codified the law upon that subject. How does that law, as amended, compare, in its vital principles, with the Act to Regulate Commerce?

The Interstate Commerce Commission has no power to compel a traffic connection between two or more railway lines. In this country, no railroad can be compelled to form a through line with any other railroad against its will. In England, the Railway Commission can, upon the application of a railroad or a shipper, establish a through route and a through rate, and determine the divisions and conditions upon which through traffic shall move. There, the Government fixes absolutely the maximum local rate; and the joint rate is completely under the control of the Railway Commission. Here, the Government has no power whatever over an interstate rate. The decision of the English Railway Commission upon questions of fact is final; an appeal being allowed upon questions of law alone. The order of the Interstate Commerce Commission is in no case more than a recommendation. Mr. Blanchard cites England as an example to be followed. Will the Joint Traffic Association, for which he speaks, submit to that measure of regulation?

Mr. Blanchard says that the Interstate Act, while practically a failure, has been "mutually educational." The phrase is a felicitous one, and expresses much truth. But if the instruction be mutual, ought not the benefit derived to be equally so? Should the public have the education, and the railroads the legislation? Rather, in view of the lessons of the past, ought not some measure to be enacted which shall protect the interests of all concerned?

The writer does not oppose the enactment of a pooling bill. Many people whose judgment is entitled to much greater respect do. Mr. Blanchard says that railway rates upon the Continent are twice as high as in the United States, although the service there is inferior and the cost of operation less; and the only apparent reason for this difference is, that, with us, rates are the result of open competition, while there they are made by effective agreement.

Still, lowness of rate is not the only thing, nor perhaps the most important thing. The rate should be fair, as between the railroads and the public, as between localities, as between commodities; and above everything, it should be open to all alike. There is at the pres-

ent time too much ground for the charge that, in many localities, and with reference to many commodities, an honest man—meaning by that one who obeys the statute law—can neither operate nor ship over a railroad.

For the reasons stated by Mr. Blanchard, and for many reasons which he does not state, most people who have examined this question conclude that the right to make pooling contracts would, to a large extent, do away with the demoralization of rates, and the consequent disastrous results to both railroads and public; and that permission to make such contracts ought to be given.

From this I do not dissent. It is impossible to come into contact with the actual railway operations of this country to-day without being convinced that a majority of the men in charge of our railroad properties are sincerely desirous of operating those properties in obedience to law. It is impossible to resist the further conviction that, taking the law as it now stands and the conditions as they now actually exist, the honest railroad is at a most serious disadvantage. An interstate carrier which complies with the provisions of the Act to Regulate Commerce does so at the expense of business which legitimately belongs to it. This ought not to be; and when these men, in good faith, ask Congress for legislation which will amend this state of affairs and enable them better to administer their trusts, they are entitled to speedy and careful attention and to whatever relief can consistently be granted. The fact that the relief asked for may involve the creation of a "trust," is not conclusive against it. Every railroad has, of necessity, with reference to a large portion of its traffic, an absolute monopoly; but the remedy for this sort of monopoly is regulation, not strangulation. The purpose of this article is simply to emphasize two facts: First, that, in legislation of this sort, the public has a vital interest which must be protected; and, second, that no provision of law now in existence affords even the shadow of such protection. "Subject to the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission" sounds reassuring: in the present state of the law it means absolutely nothing. CHARLES A. PROUTY.

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE HAWAIIAN TREATY.

I AM a Republican, was a Whig, and voted for William Henry Harrison in 1836 and 1840. I supported Benjamin Harrison, whose last important act was the treaty with the revolutionary whites in Hawaii, which I condemned publicly. I equally condemn the treaty of President McKinley with them, now before the Senate. It is unconstitutional, unwise, and dangerous.

There is no express power in the Constitution to acquire and incorporate a foreign territory and people into the Union. Precedents are cited to justify the annexation of Hawaii. Precedent does not amend the Constitution. Amendment requires a vote of two-thirds of Congress, and of three-fourths of the States. Consent of the Senate alone is not enough. Precedent belongs to the *leges non scriptas*; it has no force except by usage and consent, and must be precisely in point. There is no precedent to justify the admission by treaty of Hawaii. The purchases of Louisiana, Florida, and Alaska are cited; but these are not in point. A purchase unauthorized by the Constitution can be justified only by an overruling necessity for the national safety. To warrant the exercise of a power not found in the Constitution, the necessity must be clear and imperative. Without this it is a violation of the oath of office. The life of the Constitution is as sacred to the people as natural life is to the individual.

The limits of this paper will not admit of an extended reference to the purchases of Louisiana, Florida, and Alaska; but perhaps enough can be said to make the necessity in each case reasonably clear.

LOUISIANA.

Before 1800, Spain had governed Louisiana many years. In 1800, Spain ceded Louisiana to France. France ceded it to the United States in 1803. Says a writer:—

“ From the time of the first settlement of the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, the importance of the river as a means of transportation to the seaboard, and the almost necessity of possessing the country about its mouths were

recognized by the United States. As settlements increased in the valley and spread down the river, and as the hostile policy of Spain became more and more plainly developed, the feeling of the settlers became stronger against the restrictions of the Spanish government. In 1800, however, Spain ceded the territory back to France, and in 1803 it was sold to the United States by Napoleon, to prevent its falling into the hands of Great Britain."

The citizens of the Western Territories, especially of Kentucky, became excited by the close grip held by Spain upon the navigation of the Mississippi and its mouths; and some of the leading men there entered into correspondence with the Spanish authorities at New Orleans, even contemplating allegiance to Spain. Gen. Wilkinson became prominent in these transactions. On January 8, 1788, Miro, the Spanish Governor, writing to Señor Valdez, the Spanish Minister, said:—

"The delivering up of Kentucky into his Majesty's hands, which is the main object to which Gen. Wilkinson has promised to devote himself entirely, would forever constitute this province a rampart for the protection of New Spain."

On June 15, 1788, Miro sent a copy of Wilkinson's letter to Madrid, and referred to Major Dunn, the confidential friend of Wilkinson, as corroborating his statements.

When Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister to the United States, came, he declared at once that Spain would never permit any nation to use the Mississippi. In consequence of this declaration, Congress instructed John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs:—

"That he enter into no treaty, compact, or convention whatever with the representatives of Spain, which does not stipulate the right of the United States to the navigation of the Mississippi."

The situation in Kentucky was made more alarming to Washington and Madison; for they feared that it might turn the vote of Virginia against the adoption of the Federal Constitution, then before the people. Madison wrote to Washington, June 4, 1788:—

"Kentucky is supposed to be generally adverse; and every kind of address is going on privately, to work local interests and prejudices in that and other quarters."

The Spanish difficulties led to the treaty of October 27, 1795, by the fourth article of which, Spain granted to the United States a very limited right of navigating the Mississippi, and, by the twenty-second article, permitted citizens of the United States to deposit merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans. The breach of these conces-

sions is referred to by Mr. Jefferson in his Message to Congress, convened October 17, 1803, relating to his treaty of purchase of April 30, 1803. He says:—

“ Congress witnessed at their last session the extraordinary agitation produced in the public mind by the suspension of the right of deposit at the port of New Orleans ; no assignment of another place having been made according to the treaty. . . . Previous to this period, however, we had not been unaware of the danger to which our peace would be perpetually exposed whilst so important a key to the commerce of the western country remained with a foreign Power. Difficulties, too, were presenting themselves to the navigation of other streams which, arising in our territory, pass through those adjacent.”

The last sentence has reference to all the important rivers entering into the Mississippi through Louisiana. Mr. Jefferson referred also to the necessary sovereignty and uncontrolled navigation of the river, “ free from collision with other Powers, and the dangers to our peace.”

This is a very brief statement of the case of Louisiana ; but it must strike the most ordinary mind that the purchase was an overruling and overwhelming necessity, to free the United States from an intolerable burden. What would be the present public feeling, if the Mississippi were now shut up by a foreign Power ?

FLORIDA.

The purchase of Florida presents even a stronger case of imperative necessity, especially as it freed us, equally with Louisiana, from the same hostile Power.

Previous to the purchase, Mr. Monroe, in his Message to Congress of November 16, 1818, stated the dangers, and the alarming attitude of Florida to the United States. Spain had failed for many years to ratify a treaty made in 1802 for the reparation of injuries to our citizens. Mr. Monroe adverted to the feeble government exercised by Spain over this province, and added :—

“ Adventurers from every country, fugitives from justice, and absconding slaves found an asylum there. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extend to our limits, inhabit these provinces. . . . A system of buccaneering was rapidly organizing over it, which menaced the commerce of every nation, and particularly of the United States. . . . In regard to the United States, the pernicious effect of this unlawful combination was not confined to the ocean. The Indian tribes have constituted the effective force of Florida. With these tribes, the adventurers had formed, at an early period, a connection with a view to avail themselves of that force, to promote their own projects of accumulation and aggrandizement.”

Referring to the Indian depredations, he says :—

“In authorizing Maj.-Gen. Jackson to enter Florida in pursuit of the Seminoles, care was taken not to encroach on the rights of Spain. I regret I have to add that, in the exercise of this order, facts were disclosed respecting the conduct of the officers of Spain in authority there, in encouraging the war, furnishing munitions and other supplies to carry it on, and in other aid not less marked, which evinced their participation in the hostile purposes of the combination, and justified the confidence with which it inspired the savages, that by those officers they would be protected. A conduct so incompatible with the friendly relations existing between the two countries, particularly with the positive obligation of the fifth article of the treaty of 1795, by which Spain was bound to restrain, even by force, these savages from acts of hostility against the United States, could not fail to excite surprise.”

Much more might be stated ; but this is enough to prove that the purchase of Florida was an imperative necessity, to free the United States from a neighbor whose hostility kept us in constant alarm. Without a visible boundary, its juxtaposition left us without protection. Besides, the purchase was essential to consolidate the area of the United States.

ALASKA.

In 1867, Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, found that Alaska could be purchased of Russia ; thereby erecting a barrier to the constant encroachments of Great Britain on American interests. The British possessions in Canada had been a source of collision and irritation ever since the treaty of peace in 1783. Beginning with the independence of the Colonies, British hostility had followed the States down to the Civil War in 1861. Not content with ordinary warfare, she had set upon the Colonies savages, whose ferocity and cruelty fill pages of history. Her continued encouragement resulted in the defeat of the armies of Harmer and St. Clair in 1790 and 1791. She repeated the injury in the war of 1812. Notwithstanding the treaty of peace in 1783, she continued to hold Detroit and other American territory for years ; thus keeping up Indian hostility. She drove our merchant marine largely from the sea ; asserting an insulting right of search, and taking sailors from our vessels, claiming them to be British subjects. So great were her aggressions, that, though we were a weak nation, we were forced to declare war against her in 1812. In 1814, she burned the Capitol at Washington under humiliating circumstances. At New Orleans she was checked by a defeat so disastrous that its ignominy has since rankled in British hearts.

Bound, by her treaty of 1783, to settle the northern boundary, she

failed to do so for over fifty years. In consequence, our border was disturbed by constant alarms. In December, 1837, these disturbances were consummated by a Canadian force under Alex. McCleod entering the harbor at Schlosser, New York, and burning the steamboat "Caroline" at the wharf. These irritating injuries and constant alarms led at last to the Ashburton Treaty at Washington in August, 1842. The grievances leading to the Treaty will be found stated in Mr. Webster's speech in the Senate on April 6, 1846.

Inter alia, Mr. Webster said :—

"Now let us pause to consider this [the efforts to bring England to settle the boundary]. Here we are, sixty-three years from the treaty of peace in 1783, and the boundary not settled. Gen. Jackson tried his hand at the business for five years, and has done nothing."

Referring to Mr. Van Buren :—

"What did he do? What advance did he make? Sir, not one step in the whole four years."

In November, 1840, McCleod was arrested in New York for his outrage at Schlosser, the burning of the "Caroline," and the killing of a citizen named Durfree. Mr. Fox, the British Minister, when informed of the outrage by our Secretary, avowed it as an act of British authority. It thus became a national question, which might lead to war. The outrage had occurred in a time of universal depression in our affairs,—the suspension of specie payments in 1837. The danger was gotten rid of only by a *nolle prosequi* by the Governor of New York.

The treaty of Washington was not an end to aggression. When Oregon became important to us, it was found that Great Britain had already taken possession, and disputed our title. The dispute was compromised by President Polk adopting the line of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude. Great Britain thereby retained Vancouver's Island with an area of nearly 14,000 square miles, and other territory, virtually commanding the commerce of the Columbia River; also a shore-line of 560 miles,—altogether a territory of 355,999 square miles.

Thus it became evident to Mr. Seward, that the aggressiveness of Great Britain was a constant menace and source of danger to our possessions on the Pacific. In addition to pressing down our northern boundary from fifty-four degrees forty minutes to forty-nine degrees north latitude, she had again outwitted us by curtailing it, by a curved line through the Strait of San Juan de Fuca, nearly to the forty-eighth

degree; thus securing the whole of Vancouver's Island, the Fuca Strait, the Georgia Strait, Plunger Pass, and various islands.

Russia, becoming tired of her American possessions, was disposed to part with them. If Alaska fell into the possession of Great Britain, it would give her great power to annoy us and to make further claims upon our Pacific territory. The internal sinuous passages by Vancouver's Island, the various straits, and islands were full of intricacies within an indented coast. With Great Britain in possession of Alaska, owing to the great peculiarity of the seas, passes, and straits, she would possess greater means of raising new and embarrassing questions and of making further encroachments. Mr. Seward saw that the safety of the United States rested in the immediate purchase of Alaska while the opportunity offered; and he was actuated, very much as Mr. Jefferson was in the purchase of Louisiana, by the desire to prevent it from falling into the hands of Great Britain, or indeed of any other nation. The purchase was absolutely necessary to present a barrier to British schemes and British claims.

This brief narrative proves, beyond controversy, that the purchases of Louisiana, Florida, and Alaska constitute no precedent for the annexation of Hawaii.

Not a single benefit to be derived from its incorporation into the Union is an absolute or vital necessity. All its advantages are simply commercial; and they do not justify a power to purchase not found in the Constitution. Every well-read lawyer knows that the Constitution of the United States is an instrument of expressly granted powers; and a power not found stated in it, or which cannot be justly implied from the expressly granted powers, is expressly reserved to the people or the States, and expressly withheld from the United States by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution. The power to purchase or to annex foreign territory and a foreign people is not only not granted, but, being within the express exceptions of the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, cannot be implied. Implication is within the well-known rule of interpretation relating to all written instruments: "*Expressio unius est exclusio alterius. Expressum facit cessare tacitum.*"

It is proper to refer to the case of Texas, lest it be supposed to have been overlooked. Texas was admitted by Act of Congress, all the elements of legislation, including the Representatives of the people, joining in the Act. Being an Act in all the forms of the Constitution, it differs

from a treaty, which originates in the will of one man, and has not the consent of the Representatives. Yet the Act was really unconstitutional, there being no power granted in the Constitution to acquire foreign territory.

Texas was acquired to preserve Southern equality in the Senate. The motive was sectional; yet the subsequent acquisition of Mexican territory under the war powers in 1848 has made Texas an absolute necessity, not only to consolidate our territory, but to give us a highway between the East and the West to the Pacific. The people have acquiesced; yet every good lawyer will say that the Act was without constitutional power.

But a treaty originating with the President comes from no act or *imprimatur* of the people. What right has he to introduce a new member into the Union? The compact of States is more sacred than a partnership of individuals; yet it is common law and common justice that one partner cannot introduce another without the consent of his fellows. Independently of the Constitution, the question is vital. Is the nation to be at the will of a single man, influenced by whatever motives of ambition, power, or wealth may happen to enter his single mind? Confirmation of the Senate is no substitute for the consent of the people.

The President may conclude treaties, securing rights in foreign ports for commercial purposes. This concerns our foreign relations, and is under an express power to regulate commerce. But it has no relation—not even the most distant—to the incorporation of a foreign territory and people into the Union. This is not a question of commercial policy, but one of the alteration of the fundamental compact of union of these United States. This is beyond controversy. We come now to Hawaii.

HAWAII.

In the year 1887, Hawaii was a constitutional monarchy, its king being Kalakua. On July 9, 1889, a new and more liberal constitution was adopted, with the consent of the king, who accepted and signed it. The kingdom consisted of eight islands and some islets. In December, 1890, the population was 89,990, of whom about 2,000 were Americans. In 1893, the lawful government was overthrown by the Americans, who, with the connivance of abettors in the United States, had secretly imported arms and ammunition. They suddenly took possession of Honolulu,—expelling the lawful native government,—holding it by force of arms, and, by the same force, crushing a subsequent attempt of the natives to recover their natural, God-given rights.

The difficulties in which Queen Liliuokalani became involved with her subjects, in reference to a new constitution proposed by her, do not change the nature of the case. The fact is that the American whites seized and dissolved the native government by force, and held it by force of arms, with the intention of annexing the islands to the United States, and entered into a treaty with President Harrison for this purpose. It was not a peaceable change of government by the people, but was a violent seizure of the sovereignty of the islands by the American whites.

This revolutionary, small body of Americans constitutes the government with which President McKinley has made his treaty to incorporate the islands and their people into the Union. The indigenous, innocent, and harmless natives were despoiled of a self-government as true, as perfect, and as righteous as any people ever possessed; and they have had no part in this treaty.

Unlike the American Revolution, here was no uprising of an oppressed people to throw off a yoke of tyranny. They had not been ridden down by navigation Acts forbidding lawful commerce, and forbidding them to make an axe, a hoe, or a plough. They had not been rifled by taxation, stamp, and other oppressive duties, nor compelled to maintain soldiers quartered in their homes. Content with their peaceful condition, they were suddenly surprised and overthrown, and robbed of all men hold dear,—country, government, and sunny homes. Is there a man so dishonest, so debased, so void of conscience, so heartless, so devoid of patriotic instinct as to justify the robbery of a peaceful people of their rights?

What has taken place? The President of a great republic, nurtured in religion, marked for intelligence, refinement, love of justice, and high civilization,—the chief officer of such a nation clasps hands with the despoilers of an innocent people, robbed of their government, their property, and their country. He agrees to accept, at the hands of these despoilers, the fruits of insurrection and of base ingratitude toward a confiding people. By his personal act he makes the American people, who love justice and right, accessories after the fact to a great wrong. This is no fancy flight, no romantic tale, but a simple story of truth, a recital of wrongs known to the world.

There are some who would defend this wrong on the ground that a higher civilization may absorb a lower, that a partially Christianized people may be treated as pagans and peons. Wealth, interest, management, and political intrigue unite to secure a confirmation by the

Senate. Arguments are elaborated from manifest destiny, foreign armaments, self-protection, the grandeur and magnificence of the United States, drawn in captivating and grandiloquent description, surrounding our nation with such a halo of brightness and glory that it is difficult to rid the mind of Æsop's fable of "The Frog and the Ox."

It is intimated, too, that the Constitution is a relic of a past age, the obsolete work of ignorance, which modern thought and high enterprise should leave behind.

If we fear foreign nations, arm our coasts and defend our ports! If we need a harbor or coaling-station, secure it by treaty! If these be assailed, defend them by force of arms, as we do other rights! But if we assail or undermine the Constitution, where shall we stop? The man who knowingly violates the Constitution has no moral principle to guide him.

What interest has the mass of the people in this treaty? None whatever. Let it be confirmed, and a precedent will be established having no limit to danger. Folly may seize San Domingo, Avarice covet Cuba, and Greed grasp the islands of the Caribbean Sea. Variant interests will create controversies and constant struggles, ending in disunion. The Union, stretched and distended, will fall to pieces of its own weight and weakness, a prey to discord and foul ambition. Now look at some of the consequences in sight:

An ocean state 2,100 miles distant from our coast, and 5,000 miles from the seat of government, is liable to mishaps. The telegraph may convey news; but no force can reach it in less than a fortnight. Land and naval forces must be kept there for immediate use.

Incorporation confers a citizenship upon aliens not within the naturalization laws, comprehending 24,407 Japanese, 21,616 Chinese, 31,019 Hawaiians, 8,485 Half-breeds, some South Sea Islanders, besides 15,191 Portuguese, 2,250 Englishmen, 1,432 Germans, and a few others. It will give Hawaii two Senators and a Congressman, alien in character and foreign in interest, to vote on American measures. It will confer a right to send sugar and other products into our ports without payment of duties. It will endanger the Monroe Doctrine: we cannot acquire distant ocean lands, and yet debar Europe from American possessions.

We incur constant danger from the natives seeking to recover their just rights: they must be kept in subjugation by force of arms. We should be bound by the existing treaties of Hawaii with foreign nations, and thereby be liable to foreign complications.

This mixed brown, yellow, and dusky people, partly pagan, can-

not be absorbed by assimilation ; for they cannot marry with American whites.

In his Inaugural, Mr. McKinley warned the people against "a citizenship too ignorant to understand, or too vicious to appreciate, the great value and beneficence of our institutions and our laws." At that moment Hawaii was below his horizon.

Before concluding, I desire to say that what I have written about Great Britain is mere history, and is dictated by no prejudice. The time has come when England and the United States should unite more closely. We are similar in language, laws, customs, beliefs, religion, and blood ; and our best interests demand accord, as a defence against other Powers.

I would refer to past experience, but I almost fear to tell my age, lest I be charged with senility in venerating the Constitution, with fossilism in upholding the work of our revolutionary sires, with prudery in regarding a violation of the Constitution as a moral iniquity, with puerile sentimentality in considering the robbery of an innocent people an offence against right and justice, with a want of enterprise and of modern thought in my unwillingness to adopt the advanced views of those who would make the world the theatre of grand American achievements. Weak as the acknowledgment may be, in the year 1828 I was nineteen years of age, a student of law, somewhat observant, and witnessed the Presidential contest which overturned the American system, led to the formation of new parties, and produced marked changes among the people. Some of those changes were alarming ; but none was so alarming as this treaty, which projects its dark shadow into a distant future, filling it with uncertainty and gloom.

DANIEL AGNEW.

A STEP TOWARD ECONOMY IN THE POSTAL SERVICE.

DURING the recent tariff debate, it was intimated that the protective system, as a means of raising revenue, might be reaching its limits, and that in the future it would be necessary to resort to some new devices of internal taxation. This is a serious practical question. Before entering upon any vexatious and burdensome internal-revenue system, would it not be well to see if the same result might not be secured by certain retrenchments in public expenditure? A penny saved is a penny earned. If we have about reached the earning limit of our existing systems of taxation, would it not be prudent to ascertain what opportunities for great national savings lie about us?

No attempt will here be made to treat this question comprehensively. In one department, with which the writer has had considerable to do, an annual saving of \$12,000,000, and an improved service in consequence, can be shown as clearly possible. I refer to the Post-Office. If a few other branches of our public service should permit of a similar reduction in expenditure, the problem of increased taxation might at least be postponed for many years.

In modern times, it has been assumed to be the function of a civilized nation, to control and manage the mail business. The object in this is, fundamentally, to guard the secrecy and safety of personal correspondence, to encourage frequent communication between people, and the general dissemination of intelligence. In this great public service, the Government acts as the agent of the people; and, since it is the inherent duty of the citizen to support the Government, and not of the Government to support the citizen, all nations have regarded it as proper to charge for this postal service as much as its conduct has cost. If the charges be less than the cost of maintenance, the difference must be made up to the Treasury through general taxation. If the service yield a profit, as in England and most European countries, it should go to the Government, in place of so much of other public charges. Between these two plans, it would seem to be fair and businesslike to ask no profit from the service, but to make the service pay for itself.

Some of our Socialistic friends, and even a few conservative men,

assume that the Post-Office Department, like the War Department, or the Navy Department, is a necessity for the whole people, and should be supported by general taxation. A little reflection will serve to show that there is small analogy between the Army, or the Navy, and the Post-Office. The two first-named are for the protection of the country as a whole, for the maintenance of the national honor; and no individual receives in this more than another. The Postal Service, on the other hand, partakes of the nature of a business enterprise. It resembles the work of an express company or a transportation line. The amount of accommodation which it furnishes to the individual citizen varies enormously. It would, therefore, seem just that the people who use the Postal Service should pay for what they receive, and that the community as a whole should not be saddled with any considerable share of its cost.

While the position, that theoretically the Post-Office Department should pay for itself, is easily sustained and generally accepted, the fact remains that, for thirteen years, the deficit in this branch of the public service has been steadily and constantly increasing; and, unless some radical change be made, it threatens in the future to become worse instead of better. In 1885, the year in which newspaper postage was lowered from two cents to one cent a pound, the deficit was only \$1,256,000. In 1896, however, it had reached \$10,389,000; and the returns for the present year show that the deficit has grown to \$12,987,585. Unfortunately, in each of these instances the nominal or apparent deficit has been given instead of the real loss that the Government sustains in the conduct of the mail-carrying business. To be sure, it receives in return the carriage of its own public documents, and the right to extend the franking privilege. But look at the things that are never included in a statement of Post-Office accounts and for which the Government pays! Probably \$150,000,000 is invested in public buildings throughout the country used by the Postal Service. Besides the care and maintenance of these structures, the interest on the investment is no small sum. Then the huge auditing department of the Treasury, which is really a bookkeeping office for the mail business, is supported at general expense. The entire cost of the Post-Office Department itself in Washington is also provided for in the same way. To this must be added the remission in transportation rates to railroads which have been aided by grants of public land, and many other items of considerable amount. Our actual deficit is much nearer \$26,000,000 a year than one-half that sum.

It seems to be a characteristic of Postmasters-General to believe that the department over which they have charge is about to become self-sustaining. Mr. Wanamaker, an excellent business man, estimated, while Postmaster-General, that by the year 1894 the Department would show a comfortable surplus. Mr. Bissell was a close student of postal problems; and he steadily prophesied in his annual reports that the deficit would soon decrease. Instead, however, it has grown alarmingly, and, in the opinion of the writer, will continue to do so. The problem is a simple one. First-class mail matter pays, on an average, ninety-three cents a pound. The rate is two cents an ounce; but since the average weight of letters and postal cards is very much less than the maximum allowed on first-class matter, the amount stated has been found to be the actual return. Second-class mail matter pays one cent a pound. A great deal is carried as second-class matter which should not be so rated; and therein lies the opportunity for the saving in the Post-Office expenditures here proposed.

If any individual were making a profit of 100 per cent on one-eighth of a business, another eighth were just self-sustaining, and on the remaining three-fourths, he were losing 87 per cent, his descent to bankruptcy would be rapid. But this is about the character of the business the Post-Office is now doing. As it is an undertaking of the Government which all should understand, a few figures will not be amiss. Every taxpayer is a stockholder, although of late years he has received no dividends. In 1896, the Department handled:

Class of Matter.	Pounds.	Postage Received.
First.....	65,887,848	\$60,624,464
Second.....	848,988,648	2,966,408
Third.....	78,701,148	10,324,066
Fourth.....	19,950,187	3,129,321
Free.....	94,480,189	.....
Totals.....	607,507,515	\$77,044,254

It thus appears that \$77,044,254 in revenue was received by the Government on 607,507,515 pounds of mail matter. The cost of dealing with this was \$90,626,296.84, or nearly fifteen cents a pound. More than one-half this mail matter, measured by weight, returned the Government slightly under three million dollars; while a little more than 10 per cent, measured by weight, yielded over sixty million dollars. On

the score of public enlightenment, there is no objection to the low rate on second-class matter, for legitimate newspapers and periodicals; but the abnormal growth of this class in recent years suggests the inquiry whether the privilege has not been too generously extended.

Two very simple exclusions from the privilege of second-class matter would save the Government about \$13,000,000 a year. The proposal to make these changes was embodied in a bill which passed the House of Representatives at the last session of the Fifty-fourth Congress, but failed to receive the attention of the Senate. The measure will be again presented at the December session. It is proposed to prohibit the admission of books or reprints of books to second-class rates, and to abolish the sample-copy privilege. The business in the serial-novel has waxed strong under the favorable provisions of the law; and many of the libraries distributed in this form are not of such a character as to deserve the Government subsidy. The bookseller, on a legitimate work, pays eight cents a pound postage to send it through the mail; while Spaulding's "Home Library" goes through the mails at one cent a pound. The following are some of the books that may be so transmitted: "Life and Battles of James J. Corbett," "How to Become a Boxer," "How to Play Bezique," "The Seventh Commandment," "If Christ Came to Congress," etc. But the use of the second-class rate for the distribution of cheap and worthless books,—from a literary point of view,—under the guise of serial numbers of a periodical publication, is the less of two evils. The sample-copy nuisance is the worst. The Newspaper Publishers' Association, which represents fully 80 per cent of the daily-newspaper circulation of the country, after carefully investigating this subject, has, in annual convention, twice recommended that the sample-copy privilege be abolished,—this, in spite of the fact that they would be pecuniary losers by the immediate operation of the change. If the sample-copy privilege were limited to its original intent, there would be no call for its curtailment; but human ingenuity has made it a very easy weapon for "playing" the mail service. In Augusta, Maine, there is a paper that boasts of a circulation of 1,500,000 copies. The proprietors do not assert that more than 50 per cent of this is a paid circulation. The remainder is issued as "sample copies." It is well to draw the mantle of charity over even the percentage claimed. Of the many copies of the publication, which, from time to time, have come under the notice of the writer, all have had printed on the outside page the words "Sample Copy." The fact that Augusta mails more than 2 per cent of the total second-

class matter of the country, while its population is about 12,000, is evidence either that it is the seat of the literary talent of the world, or that some remarkable liberty is being taken with the privileges of ordinary second-class mail matter. The simple fact is that advertisers can group together to issue a publication at regular intervals; and into it they put a few clippings, some almanac jokes, and a novel or two. As an advertising device, they are very glad to give these issues away. They need only a few actual subscribers, at a nominal figure, "to keep up appearances"; and the rest of a huge circulation can be sent out as sample copies. This directly and flagrantly injures the legitimate newspaper and magazine publishers of the country. In meeting advertisers, they must compete with this underhanded rival.

This class comprises three-fifths the whole mail matter, measured by weight, and one-third, measured by the number of pieces. It is, therefore, fair to charge to it three-fifths the whole cost of transportation, which is paid for according to weight, and one-third the cost of handling, which may be assumed to be dependent upon the number of pieces. Of the \$40,000,000 which it costs to transport the mail, \$24,000,000, is thus chargeable to second-class matter; and of the \$50,000,000 (in round figures) which it costs for handling, one-third, or \$16,600,000, is likewise chargeable. On this branch of the Service, from which the Government at present receives \$3,000,000 a year, about \$40,000,000 is expended. It is fair to assume, from figures available at the Post-Office Department, that about one-third this amount would be cut off by the two reforms suggested. Sample copies and books would then have to pay eight cents a pound, which would make this class of matter about half self-sustaining.

This is a simple and practical business proposition. Besides its direct bearing upon legitimate newspapers and publications, it is very closely related to the revenue needs of the Government and to the great problem of taxation which is ever before us. If the Government would once accustom itself to do business in a businesslike way, the savings all along the line would be enormous. Why not let the Post-Office Department make the start? Certainly such economies should precede any attempt to discover new and unaccustomed forms of taxation.

E. F. LOUD.

LIBERTY IN TEACHING IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

THERE is nothing in which the German University takes greater pride than its liberty in teaching which forms so distinguishing a feature of that institution. Although accepted to-day as a matter of course, this liberty is really the result of a long process of development, and, like the entire organization of the University, in order to be fully understood, must be studied from a historical point of view.

An academic freedom is mentioned even in the Middle Ages; and the statutes of Bologna refer to a "scholastica libertas." But this freedom had a signification entirely different from that which now attaches to the term. Then, it merely implied political independence and self-government. According to the mediæval view, the universities could not, without a certain degree of independence, fulfil their mission of giving instruction in the sciences. They therefore became independent corporations, endowed with certain privileges, such as the right to control their own affairs, to elect their own presiding officers, and to exercise a certain legislative and judicial power over their members. The mediæval University constituted a state within a state; and the designation "academic citizen" (*civis academicus*) was not an empty one.

But while in entire accordance with the spirit and the institutions of the Middle Ages, this position must have been entirely contradictory to modern life and to the development of the modern state. That complete separation of state and University, to which I have referred, became impracticable at a later period; and all attempts to maintain it proved harmful and destructive to the latter. Already the Reformation had been instrumental in enhancing the power of the state, in contradistinction to that of the universities. More particularly was this true of Germany. Here, during the sixteenth century, the rulers demanded that only University graduates should be considered eligible to clerical and secular offices; and this naturally gave them an opportunity for active participation in the internal management of the University.

It was, however, more particularly on the financial side that the state acquired an increasing power. The mediæval universities relied prin-

cipally upon endowments, to defray their rather moderate expenses. Although these endowments existed till a later period, they were usually placed under the guardianship of the state ; thus considerably augmenting its power—a power which was still further increased by the great demands made upon it by the natural sciences. Thus, in Germany to-day, the state bears the expenses of the universities. According to the latest statistics, Prussia pays 72.7 per cent of her University expenses out of the national treasury. In the other German states the percentage is still higher—80.5 per cent. Does not such an expenditure alone entitle the state to the exercise of a careful supervision over its universities ?

Thus, we see that the universities gradually become converted from independent corporations into state institutions ; while the professors are made state officials. But this absolutely essential development has by no means destroyed all mediæval tradition ; on the contrary, this has been preserved in many important respects. In the first place, there are certain external forms and ceremonies which recall the ancient sovereignty of the University. The “Rector magnificus” is still treated with marked distinction. At great celebrations, he still appears arrayed in his purple gown, and escorted by the University attendants, who bear before him the sceptre of the institution.

Not merely certain ceremonies, however, but also various rights and prerogatives have remained. The rector, the head of the University, is not appointed by the state, but is elected by the professors for a term of one year. This is true also of the deans and the heads of the various faculties. The senate—a body consisting of all the regular professors—has peculiar privileges as regards self-government and discipline. When academic teachers are to be appointed, the faculties have the right to nominate candidates ; and rejection of the names submitted by them is regarded as a serious affront.

In contradistinction to all other officials, University professors, when disabled by reason of illness or the infirmities of age, are neither retired nor pensioned, but remain in office even if substitutes must act for them. They invariably retain their positions and their full salaries. In this way the universities maintain a high degree of independence. In spite of the increasing ramifications of study, they have preserved the consciousness of their inner unity ; and every attack upon an individual member is regarded as a menace to the entire organization. This superiority of position, as well as the strong sense of solidarity, may undoubtedly be traced to the influence of the mediæval constitution of the

University. To this extent, the Middle Ages may be said to have prepared the way for the freedom in teaching now in vogue.

Nevertheless, the conception of liberty in teaching, as understood to-day, did not exist in mediæval times. At that period, all truth was considered complete and finite; and the purpose of the educational institution was merely to perpetuate the heritage of the Fathers, not to amplify it in any way. The lectures were mainly devoted to the exposition of texts. The continuous disputations, also, were devoted to the mere elucidation and mastery of a given subject. The teacher's sphere of action was, consequently, strictly limited. Everywhere the dogma of the Church reigned undisputed.

The question of liberty in teaching, therefore, did not arise; nor did the great movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation introduce any material change in that respect. Despite clearer views of classical antiquity, and despite a new form of Christianity, the mission of the University was still thought to be not the development of independent investigation, but the transmission of traditional knowledge. The scholastic view of life and the scholastic method still prevailed.

It is true that freer tendencies occasionally manifested themselves. Especially noteworthy in this regard is the gradual emancipation of the University from the School, which dates from that time. Upon the whole, however, the schisms which occurred within the Church, and the strong distinctions of creed served to increase, rather than diminish, intellectual bondage. Those were times of fierce controversies and bitter persecutions; and an advocate of freedom in teaching would have met with nothing but ridicule.

It was reserved for modern science to bring about a complete revolution in this regard. Modern science not only declared all the knowledge of the past to be incomplete, but believed that her own resources would enable her to point out new paths to progress. How was it possible for her, however, to break so entirely from tradition without possessing absolute freedom of investigation? The great movement, which eventually enabled her to do this, really took place beyond the confines of the University, and stood in striking contrast to the life that prevailed therein. This life was still so closely interwoven with mediæval forms that it seemed inseparable from them. For this reason, the great investigators who laid the foundations of modern science usually regarded the universities as opponents rather than friends. None of these investigators had an academic position. Indeed, they preferred to rely upon their connection with the rulers, the courts, and the aristocracy;

for, in these circles, modern life developed more freely and powerfully than in the universities.

The greater the contrast between the spirit of modern investigation and the University, the more did the latter deteriorate and decay. It was this striking contrast which brought about the gradual destruction of the old French universities, of which, twenty-two were still in existence at the outbreak of the great Revolution. The English universities, which have most tenaciously adhered to mediæval forms, have survived; but they have never attained, even approximately, that position in science and general culture which the German universities may be said to occupy at the present day.

It was of great value to Germany, that she succeeded, before all other nations, in establishing a close connection between modern thought and the universities; in this way making these institutions the standard-bearers of the intellectual movement. That political disintegration, which proved so hurtful to Germany, was, in this respect, a blessing to her. For the individual states,—notably Prussia,—in order to maintain their position and to augment their power, vied with one another in modernizing their universities. Halle was the first institution of this kind—the first to accept, to promote, and to extend modern ideas. Such universities could not develop without an assured freedom in teaching.

The principle of authority, hitherto dominant, was now superseded by freedom of thought. Statesmen, as well as scholars, now recognized that a University, in order to flourish, must be organized upon the fundamental principle of the "*libertas philosophandi*." At the same time, the leading statesmen did not value science for its own sake so much as for its public utility; and they expected the professors to teach and write nothing which might be construed as detrimental to the interests of the state.

During the eighteenth century, the governments, also, took an active interest in the internal affairs of the University; and their efforts met with less resistance than at any time before or since. But recourse to strong measures was seldom necessary, because the spirit of enlightenment controlled governments and universities alike. The universities now attracted the greatest scholars; and there were already indications of that supremacy which the German educational institutions were destined to attain.

It was not until the advent of German classicism, however, that the University attained its greatest eminence. It was then that a new ideal of humanity arose. All faculties of man were to be developed into a

harmonious entity. Corresponding to the Empire of Nature, there was to be established an Empire of the Mind,—an empire of the true and the beautiful, to which were to be admitted only those who, by reason of unremitting activity, had proved themselves eligible. Scientific and, more particularly, philosophic culture was to be the principal means of improving the human race.

Such a lofty estimate of science must necessarily have reacted upon the University, and greatly enhanced its position. The line of demarcation between the School and the University was now drawn more closely than ever before. The transmission of knowledge was assigned to the School: the University, on the other hand, was to qualify a man for active participation in progressive intellectual endeavor. This mission she could not accomplish without making the stimulation of independent research her main object. This idea is aptly epitomized in the maxim of Schelling: "Learn in order that you may create."

Everywhere we now hear the demand for the full and complete development of man. In fact even the term "University" is now interpreted—by Schleiermacher, for instance,—as signifying that "a totality or sum of knowledge" is here to be presented. Endowed with so lofty a purpose, the universities grow to be intellectual centres, whose quickening impulses are imparted to the whole nation. According to Fichte, the progress of humanity is to be under the superintendence of scholars, and is to be furthered by them. The establishment of the University of Berlin may serve as a proof of the high estimation in which the universities were held. Prussia, at the time of its deepest humiliation, believed that this University would serve as the principal means of its own rehabilitation. Frederick William III, a man of sober and mature judgment, when the plan of the prospective University was submitted to him, at once replied: "That is right; that is good. The state must retrieve through intellectual what it has lost in physical force." It is noteworthy also that, notwithstanding the unfortunate conditions of the time, a considerable sum of money was appropriated to the University,—150,000 thalers, or about \$110,000, annually.

At a time when so high an opinion of the University prevailed, a limitation of freedom in teaching was out of the question. Indeed, the state withdrew more and more from active interference with the internal affairs of the University. Schleiermacher attributes this gradual withdrawal to the University itself, which demanded that the state, whose influence had become paramount, be once more restricted to its own proper sphere.

Since the time that the German University first perfected the system of combining the teaching of science with independent investigation, freedom in teaching has been accepted as a matter of course by every educated German. This freedom, however, was to be subjected to a severe test during the present century. From the time that Germany threw off the French yoke, the University had been the seat of national aspiration; and it represented the spirit of national unity as opposed to political division and disintegration. For, however carefully the individual states might guard their boundaries, the idea of *scientific* unity remained; and the University became the visible embodiment of this idea. Her corps of teachers was recruited from every German province; and the members of this corps were continually transferred from one University to another. In this way, the professors became largely independent of the various governments. The students also, who enjoyed the privilege of selecting their own University, and frequently changed about, became accustomed to consider themselves members of a common fatherland, rather than subjects of any particular state.

During the decades following the War of the Liberation, the influence of the University, as the principal representative of national freedom and unity, grew in proportion to the restrictions placed upon political freedom and public debate. Conflicts with the governments were, of course, unavoidable. While, in former times, the greatest danger to educational freedom arose from the religious problems then agitated, it was now the political and national activity of the scholar which aroused the mistrust of governments, and led to the advocacy of a restrictive education. Particularly notorious in this respect were the Karlsbad Decrees of 1819, which provided for a corps of officials for the closer supervision of the University.

In enforcing these Acts, many students, as well as highly esteemed academic professors, were subjected to persecutions; while, at the same time, attempts were made to reduce educational freedom to the ancient level of the Schools.

All these intimidatory measures and devices, however, were productive of but small results. While they succeeded in placing obstructions here and there, they could not suppress the influence of the universities, which followed the current of the times, and were, indeed, everywhere favored by public opinion. The struggles and sufferings, too, through which the universities had to pass, endeared them to the whole German people; and the educational freedom for which they stood passed into a permanent and valuable possession of the entire nation.

Upon the establishment of German unity in 1870, the cause of conflict between the government and the universities was removed. The relation between the universities and the new German Empire was moreover of an extremely friendly nature; for they beheld in this empire the realization of their aspirations for national unity.

A further cause of conflict was removed by the fact that the questions now discussed were of a universal nature, and required scholarly and technical investigation at the hands of specialists. These questions, it is true, have also brought numerous complications in their train. The social question, for example, embodies the same problem that once affected the religious, and then the political, life of nations.

Of late years, considerable comment has been caused by the fact, that an avowed and active member of the social democracy should be allowed to hold the position of lecturer at the University; and several newspapers have repeatedly demanded his dismissal. In the meantime, the gentleman has remained undisturbed in his position. This circumstance may possibly be due partly to the fact that he is a lecturer on physics,—a science which bears no relation to his social convictions. What attitude the government would assume toward a political economist who should endeavor to inculcate socialistic or communistic doctrines, is a different matter; and it is questionable whether, in such a case, the principle of freedom in teaching would be sustained. Obviously, the majority of professors, while adhering in the main to the principle of liberty in teaching, exercise a wise discretion. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that the attitude of professors toward social problems has of late led to much strife and angry discussion; and, in consequence, it has been urged that the state should assume a more positive attitude toward those who swerve from the middle path.

It is worthy of note also, that, notwithstanding these circumstances, bold social theories have been advanced and warmly defended by University professors. F. A. Lange, the well-known author of the "History of Materialism," has published a book on the Labor Question, which is largely in accord with socialistic views. This fact, however, did not prevent his appointment to the professorship of philosophy at Marburg, to which place he was transferred from Zurich in 1873.

So we see that, despite the existence of this complicated problem, the principle of liberty in teaching has been defended in the most emphatic manner. History has demonstrated that the highest ideals and the most glorious traditions of the German people cluster about this principle,—a principle which gave birth to the idea of the intrinsic value

and independence of science, a principle to whose influence may also be attributed the great achievements in the cause of national unity.

The attacks made to-day in Germany upon educational freedom do not emanate from the government, but are instituted by party leaders and partisan newspapers,—more particularly by those of Ultramontane tendencies. Not unfrequently do these Ultramontane organs drag into publicity a few detached utterances of University professors, and severely criticise them. In the Bavarian House of Representatives also,—where the Ultramontane party is particularly powerful,—whenever the Education Budget is discussed, loud complaints of the “unbelief” and “atheism” of the German professor are heard. But all this clamor has very little influence. The preponderant opinion prevailing in the educated circles of Germany is distinctly in favor of free and untrammelled expression, and severely condemns the procedure of those organs that publish detached and garbled extracts of private lectures, in order to influence the public against University professors.

The defenders of liberty in teaching in Germany recognize that the maintenance of this principle may lead to complications. Freedom in teaching is a necessary attribute of the University, which is the sanctuary of independent investigation; and such investigation cannot flourish without it. Yet there is little danger that this freedom will lead to excesses; for, while engaged in their investigations, teachers and pupils alike become interested followers of a common object.

Besides being sanctuaries of investigation, however, the German universities are institutions of learning,—high-schools in the best sense. In this capacity, the relation between the teacher and the pupil is entirely changed. They no longer associate on an equal footing as investigators. The relationship is now that of authority on the one hand, and of reverence on the other; and the lectures become doubly impressive because of this relationship. The official position, as well as the scientific reputation of the teacher, tends to give him a still greater superiority over the younger man entrusted to his charge. Herein lies the danger; for the pupil is frequently apt to swear by his preceptor, and to accept his words as verities. Such a relationship may lead to serious complications. If the teacher choose to misuse his intellectual ascendancy, he may inculcate very problematic or extreme doctrines in the minds of his pupils. Indeed, when viewed in the abstract, it is not impossible that even destructive and incendiary doctrines, opposed to all elementary moral laws, may be advanced,—doctrines which may gain an irresistible influence over the youthful mind.

It is easy to paint in the darkest colors the dangers attending the abuse of freedom in teaching; but these gloomy pictures vanish as soon as we turn from a purely abstract and hypothetical assumption to a calm investigation of the real circumstances. There are many conditions which tend to counteract unbridled liberty in teaching. In the first place, some protection in case of excesses is provided by the disciplinary law (*Disciplinarygesetz*), as well as by the penal code. If the law imposes serious penalties for publicly inciting disobedience to authority, stirring up one class of citizens to deeds of violence against another, abusing religious societies and institutions, etc., these may also be directed against professors who abuse their privilege by stirring up revolt against political and social order.

In addition to the penal code, there exists, in most German states, a disciplinary law for college professors, as well as for all other state officials. This law provides for a strict and systematic mode of procedure against all officials guilty of any breach of discipline. Here, then, we have another means of correcting any serious abuse in the matter of teaching.

Naturally, these laws apply only to rare and serious offences. But the conduct of the individual professor is regulated largely, also, by the criticism of his academic environment, as well as by that of the general public. We have seen that, although the universities are now no longer independent corporations, they have, nevertheless, preserved the corporative spirit as a valuable legacy of former times. As this corporative spirit is an important safeguard of liberty, so also does it guard against the abuse of it. Every excess on the part of the individual professor would be strongly condemned by his associates, upon whose coöperation he must frequently rely, and whose opinion is largely decisive as to the value of his labors.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the School and the University have been widely separated, and that, to-day, only students of a more mature age may enter the latter institution at all. In the eighteenth century, the majority of German students were between 16 and 22 years of age. According to the latest statistics, there are among the students in the Prussian universities to-day only 3.8 per cent under 19; 42.21 per cent between 19 and 22; and 40.91 per cent between 22 and 25 years of age; while the rest are still older. There has been, therefore, since the eighteenth century, an advance of three years in the average age of students.

In addition to these facts I would mention that the German Uni-

versity guarantees the student perfect independence. He is subject to no compulsion; he is free to select his own teachers; he may attend lectures at pleasure; he may change at will from one University to another. At so mature an age, and with so high a degree of freedom, the German student necessarily receives a variety of impressions; and he is therefore by no means defencelessly subjected to the influence of any particular teacher.

Thus there are a number of circumstances combining to make the abuse of liberty in teaching a rare offence. It must be admitted, however, that, in this regard, much must be left to the tact and discretion of the teacher; and we have no guarantee that these qualities will always be found. Still, we are here dealing with rare exceptions; and exceptions do not govern the rule, nor does the abuse of a custom justify its abrogation ("Abusus non tollit usum").

In order to recognize the superior justification of this freedom in teaching, it is only necessary to consider the injury which would be caused by a further limitation of it. General rules as to its proper limitations cannot be given. Its abuse could be entirely removed only by lowering the standard of the University to the level of the School, and by compelling the teachers to confine themselves, after the fashion of the Middle Ages, to instruction in given subjects without the exercise of independent judgment. While during the Middle Ages such a treatment of science was in accordance with the prevailing conditions, at present it would be contrary to all our convictions. To-day, science, which depends upon continuous progress, can find its salvation only in freedom; and the University must remain the sanctuary of free investigation in order that it may stimulate intellectual life and develop independence of character.

The best feature of the University is the constant intercourse between science and life which it fosters; and such intercourse can flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom. We are dealing here with a lofty ideal; and all attempts to attain an ideal are attended with dangers. But, shall we, because of these dangers, sacrifice the ideal itself? Shall we lower the standard of academic work because of a few occasional abuses?

I have described the problem from the German point of view, and am conscious of the fact that in the United States the circumstances are, in many respects, different. Owing to the greater political activity in that country, and the more sharply defined party lines, the introduction of freedom in teaching might lead to serious complications there. A historical survey will convince us, however, that in America, as well

as in Germany, the principle of liberty in teaching has superior claims.

It is quite natural that men who have made great sacrifices for a university should feel pained when such an institution defends opinions directly opposed to their own personal convictions and interests. But these men should, out of regard to the true interests of science, endeavor to smother their personal resentment. Science can pursue its highest purpose—the recognition of truth—only when it is conducted independently of men and parties: it can transport the individual from the domain of daily strife into a more exalted one only so long as it does not itself become involved in this strife.

Furthermore, the influence of academic teachers and of the results of their labor is based largely upon the belief that they are enabled, by virtue of their position, independently and conscientiously to express their inmost convictions, untrammelled by any other consideration. If the free expression of opinion at a university were to be hindered in but a single instance, that university would at once appear to be laboring under restraints and to be subservient to party interests. In this way the position and influence of such a university would be greatly lessened. The whole world admires the munificence with which, in America, private enterprise has endowed not only universities, but many other scientific and benevolent institutions as well. This munificence would, however, lose its ideal features should the suspicion arise that these gifts were bestowed for political purposes, and with the condition that certain limitations of study were to be imposed.

But if the example of Germany clearly illustrates the value of freedom in teaching, it proves also that this freedom demands a special organization of the University. This freedom has been able to flourish only to the extent that the University has divested itself of School influences and become a centre of scientific investigation.

This species of university has also taken firm root in America; but it is difficult to predict how far it may be developed in that country, and what character it may ultimately assume. But, whatever difficulties may be encountered, these should never interfere with the maintenance of the vital principle to which I have referred. The University must be a sanctuary of truth, elevated far above the contentions of parties. The American people have distinguished themselves in many departments of culture; and we may therefore feel confident that in this matter also they will be upon the side of justice, and will develop the glorious ideal of liberty in teaching in their own manner upon their own native soil.

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

THE ABUSE OF THE POLICE POWER.

HISTORY abounds in instances proving the existence of a tendency on the part of the few to arrogate to themselves a power over the many, as well as of an ever-existent antagonism on the part of the masses to the growth and exercise of such power. Even those to whom extraordinary powers and functions are given by law, for the purpose of safeguarding to the many the peaceable enjoyment of property and liberty of the person, would transcend, and very often do transcend, those powers; becoming arbitrary and oppressive unless and until restrained by some higher power which they are bound to respect and fear.

I need but cite the extraordinary power given by law to a magistrate of New York city over both the property and the liberty of the individual. He has summary jurisdiction in a large class of offences; and though, theoretically, an appeal from his decision to a higher court may lie, still, as there is no stay of judgment or execution while the appeal is pending, the punishment imposed by him may have been meted out in full or in part to the defendant beyond recall and without possibility of redress, inasmuch as the magistrate cannot be held to personal liability unless he have acted without jurisdiction. In other words, this official is protected from the possibility of prosecution, if he shall have acted within the powers conferred upon him by the law. It has, therefore, been truly said that no body of men possesses and wields so great a power over their fellow-men as the magistrates of the city of New York; and this fact should at all times be kept before them in order to guard against an abuse thereof.

During the year ending October 31, 1896 (the statistics for the present year are not yet available), the number of prisoners arraigned in the City Magistrates' Courts was 112,160. Of these, 73,537 were either tried and summarily convicted or held for trial; while the others were discharged. The amount of fines imposed and collected was \$94,721. It must be remembered that the failure to pay a fine is visited with imprisonment.

Being endowed with this enormous power, the City Magistrates should be strong enough to resist unlawful tendencies on the part of

those who in other spheres may be entrusted with the execution of the law; that is to say, they should have the moral strength to insist upon throwing about alleged offenders the safeguards provided by law,—safeguards not the creation of a day, but wrested by the common people, little by little, during centuries of oftentimes bloody contention, from the grasp of the ruling classes.

In all communities there arises, from time to time, a wave of indignation against some particular class of offenders. Bodies are organized to suppress a particular evil. The press takes up the hue and cry; and the reaction is felt among the police. Special and stringent orders are issued; and subordinates who appear lax in their duties are threatened with dire punishment. In such cases the courts must stand firm, and must refuse to be carried away by any momentary spasm or frenzy, even though they be charged with laxity, or worse. In such times, it requires courage to accord to the defendants the full protection of the law and to guarantee them a fair and unbiased trial. I may here instance the mysterious recurrence of homicides committed in a certain manner indicating application of well-defined design and method. The culprit may continue to remain undetected; causing the public to grow uneasy and nervous and to call loudly upon the police to stay the slayer's hands. Nothing but an arrest and a victim can allay the excitement. Suspicious circumstances are woven into meshes into which to inveigle an unfortunate person. The great metropolitan newspapers vie with each other in making it their own special case to unravel the mystery and bring the culprit to justice; and they incidentally point with pride to their own success in the matter. Woe unto him who, entrusted with the administration of our criminal laws, may have the audacity to refuse to be carried away by the demand for vengeance. He must expect to be reviled,—in the press and otherwise,—as an enemy to public order, and will have to trust patiently to the sober judgment of a later day for vindication.

It is an easy matter for the magistrate to shift the burden from his own shoulders to those of others. Moral courage is not required in such cases to hold the defendant for trial and let the higher court decide the question. And yet such action may involve, and undoubtedly has caused, the absolute ruin of many an innocent person. It means that he may be incarcerated for months in a vile cell, and that his worldly possessions may be lost to him, before he is brought to trial and acquitted. What benefit to him then that he has been cleared of the charge by a jury of his peers? The fact that a person has ever been under indict-

ment cannot fail to be injurious to his self-respect and to his standing in the community,—a cloud hanging over every member of his family.

A magistrate ought to be extremely circumspect and painstaking, and well satisfied of the guilt of the accused, before he subjects him to the possibility of an indictment. It is in no sense his duty to assist the Police Department to swell its record of indictments and convictions. For it is an easy matter to procure the indictment of a defendant when his case has been passed upon by a magistrate who has held him for the action of a grand jury. A grand jury hears one side of the case only; the magistrate, both. Why should not that body, therefore, presume that such examination disclosed at least a strong *prima-facie* case against the defendant?

An evil, formerly quite prevalent, has been abrogated by the present District Attorney of New York County; and his action has, I think, met with general approval. Prisoners were often arraigned before magistrates on charges which these officials closely examined,—hearing both parties and their witnesses,—with the result that the innocence of the prisoner became at once well established, so that the magistrate was in duty bound to discharge him. Then, totally ignoring the action of the magistrate, it only too frequently happened that the complainant was permitted again to press his complaint,—this time before the grand jury, with the result that an indictment was found, based on the statements of the complainant and his witnesses only. The defendant was called upon again to defend himself; the fact of his previous discharge by the examining magistrate being of no avail to him. He might as well have had no hearing at all.

At present, however, no complaint may be presented to the grand jury after it has once been disposed of by a magistrate in the defendant's favor, unless there is produced new evidence which, in the opinion of the District Attorney, may have the tendency to secure the defendant's conviction. This has greatly strengthened the hands of the magistrates, and will have a tendency to make them exercise even more care than formerly in the examination of complaints. The probable indictment of defendants whom he has discharged can no longer be held over his head as a moral menace by overbearing or overzealous prosecutors.

The public could not have been very favorably impressed by reading the announcement that

"John Jones, who had previously been arraigned before Magistrate—on the complaint of Officer—on the charge of—and by him discharged, was this day indicted by the grand jury on the same charge."

Not long ago the prevailing method in police circles was to override the magistrate in this manner; thus lowering him in the estimation of the police officers and of the public, creating in the former a spirit of defiance not easy to counteract, and prompting them to continue to make illegal and oppressive arrests.

After all, it must be borne in mind that the ultimate purpose of an arrest is to secure the appearance before the magistrate of a person charged with the commission of a crime. If the person be caught in the act of committing a misdemeanor, he may be arrested by an officer without a warrant. If charged with a felony, he may be arrested without a warrant, even though the crime be not committed in the presence of the officer. In both instances, he must be brought without delay before the nearest magistrate, and may demand an immediate hearing. Every deprivation or curtailment of a person's liberty before such hearing and trial is in the nature of a punishment; and a subsequent discharge does not wipe out the injury thus suffered. For this reason, the law should strive to diminish the possibility of arrest, to facilitate the giving of bail, and to ameliorate, as far as may be, the rigors of incarceration prior to conviction.

The great diversity of occupation in the city of New York has necessitated the adoption of a large number of ordinances, a breach whereof is visited with a fine of comparatively small amount, or imprisonment in default of payment of such fine. Speaking generally, the ordinances concern the middle classes. Many of them affect the actions of storekeepers and men doing business in a small way, such as peddlers; regulating, as they do, the use of stands and booths, or the matter of erecting awnings. I can see no necessity for making arrests in these and similar cases. A notice to appear in the Magistrate's Court on the following day, to answer the charge of violating an ordinance would be quite as effective. Where the complaint is lodged in the first instance with the City Magistrates, they adopt, to a great extent, this system of summoning to their courts persons charged with violations of our building, factory, and other special laws, and of the city ordinances; refusing, in these instances, to issue warrants or to countenance arrests. They are well pleased with the effectiveness of such action. The stigma of arrest and incarceration, as well as the trouble and annoyance of giving bail, is thus avoided. The person charged, when he appears in court, is then better prepared to defend himself; or, if he have good cause to expect the infliction of a fine, he has an opportunity to provide himself with the means necessary to pay it, and thus to avoid imprisonment. Then,

too, in this way, an officer may dispose of twenty cases in the time required to make one or two arrests.

At present, where an arrest has been actually made, if the offence be the violation of an ordinance, where conviction renders the defendant liable to a fine only, the defendant, in lieu of giving bail, may secure his freedom from incarceration prior to arraignment before the magistrate, by a deposit of money or personal property equal in value to double the largest fine that can be imposed. This provision has practically abolished the incarceration of drivers and bicycle riders for travelling too fast, or for being without a lighted lamp after sunset; and must, therefore, be regarded as a great step forward in the direction indicated. But we ought surely to be able to devise means to secure immunity from detention on charges other than these. I instance the very large number of offences coming under the head of misdemeanors. Here the officer cannot make an arrest unless the offence has been committed in his presence. Even in these cases, when the complainant is a citizen, the magistrates have adopted the plan of issuing summonses in place of warrants, after making due inquiry into the facts and assuring themselves of the probability of the defendant's appearance.

That failure to respond to these polite requests to appear in court voluntarily and unattended by a bluecoat is invariably followed by the issue of warrants, is well known in the community. Now and then a clever lawyer will advise his client that the law does not compel obedience to these magisterial summonses, wherein he is truthful; but when a warrant is issued and executed, the client, in case of disobedience, will find ample leisure to assure himself of the futility of being discourteous in certain instances. The charge, in the first place, is legally sufficient to justify the magistrate in issuing a warrant; the practice of issuing a summons instead having developed as the result of a desire to protect the defendant from arrest and punishment until after he has had his day in court. When we consider to what means men will sometimes resort for the purpose of inflicting pain on others, or of obtaining revenge for an injury,—even going so far as to fabricate criminal charges,—the blessing of the summons, as a check upon these unrighteous actions, will be immediately recognized.

It would even seem feasible, in clearly specified cases, to give to the police officer the power to summon supposed offenders instead of compelling him, as now, to make an immediate arrest,—provided he is able to satisfy himself as to the identity and residence of the person, and

that a warrant of arrest could be readily executed in case the summons be disobeyed. Each and every failure to comply with such summons should be visited with severe penalties, whether the defendant be held or acquitted on the original charge. An example will serve to illustrate the point:

A man of good repute and in active business becomes involved in an altercation on the street, thus assisting in causing a crowd to collect. His actions may have been due to an endeavor to prevent a breach of the peace. An officer, happening to pass, perceives it his duty to arrest him on the charge of disorderly conduct. The policeman cannot determine for himself which one of the many concerned was acting in self-defence, or as a peace-maker, or perhaps even endeavoring to prevent the commission of a crime; and as the guilty ones are apt to make such claim most vociferously, the police officer decides to leave the question to the magistrate for solution in the morning, and, therefore, places everyone within reach under arrest. It may be too late to send for bondsmen, or bondsmen cannot be reached, or the messages may miscarry. In that event, the innocent as well as the guilty, or mayhap the innocent only, will be detained in the lockup until morning, and then be taken to court in the police patrol-wagon with the scum of the city accumulated during the night. The magistrate, on examining the charge and hearing all the witnesses, will soon determine the guilt or innocence of the accused. He will impose a fine on the guilty, which will be immediately paid: he whom he adjudges innocent will be discharged. But, after all, by far the worst punishment may have been inflicted on the innocent person; for, through inability to procure bail, he may have been detained in the station-house while the guilty party may have had the benefit of bail and thereby have avoided incarceration. By giving the policeman authority to issue a summons, members of the community of long-continued residence would have, under such circumstances as I have mentioned, an opportunity of avoiding the stigma of an arrest, unless on a charge of a serious nature.

The card issued to an intending voter on registering might perhaps be used as a means of identification to the officer. Wilfully false statements and disobedience of the citation should be visited by severe penalties.

That there would be very few cases of disobedience, in such instances, I feel quite certain; and I base this statement on the fact that a parole is rarely violated. Persons arrested on charges of a serious nature—felonies occasionally—are often paroled by the magistrates,

pending examination. Only one case has come within my experience in which the parole was violated; and even in that case, the ends of justice were not defeated, as the warrant was immediately reissued, and the defendant arrested and consigned to prison.

What provision can be made to secure immunity from arrest on behalf of non-residents and transients, I am not at present able to say. I fear that no practical means can be devised, except that the places of detention—the station-houses—be altered from prisons into veritable rooms of detention.

Large rooms, clean and well lighted, could be provided, where those unable to give bail could pass the time pending their arraignment; the privilege being withheld from intoxicated and unclean persons, with whom close association would be undesirable. The distinction would have to be left, to some extent, to the discretion of the captain or sergeant of police on duty. Danger of favoritism and arbitrariness would at once develop; and such could be counteracted only by raising the general level of the force, and by divorcing it entirely from sordid political influences.

Ample opportunity should be given to all prisoners to communicate with their friends free of charge. They have the opportunity to communicate now; but every message sent has to be dearly paid for. Those without means have absolutely no opportunity of notifying anyone. The poor are at once placed at a disadvantage; so that the theory, that rich and poor are alike before the law, at once fails to adjust itself to existing facts.

Here it may be said that it is very trying to a policeman to be subjected to interference by citizens while he is endeavoring to make an arrest; and in this matter the officer is justified in looking to the courts for protection. All unwarranted interference of this nature ought to be severely punished. On the other hand, I have known cases of extremely high-handed conduct on the part of officers. It has happened that a man standing in front of his own door on a hot summer's night has not been quick enough to answer the officer's command to move on, and has been obliged, therefore, to submit to arrest. A friend may have stepped up to the couple while on their way to the station-house, to inquire the cause of arrest. In answer, he, also, may have been placed under arrest, with "I'll take you along anyhow." It has occurred that men have followed a prisoner to the station-house in order to protest against his arrest, only to suffer deprivation of their liberty there on the general charge that they themselves were cotransgressors of the law. Another

form of arrest, not altogether unknown in our circles, is that of the too inquisitive citizen who may have asked for an officer's number in order to lodge a complaint against him. The officer takes time by the forelock, arrests his inquisitor on some false charge, secures the imposition of a fine, and uses the record thereof as a shield to protect himself against threatened prosecution.

Again, large cities naturally become the rallying-point of criminals from all parts of our country, and from foreign countries as well. Many of them are tracked from point to point; and reports concerning their movements are conveyed by the police of one large city to those of another. The police are fully aware of the fact that such criminals have no visible means of support. They are kept, as far as possible, under close and secret surveillance; but, at last, a period is reached when further surveillance appears impracticable and fraught with danger to the community. The experienced detective, detailed to watch every step of the suspect, reports mysterious meetings with other known criminals at localities offering a good booty to successful burglars, or—if bank robberies be his specialty—that the man has been frequently seen coming and going from and to certain banks. Shall the detective wait until the injury has been inflicted,—until the intended crime has become an accomplished fact,—or shall he act before the criminal has consummated his nefarious designs? If he decide upon the latter course, he assumes a multitude of risks. He may come too late to seize the criminal while in the act of commission, or he may not be able to weave so close a net about him as successfully to enmesh him; and any one of the many safeguards which the law, to prevent punishment of the innocent, has thrown about a person accused of crime, may impede his progress at every step in his attempt to inflict merited punishment upon the culprit.

In the course of years, therefore, a practice has grown up—which does not appear warranted by statute law—of arresting a so-called suspicious person, under peculiar circumstances; and there is no doubt that the commission of many a well-planned crime has thereby been prevented. As there is no reason for further detaining the person, no crime being charged against him, the magistrate invariably discharges him within a day or two of his arrest. The community justly looks to him for a scrutiny of the acts of the police in such cases.

Other cases in point are these: Whenever large pageants or parades are on the tapis in this city, pickpockets, sneak thieves, and other professional criminals flock here; and those who are with us always are also

anxious to seize the splendid opportunity to ply their vocation. The custom in such cases has been to corral these men a day or two prior to such festivities, arraign them before a magistrate, and ask that they be held for twenty-four hours or until the police are relieved from duty elsewhere to go back again to their customary beats.

In these matters detectives have been occasionally overzealous, having placed under arrest one who had paid the full penalty of a crime committed and who had since led an honest life, in new surroundings, among those who may have had no knowledge of his past. In such a case an arrest may be the cause of hopelessly ruining the victim, driving him back into the arms of vice and crime, henceforth an embittered and unforgiving enemy of society.

What legal redress has such a person for the injury thus done him? Practically none. All depends upon the common sense of the officer, his freedom from bias, his instinct of justice and fairness, and above all a good knowledge of human nature. In fact, the student of our police system will again and again revert to the conclusion that the number of improper arrests will diminish, and the freedom of innocent persons grow in security, as the calibre and morale of the force shall be improved.

A great stumbling-block in the attempt to rid the force of improper and antagonistic elements, to whom the new era always proves distasteful, is the possibility of an appeal from the decision of our local Supreme Court and Appellate Division to our Court of Appeals. Why should not the Appellate Division be considered sufficiently competent to arrive at a correct conclusion in reviewing a judgment of dismissal from the police force? Illegal and improper arrests will diminish in number as the punishment of officials grows more certain.

Next, I desire to call attention to the fact that officials in making arrests are not always guided by the best of motives. Thus, a number of instances present themselves to my mind, showing how political bias in the Police Department may lead to abuses for purposes purely partisan. For example, the Legislature of the State of New York, in its wisdom, passed a law to regulate the traffic in liquors, and this in direct opposition to the objections raised by members representing the larger municipal constituencies. Now, it is a fact well known to those whose duty it is to take an active part in the administration of the laws, that laws enunciating principles running counter to the convictions of a majority—or even a large minority—of the inhabitants of an extensive complex territory, cannot be carried into effect, and that, in such contingency, the high-sounding phrase, "The law is on the statute-books and must be enforced," always

was, and still continues to be, the statement of an impossibility. But here the line must be clearly drawn between laws that seek to punish acts constituting *mala in se*, such as burglary, larceny, etc., and those restraining acts of the nature of *mala prohibita*, such as selling liquors during prohibited hours. In the latter instances, the act is designated a crime only if committed during certain specified hours and under certain circumstances; whereas, that very act is considered permissible if committed at any other time or place. Most acts prohibited by city ordinances, regulations of boards of health, of park departments, and of other divisions of a municipality are of the same class. A breach thereof rarely involves moral turpitude. Further, certain acts usually prohibited may be legally committed after a permit for their commission has been properly obtained. The so-called crime therefore consists merely in failing to go through the formality of obtaining a permit.

Let us take the case in which the legislature is overwhelmingly of one political faith, and enacts laws obnoxious to a large number of inhabitants of a city, whatever may be the justice of their objections. When the laws have been enacted, it at once becomes the duty of the Police Department to enforce them in a rational manner, that is, by resorting to such methods as the law provides. There is not necessarily a degradation in resorting to extraordinary methods to bring the real enemies of society before the bar of justice. He who ingratiates himself with a band of toughs in order to unravel the mystery of a murder is doing a noble deed, and is a friend of society. He in no respect suffers in his manhood. On the other hand, he who feigns sickness in order to induce another to commit a crime, so that he may make an arrest, certainly suffers in his morals, and ultimately lowers himself, not only in his own estimation, but also in that of his fellow-men. My own experience in regard to this matter has been that the better element of the Police Department cannot be used by superior officials to perform such work.

The fallacy of the methods hitherto pursued by the police toward suppressing certain forms of lawlessness is to me very clear. The ostensible object in view is to make these acts impossible: the method adopted is to degrade a number of the members of the Police Department, by compelling them to assist in the commission of the very acts that it essays to stamp out. To protect one class of the community, we destroy another portion. By what reasoning can such methods be justified?

But, disregarding for the present the method by which the police

have succeeded in bringing an alleged malefactor before the magistrate, let us follow the proceedings to their conclusion. If the charge is clearly made out, and the special provision of the law under which it is made is simple in its language and, therefore, easy of interpretation, the defendant is held for trial, under adequate bail, and ultimately convicted. But it may also happen that a defendant is arraigned on a charge based upon some other provision of the law, which is not quite so clear and requires examination by the magistrate, who ultimately decides that the defendant has committed no violation; or, again, the provision of the law may be impossible of intelligent application. It then becomes the duty of the police—especially after the District Attorney has sustained the action of the magistrate,—to abide by that decision until a higher court shall have ruled otherwise. To illustrate, I shall refer to that provision of the so-called Liquor Tax Law which attempts to define what constitutes a “guest,” and to regulate the time when meals shall be partaken of “in good faith.” How shall the magistrate absolve himself of that most difficult of tasks, to decide when a person partakes of a meal “in good faith”? Moreover, unless the magistrate permits himself to be used as an innocent tool to further the improper, if not dishonest, designs of police officials, he is bound to consider the result of certain charges when brought before the higher courts and submitted to juries for final settlement.

The Liquor Tax Law contains a large number of minute specifications non-compliance with which is designated violation thereof. Grand juries have uniformly declined to indict on such charges; and trial juries have invariably acquitted the defendants where they have escaped the former's winnowing process. The reason for such action is easily discernible. Grand juries, constituting, as they do, the conscience of the community, and desirous of upholding the dignity of its laws, nevertheless hesitate to cast the stigma of an indictment on those who display no moral turpitude in their actions, and are loath to cast on the county the expense of trials for petty violations. They think the time of judges and juries may be employed to better purpose in devoting their attention to the real criminal; and, above all, they clearly perceive the danger of placing too much power for evil in the hands of the police. For it is absolutely certain that if every petty violation of the minor provisions of the laws be visited with severe penalties, those likely to be affected will, in time, seek immunity, by an “understanding” with the police. If the magistrate fails to be guided by the actions of grand and trial juries, he is made the tool of an unscrupulous police official,

who may harass a political opponent or a personal enemy, or one declining to be mulcted, to the full bent of the officer's evil intentions.

This is a kind of oppression that may be readily resorted to in campaign times. Consequently, though the possibility of a conviction is absolutely *non-existent*, a police officer—whether of his own motion or under pressure from some political power, for the purpose of injuring the party responsible for the enactment of an obnoxious law—may continue to make arrests under an assumed interpretation of the law, which he knows from experience cannot and will not lead to a conviction. After Election Day he is apt to be less zealous in his activity. It does not necessarily follow, from what has been said, that those high in office are cognizant or approve of such action on the part of subordinate officials; but it must be borne in mind that each captain is in charge of a given territory, and that, up to a certain point, his powers therein are absolute. Sabbath laws, city ordinances, and minor regulations generally that have been permitted to lie dormant for long periods, are, just before election time, very often unearthed and harshly and spasmodically executed by officials of inferior grade, to turn the ill-will of the community against the powers that be.

It appears to me to be also the duty of those in control of, and issuing instructions to, the members of the Police Department, to take note of the disposition by the courts and juries of alleged violations of certain laws, and not to permit arrests under such provisions as will not lead to conviction and cannot, therefore, be enforced. The disregard, not to say contempt, shown by some of those high in authority in the Department for the adjudications by the courts on questions of law is somewhat appalling. No infraction of the law can be justified, even though it be committed for the purpose of bringing transgressors to justice.

The recent arrest by a police official of a large number of persons found in a place of amusement—a scooping-in process, as it were—was and remains a disgrace to our system of administering the law. He knew that, although a warrant had been issued by a magistrate for the arrest of a certain designated person, this did not authorize him to deprive of liberty anyone else found on the premises, who was not then and there guilty of an infraction of the law. That the magistrate discharged, without even entertaining a formal complaint against them, all the accused except the person for whom the warrant was issued, was assuredly not surprising to the police officer. He must have known that they had violated no law. The magistrates had enunciated the prin-

ciple over and over again—even before a higher court was called upon to pass on the question—that the mere presence of a person in a place alleged to be disorderly does not constitute him the violator of any law. The performances of the police official in this instance, and the subsequent discharge of all but one of his prisoners, prove how absolutely just and necessary to the liberty of the individual is the rule thus enunciated by the magistrates. The police official attempted to justify his action by the plea that the place raided was the resort of noisome people of bad character and vicious tendencies, and that the arrest and subsequent incarceration of others—of those who, from motives of curiosity, were there at the time—would have a salutary effect in “scattering away” any intending visitors from similar resorts. Truly a most ingenious proposition, based on the false idea that the police baton may batter down the structure raised for the protection of the individual after hundreds of years of bitter struggle in the mother-country! Though the immediate injury inflicted, as a result of this illegal and outrageous arrest, may not be apparent,—except to those immediately concerned, who may, if they desire, institute actions for false arrest,—the ultimate danger involved in such high-handed methods cannot be exaggerated. In an English community they would certainly not be tolerated.

The police power in every civilized community is and must remain subordinate to the judiciary, and absolutely bound by the declarations of the latter as to what is the law of the land. It is only the law-giving power,—the legislature,—guided and restricted by written constitutions, that may declare what acts shall be considered dangerous to the welfare and morals of the community, and may prescribe the methods by which the laws embodying such declarations shall be enforced. I know of no provision of law that permits a police official to abrogate and nullify the law, because, forsooth, he thinks he has discovered a direct road to the amelioration of conditions existing in his district.

But when we come to examine the matter more closely, the suspicion arises that the sole and direct object of certain arrests is to drive some classes of law-breakers from one precinct to another. Ultimate compliance with the law is not for a moment seriously considered. One captain, by resorting to heroic measures, simply casts the evil into the precinct of his colleague, who, in turn, passes it along to a third, and this one, by resorting to still more heroic measures, may drive it back again to the first. For the time being, benefit may result to a particular precinct; but the community at large derives no benefit from this method of procedure.

Finally, I wish to correct a misconception on the part of many. The criminal courts are not an integral part of the police system of any community. Whenever they become such, by yielding to superior power, as in absolute monarchies, the liberty of the person, which the Anglo-Saxon cherishes so very highly, becomes a mere fiction. Consequently, the duties of the magistrate, who acts as intermediary, are manifold. He must, in the first place, endeavor to assist the police in becoming an object to be feared by the criminal classes. The strong arm of the law must give added strength to those to whom has been assigned the duty of guarding our lives and property. The officer must know and strongly feel that, by reason of any fancied "pull" or social standing, no transgressor of the law may escape its meshes. And in this regard the officer now knows it to be an established fact that the "pull" in the lower courts is a thing of the past, and that he has nothing to fear so long as he himself remains within the law.

But as soon as the prisoner enters the domain of the court he must receive its protection, and be immediately apprised of his rights. Now, the functions of the magistrate vary from step to step. To enable the officer to present his complaint in the strongest light, the magistrate endeavors, by questioning, to bring out all the salient facts; thus assuming the attitude of prosecuting attorney. Then, shifting about, he cross-examines the officer and assumes the rôle of prisoner's attorney; for, in the vast majority of cases brought before him, no attorney appears for the prisoner. He next calls witnesses on behalf of both parties. Having thus acted in a dual capacity, he performs his final duty of rendering an impartial and unbiased judgment. If he should entertain the opinion that he is but a part of the police system, the rock-ribbed maxim of our law, that a man is presumed to be innocent until his guilt be proved, would soon become obsolete.

Moreover, if it appear during the hearing that a police officer has himself transgressed the law, it becomes the magistrate's duty to put the latter on trial. On this point a crude notion seems to prevail in police circles; namely, that transgressors of the law, when they happen to wear a uniform, are not amenable to the jurisdiction of the established courts of the land. Fortunately, those who, having brutally assaulted a citizen, are placed in the prisoner's dock, to answer to the charge of assault and battery, soon have such notion effectually dispelled from their minds.

It is idle to attempt to gainsay the fact that our police system is not what a community, jealous of the liberty of its inhabitants, may justly

demand ; and we must continue to correct evils as they may arise from time to time. Only those who have come into close contact with the police during the past know how much improvement has been recently made, and how, one by one, the causes for complaint are being removed ; and it cannot be denied that the municipal force is much more efficient in preventing and suppressing crime than ever before.

It would be folly and moral cowardice, however, to rest content with what has been achieved, and to claim a perfection that does not exist. We must endeavor to make the police force a terror to the evil-doer, not the feared servant of the law-abiding. This end will not be consummated until narrow-minded politicians shall cease their efforts to take the backbone out of the Civil-Service system. The faithful and honest application of that system in the Police Department of New York has vastly improved the force, and given us a most intelligent body of men. We shall be more secure in our persons, and abuses of the police power will diminish, as the average intelligence of the men is raised and as they shall be farther removed from the blighting influence of "politics."

H. C. KUDLICH.

THE MISSION OF LITERATURE

ONE of Emerson's most characteristic essays he entitles "The Uses of Great Men"; and he goes on, in his inimitable way, to state and discuss those high offices to which great men, because they are great, are called, and to show under what odium they should come who are either ignorant of the character of their calling or untrue to what they know to be its exalted demands. Among the great men whom he eulogizes are Shakespeare, the Poet, and Goethe, the Writer; whereby he specifically asserts the greatness of literary men, and the nobility of the mission to which they are called. It is in such connection that he says "that men are born to rule." "Society has no greater interest than the well-being of the literary class." "Talent alone cannot make a writer. There must be a man behind the book," and so on. We find him devoting separate essays to distinctly literary topics, such as, "The Man of Letters," "The Progress of Culture," "The Poet," "Literary Ethics," and "Literature" itself, as if he would feign express his high appreciation of all such work and of those committed to it. He speaks of "the power and the joy that belong to it and its high office in evil times."

It is a matter of sincere regret, as well as surprise, that many of the views of the purpose and mission of literature now prevailing are either base and belittling or, if legitimate, far below the standard of correct literary judgment.

With some, the necessities of life are such that they are led to reduce literary work to the level of the industries, and to wield the pen as they would ply a trade or perform the drudgery of professional and perfunctory service. Not a few English writers, Spenser, Dryden, and Dr. Johnson, for instance,—not to speak of such an author as Savage, who died a pauper with pen in hand,—have been thus obliged to write for bread and to reduce the theory of literature to a purely practical and economic art.

With others, desire for fame is the only end of letters; and prose and verse are but media through which they come to the realization of their worldly ambition. Hence, when they write, immediate or ultimate success, in the sense of personal popularity, is the governing motive; and

they are the veriest slaves of what Milton calls, "that last infirmity of noble minds." Here, the man of letters is on a level with any other aspirant for distinction, and has no higher claim to the respect and gratitude of men.

Still others accept the common opinion—in itself legitimate—that the end of authorship is the pleasure of the reader, the gratification of taste or one's sense of beauty. This is the æsthetic or cultured side of literature,—good as far as it goes, but far below the most desirable standard of authorship. Even in poetry this is a subordinate motive; and more especially is it so in the great department of prose.

Again, it is said, with conscious pride, that self-expression is the end of literature—the unveiling of the author's innermost self and thought simply for the sake of the self-revelation. As Schleiermacher, the great German theologian, said that he would be satisfied and ready to die, could he but give utterance to himself, so here, the author is an exponent of his own personality, and literature is, in the best sense, an autobiography. Of all the possible purposes of literature thus far stated, this is, beyond question, the worthiest, in that it has a mental and a spiritual side, and exalts literature above the plane of the mercantile and artistic. Still, it is in its essence a selfish end, and has this element in common with all the others. It is, as stated, the autobiographical or egotistic side of literature, and, in an extreme and exclusive way, would examine literature only in the light of the personal equation and as a record of personal experience.

All these ends—economic benefit, fame and gratification, taste and individual utterance—literature, when properly viewed, may and does have; but, if it have nothing more than these, it can scarcely be said to take its place among the great activities of the world, nor to enter as a factor into the world's best civilization.

The interesting question, then, that here arises is: What constitutes the real mission of literature,—what makes the man of letters and his work potential for good? We answer: (1) The conception, embodiment, and interpretation of some great idea or principle. (2) The correct interpretation of the spirit of the age. (3) The interpretation of human nature to itself and to the world. (4) The presentation and enforcement of high ideals.

1. *The conception, embodiment, and interpretation of some great idea or principle.*

We are here in the sphere of the intellectual in literature, and of

genius, also,—of original and independent thinking on the part of the author. There is nothing here that savors in the least of the commonplace, or of servile imitation of the reflections and opinions of others. The author, in this view of his work, feels that he stands alone, and is responsible for his own thinking; that he must have a special message to his fellow-men as constituting a reason for his utterance; and that, in the true Baconian sense, he is to add to the sum of human truth. He must be, as Emerson states it, "a man capable of ideas,"—capable, we may add, of so embodying them as to meet the demands of educated taste.

It is by this standard that all literatures may be tested as superior or inferior; and to this court of final appeal must all books and authors be summoned. Have they or have they not some intense, germinal, comprehensive idea that gives them vitality and character, and insures their perpetuity? Are they so instinct with thought or personality as to throb and pulsate with it, and to seek to deliver themselves of it to those who are waiting for and needing it. Of such qualities are: Dante's "Divine Comedy," the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," "Paradise Lost," "Beowulf," "Evangeline," and the "Idylls of the King." Such are the great tragedies of Æschylus and Racine and Lessing and Shakespeare, the "Comus" of Milton, and the "Cathedral" of Lowell. In prose, Bacon's "Advancement of Learning," and the great essays of De Quincey, of Burke, and of Thomas Carlyle are such. The essays of Emerson, with scarcely an exception, are of this high character,—proofs in point of his conscientious desire to realize his literary ideals.

Tennyson's "In Memoriam" is as notable an example as modern literature affords of this first and noblest mission of letters. Though entitled an "Elegy," and written to commemorate the virtues of the poet's personal friend,—and, in this sense, appropriately restricted in its range,—it takes up and develops the great ideas of God and the universe; of man and the soul and duty and destiny; of life and death and immortality; of good and evil, right and wrong; of science, philosophy, ethics, and religion; so as, in a word, virtually to cover the spacious area of truth, and to make the reader feel that he is dealing with the profoundest problems of earth and heaven. Hence, "In Memoriam" is something more and greater than a mere poem. It is a kind of compendium of theology and philosophy, of the Divinities and Humanities in new and striking form; furnishing food for thought to every thinking man who reads it.

Hence, to our mind, the fame of Tennyson and its permanence rest

more upon such a product as this than upon any other of his works. "Maud," "The Princess," "Lady Godiva," "Enoch Arden," are choice and attractive poems, but scarcely to be cited in the same connection with this poetic masterpiece.

Similarly rich in these qualities is the marvelous genius of the Shakespearian drama; making that classification just which insists upon placing Shakespeare by himself, as having no legitimate rival in the province of English literature. Most of the Shakespearian plays evince this first condition of literary greatness, in their respective embodiment of some great thought.

Milton's "Paradise Regained" and "Samson" are unworthy of the author of "Paradise Lost" and "Comus"; and the illustrious Puritan poet often descends to a still lower level of poetic art. So with Browning and Tennyson and Longfellow and Lowell. But Shakespeare is uniformly great; and the question with the critic is, which, among an extended list of notable poems, is the most conspicuously so. Such is the first purpose of literature,—to propagate great ideas; the only condition being that they shall be presented in literary rather than in technical or educational form.

The difference between Bacon in his "Essays" and in his "Novum Organum" lies not in the presence or absence of ideas, but in the literary presentation of such ideas in the one, and their philosophical presentation in the other. There is the same difference between Mill's "Autobiography" and his "Treatise on Logic," or, in general, between any work that is textual and didactic and one that is offered in the accepted forms of prose and verse. Literature is thus the embodiment of ideas. As such, it is suggestive, stimulating, and inspiring, and commends itself to all who aim at mental discipline and the study of truth.

2. *The correct interpretation of the spirit of the age.*

It is here important to note that literature embraces two purposes—in a sense, separate, and yet, in the last analysis, united. The one contemplates general and remote effects; the other, those that are more specific, local, and immediate. The one has reference to the literature of a nation in its sum total, and in its historical influence from first to last; the other views it as operative in any particular age, and notes the manner in which it affects the thought and feeling and activities of that age. The mission of English literature may thus be examined as a consecutive and permanent influence from the beginning,—from Chaucer to Tennyson and Lowell,—or it may be studied in its successive and

separate stages, Augustan, Elizabethan, and Victorian, as representative epochs of national and literary life.

In the discussion before us, it is not important sharply to distinguish these two types of influence, seeing that they are virtually one. Literature is to interpret the spirit of the age, either at any one period of its national development or all along the line of that development; and the more fully that a literature does this continuously, without serious and abrupt cessation or decline, the more fully does it subserve its purpose and hold its claim to eminence. What are called "golden ages" in letters are so partly because of the fact that, at such eras, authors have the most fully succeeded in catching and embodying the spirit of the time; interpreting correctly its great historic and social features, and thus making their work at the same time a cause and an effect of such special development. Such was the Augustan age in Rome and the Periclean in Greece.

Nor is it only in eras of special excellence that such a principle is seen. The fifteenth century in England may be said to have failed signally in producing any high type of literature; and yet it would be untrue to hold that its literature failed to reflect at all the temper of the time. The literature was inferior because the age was such. A high order of prose and verse at such an era would have been as much out of place as mediocrity in the days of Elizabeth or Anne.

What is demanded of authors, however, in periods of depression and decline, is to rebuke and reform the age at the very time of revealing its type and spirit, instead of assuming an attitude of indifference toward it, or resting content in simply being its representatives and exponents. It is thus that in every such decline there have been always a few choice spirits who succeeded in pointing out to their generation a higher way; insisting that they should enter and follow it. Such men were Lydgate and Malory and Skelton and Caxton, between the death of Chaucer and the coronation of Henry VIII.

Critics speak of literature as a social and civic force. This is but another way of stating the point in question. It was so in Greece, as the government was democratic or despotic; in Rome, before and after the fall of the Empire; in Arabia and Spain, under the influence of the Caliphs; in Northern Europe, especially in England. English prose miscellany, as Drake has traced its history, clearly reveals this side of the mission of literature; so that Addison and Steele, in the "Spectator," the "Tatler," the "Freeholder," and the "Guardian," may be said to have photographed the manners and politics of the day. So did

Swift, in his "Gulliver's Travels" and "Drapier's Letters." So has Lowell done, in the "Biglow Papers," and Curtis, in his "Potiphar Papers."

3. Closely connected with the last-mentioned mission of literature is another—the *interpretation of human nature to itself and to the world.*

This is the subjective office of literature as a revealer of interior and personal life. In this sense, literature is a psychology; a manifestation of mind and will and conscience and character; a study of man and men; a full-sized portrait of the joys and sorrows, the faults and follies, the strength and weakness, the whims and fancies, the struggles and achievements, the glory and the shame of man; a disclosure of him at his best and his worst. Hence it is that literature demands, at this point, a master-hand to delineate humanity correctly. A development of mere æsthetic taste will not do; a superficial acquaintance with men and books will not do; nor will anything do, in the line of necessary equipment, save a catholic and comprehensive mind, a keen and sympathetic insight into men and things, and an unswerving purpose to be true to facts.

There are two or three departments of literary work in which this particular function of literature may be and has been best expressed; viz., the drama, fiction, satire, and humor. In each of these forms of verse and prose, the interpretation of human nature to itself and to the world is the primary motive. So far as the drama is concerned, it is best evinced on the side of comedy,—what is called specifically the "comedy of manners," wherein, according to Shakespeare, the mirror is held up to nature, and "all the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players." In this sense, the dramatist is simply a delineator or portrait-painter, and seeks to do with his pen what the artist does with brush and pencil and chisel.

So in fiction, on its realistic side, whether we speak of the novels of fact, of feeling, of manners, or of purpose,—of Scott, of Charlotte Brontë, of Dickens, or of George Eliot. Revelation of the inner man to his fellow-men and to himself, by an impartial observer, is the object. In fiction, as in the drama, impersonation and characterization are the end, which very terms indicate the point in question.

In the spacious field of satire and humor also, and in the manifold forms that they assume—the serio-comic or mock-heroic, sarcasm and innuendo, repartee and invective,—representation of what is beneath the surface is the end. Thus it is that "Hudibras," the "Dunciad,"

"The Battle of the Books," and "The Rape of the Lock" set forth the cardinal characteristics of human nature in those days in such striking form that men were obliged to rebuke and ridicule themselves.

The permanence and the popularity of these special forms of literature are assured, in that their object is to portray human nature, which from age to age offers an increasingly inviting field.

4. *The presentation and enforcement of high ideals.*

Courthope, in speaking of the literary outlook, says:—

"What is wanting is the genius to conceive and construct some ideal. The bias of Englishmen to practical skill has reacted on the national mind. They respect the fine mechanical forms even in their song. The tone of colleges, scholars, and literary society has this mortal air. Even so-called philosophy and letters are mechanical in structure, as if inspiration had ceased. The English have lost sight of the fact that poetry exists to speak the spiritual law."

What the English critic here applies to verse would apply to all literature; and he emphasizes the fact that what is wanting in these commercial and practical days is the spiritual and unmortal view of letters,—the exaltation and realization of the ideal in literature as distinct from the visible, tangible, and merely mercenary. Not only, as stated at the outset, must literature involve in its mission some great idea or ideas, but great ideals as well. It may be said, indeed, that the two should be found together; great ideas begetting or springing from correspondingly high conceptions.

In reply to the inquiry what is meant by this particular requisition of literature, it may be stated, that it includes the imagination in its supremest function; a conscientious sense of the dignity and responsibility of literature, and a serious purpose to execute it.

Here, again, is one of the tests of literature; and on this basis, as much as upon any other, are the masterpieces classified as such. The Dantean, Homeric, Shakespearian, and Miltonic conceptions of literature are of this extra-mundane order, having "no mortal air" about them. This it is, more than all else, that gives to such an author as Emerson his potency, and goes far to nullify any errors of method and detail that may exist in his writings. Matthew Arnold—all his faults conceded—possessed and illustrated this conception of literature; always penning what he penned under the influence of the ideal.

It is this which gives to the poetry of Tennyson its supremest quality, as it comes to its best expression in the "In Memoriam."

The literature of the Restoration was what it was because, save in

Milton's work, it had no such inspiration and aspiration; and, in the realistic tendencies of the day, the danger is that sentiment may be displaced by facts and figures, the imaginative by the realistic, and that authorship may be reduced to the level of the trades.

Literature cannot live by bread alone, but must find its main sources of strength in thought and feeling, in motive and aspiration, in converse with the unseen and infinite.

Whether literature, Continental or English, is realizing these conditions of literary success, is a question of pressing interest. Is literature fulfilling its mission? While such a critic as Morris—himself a poet—speaks of the present epoch in letters as an "empty day," and not a few others despair of reaching the scope and dignity of what they call "the epic age," there are still some who take a more hopeful view and anticipate the dawn, at no distant date, of a broader and better economy. Thus Stedman, in discussing the latter-day singers,—Swinburne and his school,—discovers a serious and recently renewed effort to sustain and perpetuate the glories of English verse, and thus to make the close of the nineteenth century worthy of its opening and middle years. Reviewing the American side of English letters, he writes of the dawn which may soon break upon us unawares, "even though as yet the older school of Longfellow and Lowell and Poe and Whittier is not even approximately reproduced."

Similar views are expressed by Richardson, in his "Perspective of American Literature."

"The future of poetry," says Matthew Arnold, "is immense, because in poetry our race will find an ever surer stay"; while Emerson is more than pained as he beholds what he conceives to be the lowering tendencies of the time. The truth may be found to lie midway between these extremes; and, while all the features constituting the highest mission of letters may not be found, enough may be found to give it place and worth.

If it is not the era of great ideals in literature, in the spiritual sense of that term, it is contended that great ideas are still seen to be present, and, above all, that literature is, as never before, an interpretation of contemporary life and of human nature. Our conception of literature and its mission, it is urged, must be modified somewhat, as times and conditions change; so that the great ideas as incorporated in Dante and Goethe and Milton may be no greater than those which find expression in the representative prose and verse of the nineteenth century, even though these latter are expressed in more practical and

objective form. The poetry of Robert Browning may be as full of great ideas as is that of Homer, and the prose of George Eliot as much so as is that of Cicero and Bacon ; while what is called the practical literature of the century may be as thoughtful as that preceding it, only embodied in more vital and pungent forms.

To our mind, the main difference lies, as suggested, in the less conspicuous presence and power in modern letters of ideals rather than of ideas, by which the province of literature may be widened, but not heightened ; by which quality and tone may be sacrificed to mere amount and result ; and what is called the inner spirit of literature be somewhat in abeyance to the external and sensible.

If the poetry of the future is to be the poetry of Whitman, as some suggest, then it is clear that the idealistic will give way to the materialistic ; culture and refinement, to the grosser expressions of verse ; and literature become simply a medium for the semi-enlightened views of the lower orders of society. If, on the other hand, the Tennysonian conception of literature is to prevail, then it is equally clear that the ideal will have full scope, and literature be kept upon its higher levels.

Whatever the tendency, however, the mission of literature is a distinct one ; and the mission of the man of letters is correspondingly clear : To hold literature to its original purpose as one of the liberal arts, expressed in the form of a fine art, so as to secure, at the same time, what is most needed,—the union of strength and beauty.

If the facts be fairly stated, it must be conceded, that modern tendencies are in the main unliterary, though, perhaps, not in any hostile sense anti-literary. The attitude of the modern mind toward letters may be expressed as one of unconcern,—the absence of any keen and inquisitive interest in the development of national taste in letters. The great majority of writers themselves, whatever their preferences may be, are, of necessity, working on the lower planes of literature rather than the higher. Instead of an epic or a philosophic age, the age is one of lighter miscellany, produced in forms the most manageable and marketable. This has its place and purpose ; but it is not the ideal type as embodied in the great productions of the older peoples, pagan and Christian.

One of the deteriorating influences of modern times flows from the fact that quantity, rather than quality, is so often accepted as a measure of merit. The voluminousness of modern authorship is one of its greatest dangers ; and we are living, more than ever, in the age of books. Publishers are besieged by authors ; and their shelves are burdened with the rapidly increasing issues of the press. Libraries are multiplying and

enlarging ; and bibliography—the mere collection of volumes—has become a science, a separate department of study and investigation. All this tends somewhat to modify and lower the original standard of letters, and makes it appear a comparatively easy matter for one to pen his thoughts and secure for them a general reading. It is only the emphasis of the qualitative in literature that will save it, at this point, from rapid and permanent degeneracy.

Possnett, in his "Comparative Literature," draws an interesting picture of what he calls "The World Literature," as distinct from that of any separate class or nation ; embracing the best efforts of all civilized peoples as well as the fundamental principles of Christian doctrine and faith. Just as church historians speak of the possible unity and federation of all religions on some broad basis of common agreement, and as Max Müller writes of the possible reduction of all languages to a few of the great historic languages of the world, so it is contended by some that the mission of literature will not be and cannot be fulfilled till this principle of federation or confederation is to some extent realized. Goethe, in some of his works, seems to be looking forward to it, as does Herder also. "Let us conceive," says Matthew Arnold, "the whole group of civilized nations as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working toward a common result,"—"an ideal," he adds, "which will impose itself more and more upon the thoughts of our modern writers." In a word, what is here meant is the spirit of fraternity in letters,—the recognition, on the part of authors as a class, of common relationships, common interests and aims, whereby literature, as a great world-force and civilizer, might more effectually do its beneficent work. We speak of the brotherhood of letters. This is not confined to one people, but may have a range as wide as the brotherhood of men.

Of the four great offices of literature mentioned, all but one are, in fact, of this cosmopolitan character. Great ideas, human nature, and great ideals are universal in application, and serve, at once, to show that, in these respects at least, all literatures deal with common principles and have common purposes, as true in Homer as in Milton, and in Emerson as in Lucretius and Pascal.

It was thus that Shakespeare wrote his dramas, not simply as an exponent of the Elizabethan age or even of the English people, but as an author—within the province of general literature and the specific province of the drama—depicting character in *Macbeth* and *Lear* and *Othello* and *Imogen* as character for all peoples and all time, so that

when translated from English into the language of any other people, they seem to that people to be the masterpieces of one of their own authors. There is in these works that "one touch of nature" that "makes the whole world kin," and the presence of which in any work marks it as the work of genius.

No master-spirit in any literature has ever written prose or verse purely from the local or national point of view ; and herein lies the difference between genius and talent or mediocrity in letters. Chaucer wrote for all men and for all time. His contemporaries, such as John Gower, wrote for the England of their day. Shakespeare, Milton, Burns, and Tennyson wrote for all men and for all time. Prior and Thomson and Campbell and Crabbe wrote for the England of their own generation. There is a contemporaneous literature, the product of literary talent, and one that is permanent and intellectual, the product of genius ; and it is he only who produces the latter who has a due conception of the mission of letters, and is gifted of God for its realization.

Hence, literature has, as its highest mission, in common with every noble science and art, the conception and expression of the truth for the truth's sake, if so be the thought and life of man may be perfected and enlarged. Herein lies the unity of all truth ; and herein is literature, in its final purpose, the artistic embodiment of the "best that is known and thought in the world."

THEODORE W. HUNT.

The Forum

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OUR COAST DEFENCES.

DURING the last fifteen years, the subject of coast defences has attracted the attention of the entire people of this country. The press, the legislative and executive departments of the nation have all considered the importance of the subject; and in several Presidential Messages the advisability of putting the coasts in a condition of defence and security has been referred to.

To defend our coasts adequately was one of the first measures adopted by Washington; and some of the fortifications erected by him still stand in good condition,—evidences of his wise administration for the defence of the nation. By their presence alone, these expensive and powerful forts have, for a hundred years, contributed largely to the security and welfare of our country.

Considering the period in which such fortifications were built, Forts Independence, Warren, Lafayette, Columbus, Delaware, McHenry, Monroe, Sumter, St. Philip, Scott, Pulaski, and many others indicate a wise, judicious, patriotic purpose on the part of the people at that time of maintaining such a system of defence and protection as should secure to them and their children in the important ports and great harbors,—the centres of commerce and the storehouses of the nation,—a condition of peace and prosperity.

These forts have fulfilled their mission; and, now that they have become obsolete, a different system of defence is being adopted which, I trust, will be equally effective for the next hundred years in maintaining peace, security, and prosperity for our people and country.

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To cripple or subject a country to irreparable loss, it is not necessary to invade it. The blockading of the Southern ports during the Civil War by the Federal navy did more to cripple the Confederacy than any other act of the Government. It prevented those States from sending out their products, especially cotton, to the markets of the world. It prevented them from obtaining absolutely essential munitions of war, as well as the elements requisite to their war purposes, and rendered it impossible for them to obtain the necessaries of life, even depriving them of medicines,—especially quinine, which was so much in demand for their hospitals.

The capture of the forts on the coast of China enabled a nation one-twelfth her size, and very much her inferior in material resources and strength, to subjugate that vast empire and bring it to terms.

It is difficult to make those not directly interested in the subject, and who have very little opportunity of knowing the great improvements that have been made in the implements of war, understand present necessities, or the great developments that have occurred during the past three decades. Guns and forts that were effective forty years ago are now obsolete and practically worthless, and could no more stop the modern armored battleship than could a board fence stop a locomotive. The impetus of a modern projectile weighing one thousand pounds, as it leaves the mouth of a 12-inch gun, is equal to that of a 60-ton locomotive with a train of eight cars moving at the rate of fifty miles an hour; and the only means of stopping or destroying such formidable engines of war as other countries have constructed is to use force against force.

It is fair to estimate that the British navy has cost five hundred millions of dollars, and that the navies of Germany, France, and Italy have each cost more than one-half that amount; and, while we believe in having our navy as effective as possible, it is assumed that the United States will not at present authorize the construction of a fleet capable of destroying any of the navies above mentioned. Even if we had a navy of that magnitude, it would be utterly impossible for it to defend a coast four thousand miles in extent. The bitter experience of China illustrates the utter impracticability of such an effort.

Hence, it has been wisely determined to adopt a more economic system of defence; namely, the planting of batteries on *terra firma*, where the guns have great advantage over those that are subject to the rolling sea, and where they can be constructed at the least cost and at the same time possess the greatest power for defence. At first, this method re-

ceived very little support from the people of the United States, simply because the question was not fully understood, and their attention had not been fully brought to the subject. Presidents, Secretaries of War, and officers of the army have called attention in their official reports and public utterances to the necessities of the case; explaining the importance of proper defence, and the character of the armament required to insure a condition of security.

On December 1, 1885, the Hon. Samuel J. Tilden addressed a letter to Hon. John G. Carlisle, Speaker of the House of Representatives, in which he used the following language:—

“The property exposed to destruction in the twelve seaports of Portland, Portsmouth, Boston, New York, Newport, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, Galveston, and San Francisco cannot be less in value than five thousand millions of dollars. To this must be added a vast amount of property dependent for its use on these seaports. Nor does this statement afford a true measure of the damage which might be caused to property and business that would occur from hostile naval attacks.”

It is safe to say that, since that time, the population and wealth of the abovenamed ports, as well as of others of great importance, have nearly doubled. Again, Mr. Tilden says:—

“To provide effectual defence would be the work of years. It would take much time to construct permanent fortifications. A small provision of the best modern guns would take several years. Neither of these works can be extemporized in the presence of imminent danger. A million of soldiers, with the best equipments, on the heights surrounding the harbor of New York, in our present state of preparation, or rather in our total want of preparation, would be powerless to resist a small squadron of war-steamers. This state of things is discreditable to our foresight and our prudence. The best guarantee against aggression, the best assurance that our diplomacy will be successful and pacific, and that our rights and honor will be respected by other nations, is in their knowledge that we are in a situation to vindicate our reputation and interests. While we may afford to be deficient in the means of offence, we cannot afford to be defenceless.”

Some of the best literature on this subject appeared in a series of magazine articles written by Col. J. A. Frye, of Boston, Massachusetts.

At a meeting of governors, called by Hon. H. M. Mitchell, then Governor of Florida, and held at Tampa in January, 1897, there assembled one hundred and forty delegates, representing, together, twenty-one States, with official representatives from the United States Army and Navy. The convention lasted from January 20 to 22, inclusive. A most careful consideration was given to the defensive requirements of the country; and, after the subject had been fully considered by the

assembled representatives of the different States and organizations, the following resolutions were adopted:—

“Whereas, This Convention appreciates its inability to determine the important question of coast defence from a technical standpoint, it, therefore, is

Resolved, That it does appreciate the necessity of immediate protection to the seaboard of our country, and the importance of defending all points liable to invasion by hostile forces; and, therefore, it is further

Resolved, That this Convention does most earnestly urge upon our Representatives in Congress the necessity for immediate appropriations sufficient to carry out the plans formulated by the War Department; and does further urge that such appropriations be made available at once, to the end that the plans of the Department may be completed without delay.

Resolved, That, with a view to securing the best results from its deliberations, this organization, to be known as ‘The National Defence Association of the United States,’ be made permanent; and that said permanent organization shall consist of a president, seven vice-presidents, a secretary, a national committee (which shall be also an executive committee), consisting of one from each State, and a committee on State legislation, consisting of three from each State. . . .”

Thus, it will be seen that the importance of the subject of coast defences has so much interest for the people that their representatives are taking earnest and active part in promoting the great national enterprise. An expression of this sentiment was voiced recently by the action of the New York Chamber of Commerce in a set of resolutions, as follows:—

“At the Monthly Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, held Thursday, November 4th, 1897, the following report of its Committee on Harbor and Shipping, on the subject of Harbor Defences, was unanimously adopted:—

TO THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

Your Committee on Harbor and Shipping, in accordance with the request of your president, as contained in his letter of September 8th, has had under consideration the subject of Harbor Defence, and particularly the urgent necessity of at once providing an addition to the existing army corps of a body of men to be trained in the duties of handling all the new modes of defences—particularly the modern high-power guns, rapid-fire guns, mortar batteries, system of mines, search-lights, etc. The United States Government has at this time only the very small number of 3,890 Artillerymen, including ten batteries of light Artillery, of which number, it is stated by competent authority that, being enlisted from the ordinary sources, one-half, at least, are incapable of becoming trained gunners; whilst the present fortifications around the city of New York alone require 7,000 men to man them, and when those under construction at this Port are completed, they will need a force of 13,000. Most able and exhaustive articles on the subjects of ‘Readiness for War,’ ‘Federal Duty and Policy,’ and ‘Coast Artillery Practice’ will be found in the ‘Journal of Military Service’ for September; and an equally valuable one, in preparation and to be published in the November issue of the same journal, by Gen. Geo. W. Wingate, will satisfy every reasonable man of the incalculable value these defences have and will always present,

in view of the very enormous amount of property in this great city at the mercy of any inimical naval Power. We strongly urge anyone who impulsively, or for any reason, is prompted to object to such outlay to read these articles. Your Committee deem no arguments from them can add to their force, and congratulate their fellow-citizens that the policy of the Government has been already moulded by public sentiment in favor of the most efficient measure of defence. By the resolution presented herewith, the necessity of the action therein urged is self-evident; and your Committee cordially and unanimously recommend its adoption:

Whereas, The United States is now constructing modern sea-coast defences to include over 500 high-power guns, 1,000 12-inch mortars, and 360 rapid-firing guns, to be grouped at over one hundred and ten different points in about twenty-five different harbors, and has made appropriation for over 350 high-power guns and about the same number of 12-inch mortars, of which one-half can be in their emplacements by June, 1898, and

Whereas, The present United States Artillery force is wholly inadequate in number to care for and properly man these guns in their emplacements, or to be properly organized into a defensive system, or to furnish a nucleus of instructed Artillerymen for the proper manning of these defences in case of war; be it

Resolved, That we, the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, being fully impressed with the urgent need of an increase in number of the Federal Artillery force, to properly insure the vast amount of property of our city and other sea-coast cities against destruction and the levying of contributions that would be visited upon us in the event of war with foreign nations, do earnestly request and urge the President and Congress of the United States to take such immediate action as will provide a force of trained Artillerymen for the proper manning of our sea-coast defences; and it is believed by us that 110 sea-coast batteries requiring a numerical increase of the army of about 4,000 Artillerymen is absolutely necessary to accomplish these purposes."

The immense population that they represent, and the vast interests involved, justly warranted them in taking such an earnest part in calling the attention of the Government, and especially Congress, to this important subject. It is a subject in no sense local. It affects four thousand miles of coast frontier; and anything affecting the great avenues of commerce, the centres of wealth and population, is of vital importance to the people of the entire country. Any serious injury to the welfare of these communities would affect the welfare, interests, and political rights of every citizen within the borders of our land.

There are two impressions entertained by many of our people that, in my opinion, are not well founded, even if they cannot be regarded as illusions; and they are certainly entitled to full and impartial consideration. One is that we have reached the millennium, that the world has become sufficiently enlightened to abhor war, and to settle all its national and international affairs on intelligent and humane principles. What facts warrant such a pleasing sentiment, belief, or hope? The

heralds of time that record the passing years and months record also national strife and wars in some part of the world. There never was a time in the whole history of the world when so much ingenuity, wealth, and skill were employed in the invention and construction of the appliances of war. The fact that the art of man has utilized high explosives and metals of the most extraordinary and hitherto unknown density and tenacity, together with electricity and other modern appliances, does not indicate that wars will be less frequent or that the destruction of life will be so great as to prevent the use of such appliances. With all these changes, the principles of war have not changed, though the tactics used by the contending forces have been modified. Battles are now fought at greater distances because of the use of the modern arts of war; and the result is that the mortality is less now than when the legions of the Cæsars or the Corps d' Armée of Napoleon were brought into close mortal combat with their antagonists.

The other impression—equally ill founded, it appears to me, in experience and history—is, that timely warning will always be given and ample opportunity allowed to prepare a nation for a condition of war. In fact, the unexpected more frequently occurs; and war comes, like the cloud-burst or the sweep of the tornado, when a nation or people is unprepared. In 1881-3, the question came up in England as to whether it had been customary for a nation to declare war before the opening of hostilities; and the subject was carefully considered by the British government. The facts assembled were printed under the title of "Hostilities without Declaration of War: a Historical Abstract of the Cases in which Hostilities have Occurred between Civilized Nations Prior to Declaration or Warning, from 1700 to 1870."¹ A brief history of wars was given; and it was found that in the one hundred and seventy years, between 1700 and 1870, in which one hundred and seven wars were recorded, there had been less than ten instances in which any formal declaration of war had been made before actual hostilities commenced.

It is unreasonable to suppose that the great majority of people desire war; yet we know that wars frequently occur when least anticipated. The history of the wars that have occurred since 1870 is familiar to most readers; and it is unnecessary to refer to them to illustrate the fact that hostilities occur before any formal declaration is made. Nor

¹ The compilation was made under the auspices of the Intelligence Branch of the Quartermaster's Department, by Lieut.-Col. J. F. MAURICE, Royal Artillery (London, 1883).

need we refer to incidents of recent occurrence, where imperative demands have been made by one government upon another, with but a few days or hours allowed for compliance with such demands, under penalty, on non-compliance, of the occupation of territory or the bombardment of towns and cities.

Hence, the injunction of Washington, that "to be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace," comes down to us with peculiar force and with a sacred significance.

The great engines of war are now so complicated,—the spear, the shield, and the hunting-rifle having been superseded by massive pieces of machinery,—that they can be used only by skilled, trained artillerymen; and the safety of the country not only requires that such complicated ordnance shall be constructed and available, but, also, that a corps of trained men shall be available to work it. The modern systems of defence by torpedoes, submarine mines, high-power guns, mortars, machine-guns,—all require skilled men to use them effectively; and too much credit cannot be accorded to the brave men who enlist in the Government service as officers and soldiers, and will be called on to risk their lives in face of the terribly destructive weapons that will be turned against them by the military or naval force which may essay to attack our frontier. The fortitude, courage, and patriotism of such men are worthy of the highest commendation by the people, whose property, lives, and liberties they cheerfully defend.

NELSON A. MILES.

THE FUTURE OF BIMETALLISM.

SINCE the failure of the Wolcott Commission, it has been vehemently asserted by the enemies of silver that bimetallism has been killed, and that "its corpse lies in Downing Street." No intelligent bimetalist expected from the Commission anything but failure. England dominates the finances of Europe; and Mr. Gladstone voiced correctly the sentiment of the ruling classes in that country, when he declared that England was the creditor nation of the world, and that she intended to collect her indebtedness in gold.

In the late Presidential campaign, the friends of silver asserted that bimetallism would never be attained by international agreement, and that the only hope for it lay in the action of the United States without waiting for European nations. On the other hand, the enemies of silver declared for bimetallism by international agreement; and thousands of voters who favored bimetallism, but who had previously affiliated with the Republican party, supported Mr. McKinley in the hope that his Administration could, by international agreement, open the mints of the world to silver coinage.

When Congress was convened in extraordinary session after the Presidential election, the President-elect devoted his Message to the Tariff, without pressing the Silver Question for consideration; and but for the peculiar exigencies existing in Colorado politics, nothing would have been done in regard to silver during that session. The Republicans of Colorado were overwhelmingly in favor of the free coinage of silver, and the State had so voted in the Presidential election; but its Senators parted company in the canvass, although both declared for bimetallism. Senator Teller left the Republican National Convention openly and defiantly, when it declared against bimetallism except by international agreement; bitterly denouncing such action as a pretence and fraud. Senator Wolcott remained with his party, and risked his political future on the promise made in its platform.

No just criticism can be made of Senator Wolcott for calling the attention of President McKinley to the pledge for international bimetallism in the Republican platform, and demanding that an attempt

should be immediately made to redeem it. Whether the President believed the attempt would be successful or not, he was compelled, in honor and good faith, to make the venture. Senator Wolcott was therefore sent to Europe on a preliminary visit, to ascertain the prospects of success; and, on his return, he introduced in the Senate, with the approval of the Administration, resolutions authorizing the appointment, by the President, of commissioners to confer with the representatives of European nations as to a common ratio between gold and silver.

No serious opposition was made in Congress to these resolutions. The Republicans favored them because they were pledged to the action proposed; and the friends of silver were not only willing, but anxious, to demonstrate the truth of their prediction that England would never agree to any step toward bimetallism.

The failure of this Commission, instead of killing bimetallism, has immeasurably strengthened it in the United States. There can hereafter be no evading the issue between the single gold standard and bimetallism. Every pretext for delay and misunderstanding has been swept away; and the people of this country must decide in the next contest whether silver shall be used only as subsidiary coin, or be restored to its former position as money of ultimate redemption.

That bimetallism has not been killed by the failure of the Wolcott Commission, is evident from the result of the recent elections. The States of Colorado, Nebraska, and Virginia have reaffirmed their loyalty to free coinage; while Kentucky and Indiana have reversed their action in the Presidential election, and indicated that in the future they will be found on the side of silver. In Ohio, the result has been most disastrous to the single gold standard. The popular majority for Mr. McKinley in November, 1896, has been reduced by nearly one-half; and the chairman of the Republican National Committee finds the legislature so evenly divided as to make his election to the United States Senate not only uncertain, but improbable. In all these States, the free coinage of silver was a distinct issue; the Democratic candidate for President making an active canvass in Kentucky and Ohio, and everywhere emphasizing his well-known opinions.

The result in Maryland, where the reelection of Senator Gorman overshadowed other questions, cannot be considered a defeat of silver; for the platform of the Democrats was silent upon the subject of free coinage, and Senator Gorman had voted in the Senate with the advocates of the single gold standard. It must also be observed that the Mayor-elect of Greater New York is an open advocate of free coinage.

Those who dispose of these facts by denouncing the bimetallic movement as an ephemeral craze, and its advocates as lunatics and idiots, advertise their own ignorance. *and*

If the 6,491,977 voters who supported Bryan in 1896 and controlled the recent State elections, are lunatics and idiots, deceived by demagogues and self-seeking politicians, there is no hope for free institutions and popular government. The experiment is a failure; and the functions of government must be turned over to the members of the Sound-Money League, who have solemnly resolved that bimetalism is supported only by the ignorant or dishonest.

Epithets and denunciation prove nothing. If such weapons could stop a great popular movement, Abraham Lincoln would never have been President, and African slavery would still exist on this continent. The torrent of abuse and ridicule which rolled mountain-high against the Anti-Slavery movement would have overwhelmed it, but for the fact that a deep, earnest, popular conviction against slavery existed in the Northern and Middle States, which could not be stayed in its course by the eloquent invective of the Southern leaders.

In 1856, John C. Fremont, an accidental candidate, received 1,341,264 votes for President; while Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, had 1,838,169 votes, a majority for the latter of 496,905. In 1860, Abraham Lincoln received 1,866,352 votes on the Free-Soil ticket, and was elected.

In the last Presidential election, McKinley's vote was 7,105,629, and that of Bryan 6,491,977; the majority of the former being 613,650. The statement that this vote for Bryan comes from crazy impulse or ignorance, is a reckless slander.

As in 1856 and 1860, the American people revolted against African slavery, and determined to overthrow it, so, in 1896, they deliberately declared, by an immense vote, that the slavery of the single gold standard should be overthrown, and silver restored to its former position as money of ultimate redemption. That a majority did not so vote in 1896 is no more conclusive of the issue than was the election of 1856. The struggle will never end until bimetalism is the settled policy of the United States. Great reforms are never consummated without labor, sacrifice, and delay, especially when money and privilege are against the change; but if the reform appeals to that innate sense of justice and right which permeates the masses of mankind, the movement will eventually succeed in every republic. Boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and monetary commissions composed of capitalists and bankers may denounce and deride; but the popular will will work out the right result.

That the mints of this country were closed to the free coinage of silver in 1873-4 for a sinister purpose, and by secret methods, is the fixed opinion of many millions of voters. The more closely the history of that transaction is examined, the more difficult it becomes to reconcile the facts with the open and fair dealing which should characterize the affairs of a free people. The least that can be said is that the legislation of 1873 and 1874 demonetizing the silver dollar was most remarkable.

It is a matter of history that at the Monetary Conference of 1867, in Paris, a letter was read from the Hon. John Sherman, chairman of the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, in which it was stated that the people of the United States were favorable to the single gold standard. While this may have been Mr. Sherman's opinion, it is difficult to find any basis for his conclusion. There had been no discussion of the question in Congress or in the press, nor any alignment of parties upon it. If the design to demonetize silver existed, it was certainly not among the people generally, but was confined to bankers and capitalists.

At the following session of Congress, Mr. Sherman introduced a bill establishing the single gold standard. This bill was referred to the Finance Committee of the Senate, and was soon reported by Mr. Sherman with a majority report in its favor, but also with an adverse report by one member of the Committee, Senator Morgan of New York.

No action was taken upon these reports by the Senate; and, some months afterward, Senator Morgan was succeeded by Senator Fenton, a friend to the gold standard. If the people of the United States were favorable to the single gold standard, it is singular that the bill reported by Mr. Sherman was not pressed for action; and it is equally remarkable that, in 1873,—nearly four years later,—when Mr. Boutwell, a strong adherent of the single gold standard, had become Secretary of the Treasury, a mintage bill was selected to effect the great change in our coinage which had been attempted and abandoned in 1868.

Mr. Sherman has asserted many times that the provision demonetizing the silver dollar was not secretly enacted, nor its discussion evaded; and I do not question his veracity. But the fact remains that leading Members of the Senate and the House, both Republicans and Democrats, knew nothing of the important clause; and President Grant, who signed the bill, expressed his surprise, months after the law had been enacted, that no more silver dollars were being coined.

It is possible that Mr. Boutwell may not have thought the matter of sufficient importance to justify him in calling the President's attention to it; but the omission was most unfortunate.

Whatever may have been the motives of those who managed the bill that demonetized the silver dollar, a cloud of suspicion rests upon the transaction; and the impression has been made that indirect and questionable methods were adopted to fasten the single gold standard upon this country. At the time this was done, the silver dollar was worth three cents more than the dollar in gold, so that not the slightest justification, on the ground of an overproduction of silver, can be found for the legislation of 1873-4.

It is often urged by the friends of the single gold standard, as an extenuating circumstance, that a large amount of silver dollars has been coined since the laws of 1873-4 were enacted; but the record shows that, in every instance when more silver dollars were coined, Mr. Sherman and his associates were forced to yield. The Bland-Allison Law was enacted against the veto of President Hayes, when Mr. Sherman was Secretary of the Treasury; and the Sherman Act of 1890 was coerced from Mr. Sherman and other leaders of the Gold party—as he himself has often stated—by the Republican Senators from the silver-producing States of the West.

It is no answer, however, to the just attack upon the legislation of 1873-4, that silver dollars have been coined since that time. What the friends of bimetallism denounce is the closing of the mints to silver coinage, and then using the commercial depreciation of silver bullion as an argument against silver money. They charge—and statistics support them—that there is not enough gold and silver in the world for the necessities of business, and that the mints have been closed to silver for the purpose of decreasing the volume of redemption money, so as to increase the purchasing power of gold. They believe that the pending struggle is the fight which has been waged in all the centuries,—the attempt to use governmental powers by the rich and powerful to increase their incomes at the expense of the masses. No intelligent or honest man expects to enact laws which will put money into the pockets of those who do not labor; but money should not be diminished in volume below the amount necessary to afford every human being fair opportunity to secure just compensation for the product of his or her enterprise and toil. The single gold standard is an instrument of tyranny,—the foe of that equality which is the basis of free institutions.

It cannot be denied that plausible arguments can be made against bimetallism by the men whose trained intellects have been devoted to the art of making "money breed money." They parade the spectres of "repudiation," "dishonor," and the "single silver standard."

As to repudiation, it is enough to say that no bimetallist advocates or contemplates it in any degree or form. The friends of bimetallism are pledged to the payment of all national and individual obligations honestly and fully as stipulated between creditor and debtor. They do not propose to pay in fifty-cent dollars, but in dollars of full purchasing power and value. When the mints of the United States are again opened to the coinage of silver legal-tender dollars, the commercial value of silver will at once rise to that of gold, on the established ratio.

It is axiomatic that the legal-tender money of any nation is worth throughout the world the value of the purchasable products of that nation. The silver dollar of the United States is worth one hundred cents everywhere; not because it is redeemable in gold, for it is not, but because it has the legal-tender quality and will purchase all the products of this country. The legal-tender silver dollar of Mexico is worth only fifty cents outside Mexican territory; and the cause is obvious.

In 1894-5,—the last official report obtainable,—the exports of Mexico amounted to \$90,854,953, of which, \$53,535,854 were gold and silver, and \$37,319,099, merchandise. During the same year, the exports of the United States amounted to \$906,751,099, of which, \$113,358,500 were gold and silver, and \$793,392,599, merchandise.

In the last fiscal year, the balance of trade in our favor was larger than ever before; and, with increasing resources, it is safe to assume that the time will never come when foreign countries will not be compelled to buy from us, in large quantities, the necessities of life. So long as this is so, our legal-tender money will be at par throughout the world.

The prediction that this country will be forced to the single silver standard, by opening our mints, has been often shown to be ridiculous; and recent events have demonstrated its worthlessness. Foreign nations cannot ship silver coin to this country, because there would be a loss by reason of the difference in ratio; and they cannot possibly dispense with their present supply of silver.

The Bank of England has lately increased its silver reserve, and five nations of the Latin Union have agreed to enlarge their silver circulation; while all the silver exported from Mexico and the United States finds a market in Europe, although the mints there are closed to free and unlimited coinage.

A fatal mistake is being made by the advocates of the single gold standard. Instead of conservatism and compromise upon a question about which honest and educated men have always differed, they are proscriptive, unreasonable, and insulting.

The Sound-Money League, at a recent meeting, passed resolutions declaring for gold only, and denouncing the friends of silver as public enemies who were frightening foreign capital from our shores. In other words, they favor an increase of our indebtedness to foreigners, and its payment in gold. Are they not making the mistake of the old slave-owners, who refused any compromise, and demanded all or nothing?

Is it wise, in the face of present conditions, to demand the continuation of a money system which makes us dependent upon foreign capital, and increases the enormous burden of interest?

It is certain that Argentina, Australia, and India will not be purchasers, but competitors in the wheat market within a year; and the gold-miners of the Klondike cannot be relied upon to change the financial status of the world. When wheat declines in price, and the golden dreams of Alaskan adventurers are ended,—when hard times again confront the masses of our people,—how will they vote?

If business disturbance is the result of free coinage, and European capitalists throw their American securities upon Wall Street, who is responsible? Only those who have forced the friends of bimetallism to choose between the gold standard and possible panic, caused by disappointed greed.

Nations and individuals must reap what they sow. The people of the United States have been living in "a fool's paradise," borrowing from Europe, and piling up interest, until a class has grown among us that openly advocates more borrowing and more financial slavery. The sturdy independence of foreign domination, taught by our fathers, is derided and denounced. The railroads, breweries, factories, and lands of the United States are year by year passing into the hands of foreigners. The Union Pacific Railroad has just been purchased by a foreign syndicate; and the Kansas Pacific will be bought by the same parties. No amount of silver agitation in the United States seems to stay the tide of foreign investment, although the threat is continually made by the gold-standard advocates that the possibility of bimetallism hangs like a pall above our credit.

The time has come to end the vassalage to foreigners created by enormous debt. We must cease borrowing, and devote all our energies to paying what we owe. We are strong enough to adopt bimetallism, and to defy the malign soothsayers who worship "the golden calf."

G. G. VEST.

Good eye old man

*the money would make a
difference in the price*

ELECTRICAL ADVANCE IN THE PAST TEN YEARS.

THE variety of service to which electricity has already contributed cannot fail to impress every one. We communicate by telegraph over the land and under the seas. Our electric signals may bring into almost instantaneous action the machinery of a modern fire department, or simply note the flight of time in a clock system.

The stock ticker records the changing values: the police telegraph anticipates the criminal in his flight. The same agent, which in the telephone carries the inexpressibly feeble overtones of the voice to great distances with the speed of light, conveys energy equal to thousands of horse-power and distributes it for lighting our streets, our factories, our shops, and our homes. The electric search-light may rival the sun in the brilliancy of its beams, or a tiny incandescent lamp may not equal one-tenth of a candle-light. Electric motors ventilate our buildings, drive our machinery, and run our elevators. We travel swiftly on electric cars, propelled by current from wires which also furnish the means for lighting and heating the cars.

In mills and factories, the power is carried to the different buildings oftentimes by electricity; and electric railways distribute the raw materials and deliver the finished products for shipment. In mines, coal is cut and transported to the pit's mouth by electric power; and the same power works the ventilating-fans. Metals are welded and forged by electric heat; and some are smelted from their ores by electricity. The electrolytic bath either refines crude metals or coats and protects them, as in nickel-plating.

Power is now transmitted over great distances by wire; and the energy of waterfalls is made available for innumerable uses far from its source. New and valuable products arise from the high heats of the electric furnace. That paragon of nature's, the diamond, can now be fashioned in an electric crucible from plain black soot.

Nearly all the larger electrical work has been the result of the past twenty years of progress. Before directing our attention to the great work of advance in recent years, we may recall some of the more notable events in applied electricity which occurred in the late 'seventies and

immediately thereafter. It was then that the commercial beginnings of arc-lighting took place. The incandescent lamp or burner and the electric main for supply of current soon followed. The telephone itself, considered as a practically working speech-transmitter, belongs to the period referred to. Its birth was first made known at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. The almost ideal power of electric motors was applied in a limited way. The fruits of the pioneer work of that period have ripened in recent years. The experimental work in electric railways, begun in the early 'eighties, resulted in the enormous electric-traction development of to-day, when almost all our street-railways are operated by electricity.

In this connection, it is very interesting to note that, at a convention of street-railway men held so recently as 1887, a discussion of electric traction as applied to horse-railways was vigorously criticised as a waste of time which, it was urged, might have been better applied to practical subjects, instead of to such a fanciful or theoretical one. In fact, the contention was that the care and feeding of horses should take precedence of so unimportant a subject as electricity, considered as the motive power of a car system. Yet, in less than five years from that time, the horse question had everywhere become an exploded one. A convention of the same association in the present year assumed in its papers and discussions the universal application of electricity to street-car propulsion. Had the advent of the electric railway marked the only great advance within the ten years just past, that period might still be well characterized as one of great technical progress in electricity. Had the decadence of horse-traction occupied a much longer period than it did, the advance could justly be deemed rapid.

Many of the largest street-railway systems were transformed in a few months' or in a year's time. The advance still goes on by extensions of existing lines, by the establishment of additional inter-urban and suburban traffic facilities, by the increase of equipment, and by the steady improvement in the quality of that equipment.

To appreciate the real progress of the past ten years, demands a wider view. We must consider many other branches of electrical work besides electric traction.

What, then, was the condition of the art ten years ago? By comparison with the present status, we may, generally speaking, get some idea of the growth during the past ten years. In thus looking backward, we find that there were telephone-exchange systems, but practically no long-distance extensions. We also find that in the larger cities and towns arc-

lighting circuits for street and store service were in use, employing only the constant-current or series system; while to-day arc-lights of various kinds are worked on several plans, or with different kinds of current-supply. There were, in addition, a moderate number of electric stations, supplying incandescent lamps, together with a few electric motors. Here and there, isolated lighting-plants in mills and other large buildings were in operation; but the alternating current, so large a factor in electrical enterprises nowadays, had scarcely become known or applied practically. There were perhaps not more than twenty trolley cars in actual service in 1887; and these were of doubtful success. There were no regularly constituted electric railways worthy of the name. The telephone and electric-lighting wires were largely overhead; and frequently the construction was of the most imperfect and temporary character. Among some notable exceptions, stood prominent the Edison three-wire underground system, which had the elements of permanence. The extensive underground mains and wires in use in cities to-day testify to the great progress which has taken place in the means of distributing electric energy. They represent a very large investment of capital; but they also confer that reliability and permanence which was before lacking.

Within the past eight or ten years, much has been done in the perfection of thoroughly practical forms of meters and other instruments for the measurement of electric forces and quantities. While such work resembles in its delicacy that demanded by watch mechanism, on the other hand, the large station-dynamos are examples of the heaviest machine construction. Some of them demand steel castings more than thirty thousand pounds in weight. Indeed, in the same electric factory we may find watchmaking tools turning out the fine pieces of electric meters, which may not weigh more than a few grains, and electric cranes handling masses of metal of many tons,—parts of the larger dynamos under construction. A few years ago, a dynamo was large if it demanded one or two hundred horse-power to drive it; while now such machines are diminutive, when compared with those of two thousand horse-power commonly constructed.

Dynamos are in use at Niagara of five thousand horse-power capacity. A single one of these would supply more than fifty thousand incandescent lights such as are ordinarily used, or would give motion to five hundred trolley cars.

The period since 1887 has been marked by great extension in electric lighting by both arc and incandescent lamps. Prior to that year,

only the largest cities, broadly speaking, possessed any electric-lighting service. Now, however, even the smaller towns have their electric stations, their arc lamps for street lighting, and the smaller incandescents for general use. The same wires or mains frequently supply both kinds of lights. The incandescent lamps in use in the United States are numbered by millions; and there are several hundred thousand arc lamps besides. There are in operation nearly three thousand electric-light-supply stations; and these, together with isolated electric plants, represent a capital of about five hundred million dollars.

One of the chief factors in this great extension has been the application of alternating electric currents, or currents of wave-like nature, reversing their direction many times in each second. The direct or continuous current had previously occupied the field alone. But the alternating current possessed the advantage of readily permitting the sending out over a long distance of a high-pressure current with but little loss and by means of comparatively small and inexpensive lines. This current, relatively dangerous, could then be exchanged for a safe low-pressure current on the house mains for working the lights.

The device which makes the exchange is called a transformer. It is in reality a modified induction coil,—a simple structure of copper wire, sheet iron, and insulating materials, with no moving parts to need attention or to get out of order. The properties and use of the transformer in an alternating-current system were comparatively unknown before 1887; but since that time it has played a part in electric development the importance of which cannot easily be overestimated. It has been furthermore brought to a high degree of perfection by the persistent and painstaking effort of numerous workers.

In transforming a current of high pressure to one of lower pressure, or the reverse, only a very slight loss of power or energy is suffered. On a large scale, this loss is barely 3 per cent of the energy of the transformed current. The larger sizes of transformers now in use have capacities equivalent to considerably over one thousand horse-power. Some of these structures are employed at Niagara, and others at Buffalo.

As in the case of the apparatus just mentioned, the effort spent in the perfection of the huge dynamo-electric generators used in lighting- and power-stations has resulted in machines so perfect as to leave but little chance of further increase of effectiveness. They waste only a small percentage in converting mechanical power into electrical energy, and run for years with but little attention or need of repairs.

Along with all this improvement has gone a like betterment in the

thousand and one details and minor devices which go to make up an electric system. Both incandescent lamps and arc lamps are not only much improved, but, also, their cost is greatly reduced by the use of special machinery and processes of manufacture. Wires, insulating materials, switches, etc., are all far in advance of what they were a few years ago. Safety is secured by many ingenious devices; and the methods of operating have been made far more effective.

It cannot, with truth, be said that electrical arts or industries are still in their infancy, if we are to judge by the perfection of electric manufactures. It has been many years since electrical work could in any sense be regarded as empirical, except by the uninformed. Few of the older arts have possessed or do possess the means for such exact measurement or research: few, indeed, are based upon simpler laws of action. Had it been otherwise, the rapid progress which has characterized the past twenty years would have been impossible.

A striking feature of electrical energy is that it may be readily applied to widely varied work.

A few instances of this may be given. The large electric-lighting stations in our cities not only supply from the same mains, at the same time, electric current which lights both arc and incandescent lamps indiscriminately, but the system carries also a large load in electric motors employed for such service as running elevators, driving ventilating-fans, supplying power for pumping, and driving machinery in shops of all kinds. The same mains supply current for charging storage batteries, for heating metals for welding or working, for warming rooms by electric heat, or for cooking by electric heaters. The physician or surgeon draws upon the same system for current for the treatment of disease, for galvano-cautery, for electrolysis, and for the generation of Roentgen-rays.

Another example is found in a modern warship, which may embody an electric plant for working its incandescent lights. The same machinery supplies the search-light, which is essentially an arc-light of great power. There are also electric cranes and hoists, turret-turning and gun-training apparatus, motors for ventilating-fans or for forced draught in the boiler furnaces,—all depending on the same supply.

Perhaps, however, no better example of the varied application of electric energy exists than at Niagara. Certainly no grander exemplification of the way in which electric forces may be called into play, to replace other and unlike agencies, can be cited. Here at Niagara we may forcibly realize the importance of cheap and unfailing power de-

veloped from water in its fall. We find the power of huge water-wheels delivered to the massive dynamos for giving out electric energy. This energy is variously employed. The electric lighting of the city of Niagara and surroundings, and the electric railways naturally depend upon the water-power. Besides these, which may be termed the ordinary applications of electricity, there are clustered at Niagara a number of unique industrial establishments, the importance of which will undoubtedly increase rapidly. In the carborundum factory we find huge furnaces heated by the passage of electric current, and attaining temperatures far beyond those of the ordinary combustion of fuel. These electric furnaces produce carborundum,—a new abrasive, nearly as hard as the diamond, which is a combination of carbon and silicon, unknown before the electric furnace gave it birth. Sand and coke are the raw substances for its production; and these are acted upon by the excessively high heat necessary to form the new product, already in extensive use for grinding hard materials.

The metal aluminum, which not many years ago cost two dollars an ounce, is now produced on a large scale at Niagara, and sold at a price which makes it, bulk for bulk, cheaper than brass. Here, again, electricity is the agent; but in this case its power of electrolyzing or breaking up strong chemical unions is employed. Great vats containing fused compounds, such as fluorides of certain metals in which the aluminum ore is dissolved, are arranged so that a powerful electric current sent through the fused mass separates out the metallic aluminum. The metal is then collected and cast into ingots for shipment, or is rolled into sheets or rods, or drawn into tubes or wire.

Works for the production of metallic sodium and other metals similarly depend upon the decompositions effected by the electric current.

Solutions of ordinary salt or brine are electrolyzed on a large scale in extensive works established for the purpose. The chlorine of the salt is used with lime to make bleaching-powder, so important an agent in paper-making and textile industries. The sodium of the decomposed salt goes to form caustic soda, which is the base of soap and is employed in many manufactures.

The very high temperature which exists in an electric arc, or between the carbons of an arc lamp, has in recent years found application in the manufacture of another important compound, which was formerly but slightly known as a chemical difficult to prepare. Carbide of calcium is the compound referred to; and large works for

its production exist at Niagara. Here again, as in the carborundum works, raw materials of the simplest and cheapest kind are acted upon in what may be termed an electric-arc furnace. Coke, or carbon, and lime are mixed and charged into a furnace in which an enormous electric arc is kept going. The carbons in an ordinary arc lamp are usually less than one-half inch in diameter, or they have a section of less than one-fifth of a square inch; while in the carbide-of-calcium furnaces the section of the carbon may be upward of half a square foot. The light of the enormous arc produced is, however, smothered, so to speak, in powdered lime and coke,—the raw materials mentioned above. The importance of carbide of calcium rests in the fact that, by contact with water, it produces acetylene gas. The illuminating power of this gas, when burned, is its remarkable property.

It will be seen that the metallurgical and chemical developments at Niagara are the direct outgrowth of electrical utilization of water-power. With many water-powers, however, the outlet for the application of the electrical energy exists many miles away from the place at which the water-power is found. Even at Niagara there is an example of the beginning of long-distance transmission, by a high-pressure line extending to Buffalo and delivering electric energy to an electric station there.

In this case, "step-up" transformers, as they are called, are employed at the Niagara power-plant to step up or raise the electrical pressure or potential from that given by the dynamos to that required for the transmission to Buffalo. This transformation is from about twenty-five hundred up to ten thousand volts. At the Buffalo end, the reverse process is carried on by "step-down" transformers, and the energy is delivered to the trolley lines at about five hundred volts. At Buffalo, the "step down" in pressure is accompanied by a conversion of the alternating current into a continuous current in one direction or a direct current. It would require too much space to explain the meaning of these technical designations of the kinds of current; and they are referred to here solely to illustrate the extreme flexibility of electrical work as lately developed. The whole Niagara plant has grown into existence within the past five years, and as a consequence of the technical advances within the period of the past ten years. There are, however, in active operation, besides the Niagara power-plant, several other water-power transmissions, some of them far exceeding in distance that between Niagara and Buffalo, and some in which the amount of power conveyed, as well as the pressure of the current used upon the line, is much greater than is yet to be found at Niagara.

Electric transmissions are in particular favor in regions where the cost of steam-power, owing to dear fuel, is a stimulus to the utilization of water-powers which already exist, or which are capable of development. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Far West should furnish some of the most notable examples.

No limit can as yet be definitely set as to the distance which can be covered in an electrical transmission. The higher the voltage or electrical pressure which may be found practicable, the greater the distance which may exist between the transmitting and receiving machinery. So also, the higher the cost of fuel in a locality, the greater the distance over which it is feasible to make the transmission. It may be said that at present the range of distances is between thirty and one hundred miles.

It is interesting to compare the conditions in long-distance telephony with those of a power transmission. With the former, an exceedingly feeble current is sent out; and though only a small percentage reach the receiving telephone, still it may be sufficient to produce the sounds of the voice with such distinctness as to enable them to be recognized. To secure this result, the long-distance telephone lines are made of heavy copper wires; and the longer the distance to be covered, the thicker must be the line-wire.

The cost of the copper in the line becomes very heavy for great distances, over a million pounds of copper being required for a single circuit from Boston to Chicago. In a power transmission, on the other hand, the currents are of great pressure, and sometimes represent thousands of horse-power; and it is essential that in the transmission not more than a certain percentage of the energy be lost. Thus, in some cases, a 20-per-cent loss would be too much to allow, and in others a 25- to 30-per-cent loss might not be inordinate.

In this case, again, heavy copper wires are used for the lines, insulated as well as possible; and the cost of the copper for obtaining conducting power sufficient to prevent undue loss, other things being equal, sets the limit of distance. In the telephonic transmission, the percentage of loss is not important, provided the characteristics which represent speech in the receiver are not lost; while in the power transmission the percentage of loss is vital, as the object of the plant is simply to transmit energy under economical conditions.

In the large work of to-day, the general practice is to build the dynamo directly upon the shaft of the engine which drives it, or upon the water-wheel shaft, as the case may be. This avoids loss in belts or other forms of gearing.

Indeed, these large machines for producing electricity from power have in late years reached a perfection far beyond that of the steam-engine itself. The steam-engine, in fact, has been forced to a higher development in response to the demands of the electrical engineer.

No service demanded of electricity has taxed the resources of electrical and mechanical engineering so much as that of railway work. The electric motors must work under the most varied conditions, stand the hardest service, and run in the presence of water, slush, mud, and dirt. They must run at all speeds, and be, so to speak, mechanically and electrically invulnerable.

In the same way, the engines and dynamos, together with other parts of the system, must be of the most robust character. Inventive and engineering talent was required to provide for the new and urgent conditions. In the early days of electric-railway work, the prospect was not always bright or promising; and one of the chief setbacks was the enormous wear and tear of certain parts of the machinery,—chiefly those known as commutators. This difficulty was solved by the invention and application of carbon blocks in place of metal “brushes” used with the offending commutators. The “carbon brush” thenceforth became almost as essential to the railway-motor machinery as the carbon stick is to an arc lamp, and did more than anything else to change the prospect of failure into inevitable success. These technical matters make a long story which would be out of place here. They are merely alluded to for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that pioneer work in these advance movements has not been without its trials, and that a glimpse behind the scenes might have disclosed at times a none too rosy aspect.

In spite of the difficulties to be overcome, the electric railway has, in a very few years, put an end to horse-traction on city railways, the cruelties of which—not always to be avoided, perhaps—remain now only as a fading memory. Electric traction has given greater speed, better cars,—which are lighted and heated electrically,—and a resulting cleanliness and comfort not otherwise attainable.

But facts so evident call for no comment. Meanwhile, it has been shown that single cars may be propelled at high train-speeds with comparative safety. Even sixty miles an hour has been exceeded. It has also been proved, by the construction of several huge electric locomotives for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, expressly for tunnel service, that such electric machinery can haul the heaviest train-loads and can more than equal in power locomotives worked by steam.

Electric traction is now generally regarded as the ideal method for elevated railways, and as practically indispensable to underground or tunnel traffic in cities. A new underground road is now being constructed in London, which, when completed, will be a splendid example of the latest methods of the distribution and application of electricity to train service.

Indeed, electricity seems destined at no distant day to play an important part in revolutionizing passenger traffic between large centres of population. The facility with which electric service may be superposed on ordinary steam-roads will greatly further this development. The work with the third-rail system, undertaken by one of our prominent railway organizations, has abundantly demonstrated the practicability of such superposition. The future will witness the growing substitution of either single-motor cars, or two or three coupled cars, for long heavy trains drawn by locomotives; and a more frequent service will result. There is an eventual possibility of higher average speeds, since stops will not consume much time, and the time required to recover the speed after a stop will be much less than at present. There will be no annoyance due to escaping steam, smoke, or cinders; no sparks to cause forest or brush fires; no stopping to change engines, nor for taking up water or coal. The locomotive will be supplanted by electric motors driving the axles of the cars as in street-railway service. Cheap fuel can be used to generate the power in the electric stations, and the best conditions for economy of fuel maintained. Where water-power is available within thirty or forty miles, it may be transmitted to the railway line and used instead of power obtained from coal.

The present outlook, then, is most encouraging, so far as electric-railway extension is concerned; and, just as in electric lighting the foundations of present practice were laid fifteen or twenty years ago, so it may be said that the foundations of the railway practice of twenty years hence can be found in the work of to-day. In fact, great enterprises are now being planned and undertaken which will mean much to the future of the electric railroad.

Besides the work which is thus going on, and in which the electrical forces may be publicly witnessed in full operation, there are now other forms of industry in which the part played by electricity is not distinctly evident. Thus, enormous amounts of crude copper are annually refined by electrolysis, with the result that a nearly pure metal is obtained where, formerly, impurities lessened the value of the copper. Not only is this the case, but, in some instances, amounts of the precious metals,

gold and silver, have been separated in the refining, sufficient to pay the cost of the process. This work is all comparatively recent in its development.

The heating power of the electric current is now also utilized in a variety of ways. Electric welding-machinery has been put into service either for accomplishing results which were not possible to be obtained before its development, or to improve the work and lessen the cost.

Here again the part played by the electric current sometimes leaves little indication in the finished product. As an instance, it may be mentioned that the solid rubber tires of carriages are held in place by wires welded into bands by electric welding-machines built for the purpose. Similarly, carriage hardware, axles, wheel-tires, parts of bicycles, parts of machines, tools, and innumerable other articles are made. Metal bands for pails, tubs, and barrels are now largely made by electric welding. Even steel tubes for bicycle and vehicle frames are formed by the same means; and new industries are based upon it. A curious and instructive instance of the adaptability of electric methods to new uses is seen in the annealing of armor for war-vessels. A serious difficulty arose in the application of armor-plate having a hardened face and known as Harveyized armor. It was found almost impossible to drill or cut holes in the face,—an operation frequently rendered necessary in the construction of an armored ship. Various methods of annealing or softening the spots where the plate was to be drilled were tried, with indifferent results. The construction of some of our battleships was delayed on account of this difficulty. It was overcome by a special electric method, with appropriate machinery somewhat resembling that used for electric welding, capable of heating to redness the desired spots in the face of the heaviest armor-plate, and of automatically reducing the heat of the spots so as to anneal them. The heating and control of the cooling is perfectly brought about, in spite of the enormous mass of cold metal surrounding the portion under treatment. Together with electric-welding work, this armor-annealing is a striking instance of the extreme localization of heating in metal, possible only by the delivery of electrical energy and its conversion into heat at the desired point. In electric welding, the electric heat is sharply localized at the weld itself, softening and uniting the pieces; the operation being under the same perfect control as in the armor-annealing referred to. Before the advent of the electric process, iron and platinum only were known as the weldable metals. Afterward, all metals became capable of welding under electric treatment.

Electric heating is now also applied in many other ways. There are to be found electric cooking-utensils, electric sad-irons, electric soldering-tools and similar devices; while many street-cars are provided with electric heat in winter.

The chief bar to the employment of electricity for general heating lies in the fact that in using coal to develop power by steam-engines,—which power in turn is sent out as electrical energy,—85 to 90 per cent of the heating value is lost in the boiler and engine. This loss is so great as to make it undesirable, from the standpoint of cost, to reconvert the electric energy back into low heat, which can be more economically obtained from the direct use of burning fuel.

Besides the technical and industrial development which has gone on so rapidly in the electrical field, the science of electricity, considered simply as a department of physics, has advanced very rapidly. It is but a few years since the late Dr. Hertz gave to the world his experimental demonstrations of the fact that light of all kinds and from all sources is really an electrical phenomenon, differing from ordinary alternate-current waves only in the rate or frequency of vibrations. We produce electric waves of about one hundred vibrations per second for alternating-current work; and in the waves of red light the rapidity is as high as four hundred millions of millions of vibrations per second. Hertz and others used waves of some millions per second, and showed how they could transmit signals to distances without wires; these invisible waves being recognized by suitable receivers. The recently announced Marconi Wireless Telegraph is much the same thing, with certain improvements in detail. It may be of limited use, but will not replace telegraph lines and submarine cables.

Our store of scientific facts has been greatly increased and our electrical theories have been made more precise in late years; while the enormous industrial expansion has furnished the means for researches otherwise difficult to carry on.

Hardly had the work of Hertz and others who followed in his footsteps been assimilated, before the truly remarkable, not to say astounding, discovery by Prof. Roentgen of what he called the X-ray produced a profound impression not only in the scientific world, but upon the general public as well. The interest of the scientist had a different basis from the popular one of disclosure of objects hidden in opaque structures; for he saw in the discovery a new weapon of attack upon the secrets of nature. This weapon has already proved to be so serviceable as to show that his anticipations were not unfounded. The X-rays,

which became at once indispensable to surgery, are the result of electrical actions in certain vacuum bulbs; and the discovery is properly an electrical one.

The rapid extension of electrical application must naturally be of importance in social and economic questions. Changes in our methods give rise to extension of possibilities in the lives of our people. The effect of electric railways alone must be an important study for the economist and social scientist. Fresh questions of law and equity arise out of the conflict of the new and the old.

The increasing importance of electrical work has had a powerful effect upon the development of many other arts. It has stimulated workers in other than electrical fields to the attainment of higher standards, to the improvement of materials and construction, to the bringing out of new products and processes in response to the demands of electric engineering. As a consequence, we have better and more economical engines, improved methods in the casting, forging, and working of iron, brass, copper, and other metals. We have new alloys with special properties, special grades and kinds of steel, improved methods of working such substances as glass, porcelain, rubber, asbestos, mica, etc. In street-railways we have far better rails and rolling-stock.

No existing industry employs a greater range of materials, from the rarest to the most common, than does electric work. None requires or employs such a variety, in character, kind, and quality, of materials, or of treatment of them, to supply daily needs. Nature has been ransacked to discover whatever may possess qualities desirable in electrical construction; and the resources of art and ingenuity have been called to supply whatever might be lacking.

This material progress, coupled with the civilizing and educative influences naturally accompanying it, as well as the many other advances in the application of science to the needs of mankind, will ever remain the crowning glory of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

ELIHU THOMSON.

EXPORTS AND WAGES.

THE ability of nations to maintain an ever-increasing competitive struggle in the exportation of industrial products has been long a question of general interest. And since America has shown herself a strong competitor, the question has become broadened in its significance. In this country, modern industrialism is subjected to the closest scrutiny. The old and the new are set up against one another; methods of work being compared, and the extremes of unrestrained individualism and paternalism tested as to their relative efficiency in bringing about the greatest good to the greatest number.

The prosperity of a country is represented by the amount of wages received by the laboring classes. Is not this prosperity increased when wages are not only higher, but when every unit of wages represents at the same time a higher degree of purchasing power than ever before? An affirmative answer, although apparently but natural, would nevertheless be in exact contradiction to the wage theories which have left their impress upon our time. For a long period, political economists contended that low wages were the only safe basis on which nations could compete for industrial supremacy. The doctrine that wages could not rise without diminishing the profits of capital, and the postulate that rising wages would lead to a withdrawal of capital, and a necessary reduction of the "wage fund,"—with falling wages as a necessary consequence,—were at one time accepted as infallible. A demand for shorter hours, or for an increase in pay, was resisted by the cry, "What will become of our capital? How can we maintain our export trade?"

The history of the factory system shows how the "wage fund" theory was applied. Tender children were worked to death, and cruel taskmasters flogged them to keep them awake during the long hours of their daily toil. No sooner did the law step in to stop these sacrifices to the Moloch of the "wage fund" than the factory owners everywhere proclaimed their impending ruin. They were ruined in every stage in the progress of restrictive legislation—i. e., legislation enacted for the purpose of increasing the safety and health of the workers, of preventing the employment of women and children in mines and dangerous oc-

cupations, and of shortening the number of working-hours. It was argued that if profits were sacrificed by reducing the hours of labor, or by an increase of wages, the "wage fund" would decrease, capital would be withdrawn, and the laborers be left to starve or to emigrate. It was, therefore, an act of self-protection for the latter to submit to such sacrifices as giving up needed hours of rest, and permitting the decimation of their children as a consequence of over-exertion and malnutrition.

It may be asked, by those who regard high wages as a menace to the export trade of their country, whether, in the light of present experience, those employers who resisted the introduction of reformatory measures were so entirely wrong.

What is the situation in England, after forty years of meddlesome reform? Wages have risen to an extraordinary degree: they are, on an average, fully fifty per cent higher than in Germany. "We are not allowed," says the Englishman, "to employ our people more than fifty-four to fifty-six hours per week, while the Germans work sixty-six hours. The results are visible in every shop-window in this Free-Trade country. 'Made in Germany' everywhere stares us in the face, and, like a hideous nightmare, haunts our dreams. Our old markets are filched away from us, while new ones cannot be obtained. Every foot of ground is contested fiercely by these beneficiaries of cheap labor and long hours. Their cheap prints are found on every candy box. Our schoolboys carve their desks with cheap pocket-knives from Germany. Dress goods and hosiery, silks and gloves, Berlin mantles, and toys from Saxony, are everywhere signs of German ascendancy and British decadence. In foreign countries, where our supremacy was until recently unquestioned, we meet with the same experience. Germany is encroaching upon our trade, step by step. Yet, after all, this is not the worst feature of the situation. India, built up by British capital, with unlimited hours of labor, and wages at sixpence to a shilling a day, threatens to take away our trade in cotton goods in the East. This trade is the basis of our power. The empire is built upon it. Unless we can maintain it, we might as well prepare for the inevitable, and consent to be a second-rate Power in Europe."

Regarded from this point of view, the policy of the United States Government is perfectly logical. Here, the differences in wages and in working-hours are equalized by a corresponding increase in tariff rates. In order to be on the safe side, *ad valorem* rates are changed to specific duties. The Government assumes that the difference in wages is a permanent one, and that the fate of the working-man should not depend

upon the *ad valorem* of shifting values. It is considered sufficient to put an *ad valorem* duty—the equivalent of two or three times the entire cost of labor—upon goods of European manufacture. In Europe, both the Government and the press lean more and more to the side of the working-classes, who have obtained the right of suffrage, and cannot be repressed, as in former times. They demand a living wage and reasonable hours of employment.

But what of the Chinese and the Japanese? We are all familiar with the low rate of wages in Japan. Our consuls have kept us conscientiously informed on this point. The Report of Consul-General McIvor from Kanargava, April 15, 1895, states that in Yokohama silk-spinners and male weavers earn seventeen cents a day, while female weavers receive about ninety-six cents—two silver yens—per month, or less than four cents a day. Was it not proper, therefore, that Congress should raise the tariff rates on Habutai silk to an equivalent duty of 75 per cent? The foreign cost of the article ranges between 16.8 cents and 35 cents per square yard. If a square yard of silk should be furnished at these prices, the work being paid at the above-mentioned rates, what would become of our own labor? Imagine an American working-man protected by a paltry 45-per-cent duty—the Wilson Tariff rates—competing against labor earning four cents a day. The very idea in itself would be demoralizing to the fund that pays the high wages under which our own silk-workers prosper. From this point of view, 75 per cent is but a moderate rate, which the American consumer ought to pay without grumbling, especially when the fact is considered that Chinese pongee silks are compelled to pay rates running from 240 to 770 per cent.

The Senate was undoubtedly right when it refused to adopt the amendment offered by Senator White, "that the maximum duty should not exceed 200 per cent." These goods are made by Chinese cheap labor, which, as everybody knows, is far worse than that of Japan. The Chinese mode of subsistence is vastly inferior; and their cheap-labor products should therefore be excluded by all means. It is true that the quantities of China silks imported into this country are not very formidable. In the twelve months ending June, 1896, the total imports of silks from China amounted to \$266,673, and for the same period in 1897, to \$159,298. Nevertheless, possibilities have to be guarded against in formulating our tariff. Labor at four cents a day may at any moment encroach on some other branch of our silk industry.

That the danger is formidable, will become apparent from the following wage lists, compiled from a report on "Money and Prices in For-

eign Countries," made in 1896 by the consuls and diplomatic officers of the United States. I submit it here, together with a list of wages for our own country, taken from a report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor:—

AVERAGE RATE OF WEEKLY WAGES PAID BY COMPETING COUNTRIES.

OCCUPATIONS.	Great Brit- ain.	Ger- many.	Aus- tria- Hun- gary.	Russia.	China.	Japan.	United States.
Blast-furnace, men.....	\$5.96	\$4.28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Machine-making, men.....	7.80	5.00	\$4.46	\$3.88	.....	.....	\$11.62
Miners	5.57	4.28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cotton-manufacture, men.....	6.14	4.03	.....	1.55	.....	\$1.05	8.89
“ “ women.....	3.71	2.88	.....	1.75	.....	0.56	5.90
Wool and Worsted, men.....	5.64	.....	.....	1.90	.....	.....	8.89
“ “ women.....	3.22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6.05
Boot- and Shoe-factories, men....	5.89	4.65	3.64	2.92	.....	.....	12.70
“ “ “ women.....	3.04	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7.88
Carpet-making, men.....	6.46	4.28	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.10
“ “ women.....	2.69	2.38	.....	.....	.....	.....	6.87
Silk-manufacture, men.....	5.40	.....	.....	2.07	.....	1.05	10.62
“ “ “ women.....	2.45	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.24 to 1.05	6.57

It will be seen that the rate of wages paid by America stands so far above that of every other country, that the claims of those who ask for a tariff sufficiently high to equalize the difference would appear to be well founded.

Protectionism seems, therefore, to be clad in invulnerable armor. There is, however, a rent in the armor. For it is an undeniable fact that Great Britain, a Free-Trade country, pays wages higher by something like 50 per cent than any nation on the Continent; indeed, two or three times as much as Russia, and four times as much as those Asiatic nations which now fill with apprehension the minds of British and American statesmen of a certain school. Furthermore, the products of English mills are carried to every zone. The shippers ask no favors from their government except that they be protected in their legal rights, and no favors from foreign nations except that their goods be taken on their merits. And now, we are told that this supremacy is fiercely contested by the products of "German cheap labor." The following comparison for 1885, 1890, 1895, and 1896, of those exports in which the world's trade chiefly consists will serve to elucidate this subject:—

EXPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE FOLLOWING COMMODITIES.

(In thousands of dollars.)

ARTICLES.	1885.	1890.	1895.	1896.
Cotton Piece-Goods.....	284,592	268,169	219,488	247,160
“ Thread.....	11,504	14,580	15,552	15,765
“ Yarns.....	57,865	60,072	45,198	48,828
“ Hosiery and other Ware.....	10,206	14,094	11,664	18,812
Woollen and Worsted Mfrs.....	91,611	99,144	95,988	88,516
“ “ Yarns.....	21,660	25,568	34,717	34,218
Clothing and other Ready-Made Articles.	37,740	40,874	33,728	36,508
Machinery, incl. Carriages, Apparatus, etc.	67,690	111,510	101,660	117,240
Hardware and Cutlery.....	13,851	13,431	15,566	17,057
All other Metal Products.....	126,920	183,975	124,445	144,940

The following advance has been made in similar exports by Germany:—

ARTICLES.	1885.	1890.	1895.	1896.
Cotton Piece-Goods.....	11,136	13,680	15,120	15,110
“ Yarns.....	4,320	4,760	3,974	3,808
“ Hosiery.....	14,160	13,920	16,300	14,040
Wool and Worsted Mfrs.....	40,960	52,360	47,124	46,320
“ “ Yarns.....	8,640	9,056	11,232	10,776
Clothes and other Ready-Made Articles...	19,960	23,560	21,120	23,560
Leather Goods.....	20,640	17,780	15,120	13,804
Gloves.....	5,040	7,680	6,292	4,496
Machinery, Apparatus, etc.....	29,184	38,080	47,514	49,704
Hardware, Cutlery, etc.....	36,960	46,080	48,552	56,401
All other Metal Products.....	27,602	34,800	38,818	42,078

If Great Britain has suffered decline, it is not apparent that the dreaded low-wage country has gained correspondingly. Indeed, indications of a decline in English exports are only observable in cotton goods, yarns, coarse iron and steel products, and only in 1895 as compared with 1890: in 1896, the loss on cotton goods is nearly retrieved. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the average price of cotton in 1885 and 1890 was about 11 cents; whereas, in 1895 and 1896 it was but 7½ cents. The decline in the coarser iron products is very marked; but this item is very much influenced by trade conditions, and therefore subject to great and sudden fluctuations. The year 1890 was a boom year in the prices of iron in England. Between the months of August and December, 1889, the prices of iron in England rose over 100 per cent; and this high rate was maintained throughout 1890.

In products of the highest finish, we see that the trade of 1895 exceeds that of 1885 by fully 50 per cent; while, in 1896, an excess of more than 74 per cent over 1885 is observable. In wool and worsted manufactures, as well as in yarns, the figures of 1895 were surpassed only during the prosperous years of 1871-73. We must remember that, at that time, the average price of Colonial wools was £26.0.0. per sack; while, in 1895, it was only £12.1.0. Having demonstrated England's superiority in the principal articles of export, I shall pass over the smaller items of haberdashery, millinery goods, clothing, etc., where some slight shrinkage is discernible, and briefly glance at Germany's figures.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the special items in the table. Aside from the manufactures of metals, there is a surprising absence of facts to warrant the fear of "foreign cheap labor." In leather goods and gloves, haberdashery, clothing, and wares of a similar kind, wherein Germany has always possessed a leading advantage (as these goods are less subject to the influence of machinery), we note decline from the figures of 1890. In machinery and apparatus of all kinds, as well as in superior articles of metal manufacture, the progress shown in the figures of 1890 over those of 1885 is maintained in 1895, and in the first-named branch, considerably exceeded. As the British trade figures show expansion to a much larger degree, it cannot be said that Germany's gain was made at the expense of England's trade.

I have compared the exports of England and Germany; and I do not consider it just to draw France into this comparison. The wares of France are not gauged by cheapness alone; for taste cannot be measured by the yard nor weighed out by the pound. But Austria-Hungary, as a rival of Germany, is certainly worthy of consideration. From the wage point of view, her Oriental trade should greatly exceed that of Germany or England. The facts, however, do not bear out this hypothesis. The total exports of Austria-Hungary for 1895, in the principal lines of manufacture, were as follows:—Woollen goods, \$7,134,800; gloves, \$8,582,800; leather goods of all kinds, \$5,311,200; hardware, clocks, etc., \$10,442,400; iron goods, etc., \$4,969,200. The "economy of low wages" does not stand the test in the crucible of foreign trade. Indeed, if the preference given to a trader's goods in neutral markets be a proof of their cheapness, then the above figures would prove that the rate of wages stands in an inverse ratio to the price of the product. While Protectionists will be disposed to deny this proposition, they cannot refute the statement that our own export trade in manufactures

has increased within recent years, without material interference with the high rate of wages paid. The expansion of the American export trade has been greatest within the last two years. As wages have not been reduced, improvements in the economy of production can alone be made answerable for the satisfactory results.

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES OF COTTON (IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS).

MANUFACTURES.	1885.	1890.	1895.	1896.	1897.
Piece-Goods	10,150	8,866	10,470	12,958	17,281
Other Manufactures.....	1,686	1,632	8,810	8,879	8,756
Total Cotton Manufactures ...	11,836	9,998	18,780	16,837	21,037

If I had to rely upon the item of cotton goods alone, in order to prove the progress of America as an exporting nation of manufactures, I should not have the temerity to rush into print on the subject. At best, the wage part in American cotton goods, which are mostly of the coarser kind, is but one-fourth; while the material represents three-fourths of the cost of the goods. My argument, however, finds its strongest support in the fact that our exports have grown to four times the largest figures ever attained in cotton piece-goods,—manufactures in which labor may be reasonably said to constitute seventy-five per cent of the cost. No better proof of the industrial development of the United States can be presented than that embodied in the first table on the following page, which includes some of the leading articles of our export trade during the last ten years.

This table deals largely with articles the labor on which represents nine-tenths of the value of the product. It is true that, in these articles, America had a fairly good export trade prior to the year from which my comparison dates. The progress, however, which has been made during the last ten years is truly phenomenal. In machinery we had already in 1891 trebled the exports of 1886; and in 1897, we doubled the figures of 1891. During the year beginning July 1, 1895, and ending June 30, 1896, our exports in machinery amounted to \$18,127,128. During the calendar year ending six months later, they rose to \$22,513,000. And, by the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, they had advanced to \$26,102,000. Particularly remarkable is the rapid growth of our trade in bicycles. During the fiscal year 1896, our sales in this department amounted to \$1,898,012. The amount was increased during the calendar year of 1896 to \$3,796,000;

and during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, it advanced to \$7,005,-323. What makes this matter especially irritating to the adherents of the low-wage theory is the complaint of Germany, that American bicycles seriously interfere with the output of the home market. High duties are demanded in order to protect the industries of the fatherland from this new and sudden danger. In these two items, machinery and bicycles, the export trade of America has, within one year, advanced from \$22,000,000 to \$33,000,000.

ARTICLES.	1890.	1901.	1896.	1897.
Agricultural Machinery, etc.....	2,367	3,219	4,644	5,241
Carriages, Cars, etc.....	1,928	4,911	2,747	2,946
Clocks and Watches.....	1,368	1,580	1,659	1,770
Instruments and Apparatus.....	480	1,576	2,717	3,054
Lamps and Chandeliers.....	546	509	780	711
Musical Instruments.....	871	1,326	1,269	1,277
Sewing Machines.....	2,585	2,869	3,051	3,340
Other Machinery.....	4,469	13,425	22,513	26,103
Scales and Balances.....	281	318	377	383
Cycles, entire or in parts.....			3,796	7,005
Totals (thousands of dollars).....	14,893	29,733	43,504	51,828

In other finished articles in the metal line, our growth has not been less rapid.

ARTICLES.	1890.	1901.	1896.	1897.
Brass Manufactures.....	150	297	1,026	1,171
Copper ".....	109	190	819	910
Cutlery.....	112	146	188	178
Builders' Hardware, etc.....	2,466	3,858	6,140	6,627
Nails.....	298	440	821	877
Wire.....	335	860	1,788	2,243
All other Manufactures.....	2,480	4,235	8,497	9,438
Totals (thousands of dollars).....	5,950	10,026	19,279	21,444

We can make comparisons only by totals. To enter into details would extend this article beyond the limits set for it. The figures are sufficiently explicit to enable the reader to see the commanding position America has reached within a few years, in the world's market, in products the labor on which constitutes the chief part of the cost. On many of these products the American wage rate is fully 50 per cent higher than that of Great Britain, and 150 per cent higher than that of Germany and Austria, where longer hours prevail. There is further evidence that well-paid labor can beat cheap labor on its own grounds.

In 1887, I was charged by the Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, with an inquiry into the state of technical education and the economy of production in Europe. The mining, iron, and steel industries offered an interesting field for study. I made an examination of the works of those concerns which were reputed to be the best equipped. Starting with the ores and coal, and proceeding to the coking, the furnace-work, and the conversion of the iron into steel rails, I found that the total combined labor cost in America did not exceed the labor cost in England, although the earnings per diem in America exceeded by 50 per cent those of Englishmen engaged in the same occupations. The only exception I found was in the blast-furnace-work. This, however, was balanced by the lower cost of the labor involved in mining the ores and coal, and in coking; the cost of converting the iron into rails was about the same. Bessemer iron in the United States averaged about \$21.00, and in England about \$10.94 (45s) for the year; steel rails in America averaged \$37.00 against \$20.66 in Middlesboro. The difference between the cost in the two countries lay in the freight charges from the mines to the works, and in the profits.

That these latter must have been considerable in the year referred to, is proved by the fact that Bessemer iron in the three succeeding years averaged about \$18.50, and steel rails about \$30.00. That the writer was correct in his statements is apparent from the trade facts of to-day. The price of Bessemer iron is now about 5s higher, and of steel rails about 20s higher in England than it was then. The price of Bessemer iron near Pittsburgh is at present \$9.50,—less than half the price ten years ago. The cost of steel rails is about \$19.00,—a little over half the figure of 1887. Furthermore, Southern Foundry Iron No. 2 has been for some time selling at the furnace in Birmingham, Ala., at \$6.50. At the same time Cleveland iron sells at Middlesboro, England, at 40s (\$9.72). At that price, Southern iron could be landed in England, freight paid, and still leave a profit. The trade has not been slow to avail itself of this circumstance. Under an increasing demand, the price has lately been raised to \$7.00; and England promptly responded by increasing it to 42s (\$10.20). In 1887, the same quality of iron was sold at 33s (\$8.04), and in 1886, at so low a figure as 26s (\$6.34).

To-day the positions are reversed. The control of the iron markets of the world has passed to America, the high-wage country. The exports are rapidly increasing. Booms may intervene and raise prices to an extent that will interrupt a gradual and systematic development; but the fact remains that Southern iron leaves a profit at \$7.00, Bessemer

iron at \$10.00, and Bessemer rails at \$18. Increased production follows rising prices; and however high these may temporarily be carried at home, under a tariff which places the consumer at the mercy of a few grasping individuals, a ready market can always be found on foreign shores, if only to ease the home market.

That this is an achievement of the last few years will be seen from the following tables of American exports:—

ARTICLES OF EXPORT.		1886.	1891.	1896.	1897.
Pig Iron,	Tons.....	7,659	13,435	29,862	168,890
Bar Iron,	"	691	1,091	3,587	3,529
Hoop Iron,	"	261	93	226	391
Ingots, etc., Steel,	"	125	272	2,732	519
Plates and Sheets,	"	321	597	1,318	4,492
Rails,	"	8,969	15,881	27,645	112,072

Another item of export, copper, may be added here. We heard a great deal in former years of the necessity of a good, stiff duty on copper, to keep away the products of "pauper labor" countries. The duty on copper under the tariff of 1883 was four cents a pound. It was reduced to one and three-fourths cents by the tariff of 1890. The fact, that copper was sold for export at considerably lower figures than for home consumption, could not be concealed. The producers did not put in a claim that they would perish if high rates were discontinued. The Wilson Tariff put copper on the Free List; and, strange to relate, there was one infant industry that did not send its delegates to Washington in the spring and summer of 1897 to labor toward remedying the blow struck by wicked Free-Traders in 1894. Copper remained unprotected—and it prospers. The exports have been increasing at a wonderful rate, as is shown by the following table:—

EXPORTS OF INGOTS, BARS, AND SHEETS OF COPPER.

1886.....	24,239,258 lbs.	\$ 2,493,896	10.8 cents per pound.
1891.....	34,600,985 "	4,424,468	12.5 " " "
1896.....	175,580,762 "	18,644,407	10.6 " " "
1897.....	279,393,807 "	30,711,597	11. " " "

The expansion in the export trade begins with 1894, the year in which copper was put on the Free List. In 1893, the exports were only 37,642,464 lbs., at a valuation of \$4,187,510 (11.1 cents per lb.); in 1894, however, they reached the high figure of 195,047,642 lbs., at a

valuation of \$19,242,870 (9.66 cents per lb.). That this reduction in price was not caused by the change in the tariff, is apparent from the higher figures obtained in 1896, and the largely increased exports for 1897, at a price as high as that of 1893. Nor has this advance been made at the cost of the wage-earner. An exhibit of the Quincy Copper Mine on Lake Superior, of which I here avail myself, shows a continuous working from 1864. Beginning with 1870, we notice a tendency to a rise in wages. For that year, the average monthly earnings of miners on contract work are given at \$46.09; in 1875, at \$46.74; in 1879 (in consequence of the long depression of the preceding years), they fall to \$38.76. Owing to the active demand of 1880, however, they advance in that year to \$49.70, and remain at about that figure during 1881 and 1882. By 1885, they have fallen to \$44.00, but are up to \$49.15 in 1889; in 1890 reach \$52.60; and in 1894, notably a year of depression, the earnings amount to \$50.70, despite the fact that the selling price is lower than in preceding or following years. Nor is this satisfactory showing obtained at the cost of the capitalist. The profit divided among the shareholders, on a product of 15,484,014 lbs., amounted to \$400,000, which is equal to 2.58 cents on each and every pound, at an average selling price of 9.5 cents.

Coupled with this is the interesting fact, which alone explains the phenomena, *that the cost of production has been steadily reduced since about 1878*. It was 14.90 cents in 1870; 15.79 in 1875; in 1878 it stood at 14.01 cents; in 1881 it fell to 10.03; in 1885 it was 7.50 only; in 1890, 6.51 cents; and in 1894 it sank to 5.68 cents per pound. The large export figures for 1897, combined with the marked increase of price as compared with 1894, can have but one meaning: either larger profits, or higher wages, or both. Upon the whole, it will be seen that an export trade in industrial products does not necessarily involve a sacrifice of profits or a reduction of wages. On the contrary, by steadying the outlet, it prevents the decline in wages in periods of depression, and the extinction of capital earnings,—features so destructive to many of our tariff-coddled industries.

Apart from the sudden increase in price, so frequent in America, there is but one danger to our export trade to be apprehended from recent tariff legislation; namely, retaliatory measures. The new tariff exercises the severest pressure against those countries which have become our best customers in manufactured goods. The excess of exports in cotton goods during 1897, as compared with 1896, was entirely absorbed by Canada, China, and Japan. The excess to all countries amounted to

\$4,323,000. Of this, the amount absorbed by Canada was \$586,000; by China, \$3,260,000; while the remainder, \$1,256,000, went principally to Japan. The growing demand of Japan, the dreaded low-wage country, for the products of our iron-mills and machine-shops may be regarded as a tribute to the country, whose industries are based on the economy of high wages; and the value of this tribute becomes enhanced when we consider that it has been obtained in close rivalry with England and Germany. It demonstrates that our foreign trade can neither be interfered with, nor interrupted, because of our higher wages.

The principal menace to our industrial prosperity must be sought in that one-sided legislation—the more reprehensible, because entirely unnecessary—which has been instituted in answer alone to the clamor of a few selfish interests, jealous of the limited importations which might interfere with their trade. It has been claimed that the Tariff Act of 1894 was not protective, and that it exposed American industries to a competition destructive to the wage-earner. To this argument, the labor statistics of Massachusetts furnish a strong refutation:—

AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS IN THE CHIEF INDUSTRIES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

INDUSTRIES.	1891.	1893.	1895.	Average Number of Em- ployees.
Boots and Shoes.....	\$504.89	\$496.38	\$487.86	85,741
Cotton Goods.....	343.78	343.29	329.78	77,341
Machinery.....	555.98	544.94	534.48	15,277
Metallic Goods.....	508.20	507.29	515.16	11,343
Paper and Paper Goods.....	428.80	411.42	408.83	10,470
Woollen Goods.....	378.54	370.31	373.11	15,176
Worsted Goods.....	373.74	354.28	356.96	11,548

In the branches here enumerated, nearly two-thirds of the employees in all the factory industries of the principal manufacturing State of the Union are represented. Scarcely any difference is observable between the earnings in 1895 and 1893. Even 1891 shows but small percentages over 1895. The greatest difference is perceptible in the boot and shoe trade, in cotton goods, and worsteds,—3.37, 4.7 and 4.55 per cent respectively. There is no decline whatsoever in the wages on woollen goods—a department of our industry upon which the tariff had been reduced to 50 per cent—after raw wool had been put on the Free List.

But how are these results reached? How can high wages and low prices be maintained against the rest of the world? In illustration, one example from the cotton industry will suffice.

During my European investigations I found that a weaver on the Continent usually ran two looms, but rarely three; while in England, the expert weaver in print-cloth usually limited himself to four. In America, I found that an expert weaver managed eight looms; and the feasibility of working with ten was under consideration at the time my investigation was made. To-day, by an improvement in the shape of the "Northrup" loom, twenty-four looms can be run by a skilful operator; and in a number of mills as many as twenty are actually being run by a single workman. The manager of a prominent print-cloth mill recently told me that he had put a thousand such looms into his mill, and was running them at an average of fourteen looms to a weaver.

In the summer of 1894, while the revision of the Tariff was under discussion, I collected certain data for the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, in order to ascertain whether the rates on piece-goods still showed the differences which existed in 1887. The answer received from England was to the effect that the price was 44 cents per 100 yards for weaving cloth 28 inches wide. The answer from Fall River was that 36 cents was being paid there for the same cloth per 100 yards. The price for weaving had been reduced in both countries; but the difference was still about the same as in 1887,—say 20 per cent in favor of America. Higher wages and lower labor cost may seem an anomaly from the traditional point of view. Our own experience shows, however, that the cost of labor depends upon the output, and that a low cost can well be maintained at a high rate of wages, provided the product is correspondingly increased, either by a greater exertion of the worker, or by improvements in organization and in mechanical appliances.

The improved and high-speed machinery in America requires a class of workmen superior to that employed in low-wage countries. That the superior results, which show themselves so prominently in the exporting of the products of our mills, require great exertion, is self-evident. That this can be maintained only by a correspondingly high standard of living on the part of the worker,—i. e., high wages,—is equally self-evident. The higher wages which our workmen receive, however, do not materially affect the price of our goods in industrial competition; for adverse conditions are more than equalized by our greater output. Considered from this point of view, a narrow and restrictive policy is not only reprehensible, but thoroughly un-American.

JACOB SCHOENHOF.

THE RECONQUEST OF NEW YORK BY TAMMANY.

AT the November election of 1894, the citizens of the city of New York, under the leadership of the Committee of Seventy, wrested from Tammany Hall the control of government, and elected as mayor a gentleman of good repute as merchant and bank president. The legislature armed this officer with all the needful authority promptly to remove the appointed heads of the departments which had previously been filled by Tammany adherents, and to place others in their stead. With the exception of the head financial officer of the city, all or nearly all, the old chief officials of the city government were changed by the newly elected mayor; and the Tammany organization, which had been responsible for the officers in power, was thus stripped of all patronage. Then was inaugurated what was supposed to be a new era in municipal administration of efficient, honest, and faithful public service.

An investigation before a legislative committee had proved the administration of the Police Department of the city under Tammany rule to be lamentably corrupt. It had also proved the administration of justice by the lower tribunals having criminal jurisdiction to be lax and in sympathy with the Police Department; and, though it was not directly demonstrated, it was generally believed that a like inquiry into other departments administered by the adherents of the Tammany organization would have resulted in a like display of inefficiency and maladministration. The escape of the citizens of New York in 1894 from the thralldom of bad government almost tempted them to proclaim Election Day thereafter as an annual special holiday, like Evacuation Day, which commemorates the removal of the British troops from New York soil. Yet, in the short period of three years, that same Tammany organization, banded together in the main for the purpose of maintaining its members directly and indirectly by public office and from the proceeds of compulsory taxation, and under the same leader and general officers, triumphantly returns to power by a plurality over the candidate of the Citizens' Union of 82,457 votes; its total vote of 238,997 representing nearly a majority of all the electors of the greater city as created by the new charter.

This result, accomplished by Tammany without the element of patronage to assist it, would seem to confirm the views of those who look with distrust upon democratic institutions,—particularly in their application to urban populations,—and would seem to support the disparaging opinions as to the intellectual and moral condition of the New York electors expressed by so reputable and high an authority as the London “Economist” in its issue of November 6 last, which says:—

“It is perfectly vain to talk about remedies. There is no remedy for a bad democracy except its conversion to a better mind; and nobody knows how that is to be effected.”

That periodical sums up with the remark that a majority of the electors not only represents the community, but, for all purposes of collective action, is the community itself, and adds:—

“If New York has deliberately chosen a corrupt government, as is alleged, New York, be the cause as it may, is itself corrupt. . . . It is nonsense to say, as Americans say, that England is greedy, and France vainglorious, and Germany given over to militarism, and then to say, in the same breath, that New York is a respectable city because only the majority sanctions disreputable things. What city or state is there on earth, even in Africa, in which the minority is not comparatively decent and well-intentioned?”

These views, in so far as they imply a deliberate preference for Tammany rule, are deplorably wrong. Had the municipal election of three years ago gone amiss, there would have been ground for such criticism, which is not justified by the loss of the election of 1897.

The causes of the reconquest of the city of New York by Tammany in 1897 will be found in the history of the economic and political conditions of the city during the three years of Mayor Strong's administration, in the State legislative proceedings during those three years, and in the use which was made by the citizens of New York and by the city administration of the opportunities for better government afforded by the election of 1894.

The tax-rate in the city of New York, which is mainly gathered from real estate, both improved and unimproved, was, during the last year of Tammany administration, \$1.79 per \$100. This was a large enough exaction from the thrifty and industrious part of the people, whose moneys are invested in real property, and who had the well-grounded expectation that the savings which would be occasioned by the bank president's administration of the affairs of the city, as against the Tammany administration,—particularly as he was free from obligation to any

organization for place and power,—would result either in a considerably lower expenditure of money and thereby in a reduction of the tax-rate, or in an enormous increase in the efficiency of all the departments at no greater expenditure. In this expectation, the citizens of New York were lamentably disappointed. During the first year of Mayor Strong's administration, the tax-rate went up to \$1.91, though the assessed valuations of property had increased \$13,615,625. The debt increased \$6,672,165. The charge was made that the increase of the debt was due to Tammany having, in order to make it appear that the Reform administration was extravagant, artfully delayed the issue of bonds and thus accumulated a floating debt which had to be provided for by such bond issue in the first year of Mayor Strong's term.

Were that charge true, it would account for the increase of the funded indebtedness in the year 1895; but it has been disputed, and has been shown to be true only to a very limited extent.

Whatever the facts may be as to 1895, this charge does not excuse or explain the large increase of the debt in the two subsequent years. The increase in 1896 over 1895 amounted to \$8,260,505, and in 1897, to November 30, amounted to \$8,310,832 over that of 1896. Furthermore, this matter of debt represents expenditures in addition to the general budget of the various departments for each year. The increase of these ordinary expenses in years of great financial stringency and distress in almost every department was a sore and serious disappointment to the taxpayer, because he argued, in the rough and tumble fashion of popular logic, that either it was true that the prior Tammany government was an extravagant and a dishonest one, and that therefore the amount of expenditure in these departments was ridiculously in excess of actual needs; or it was not true, and that the money expended by them was a necessary expenditure; or, as a third alternative, that the new administration, from which so much good was hoped, was, for some cause too occult for him to understand, incapable of affording relief.

The second year after the Reform administration came into power, the tax-rate rose to \$2.14, the assessed valuation of real and personal property having been increased \$89,537,243 over that of the previous year, and \$103,152,868 over 1894,—the last year of Mayor Gilroy's administration. During the third and last year of the Reform administration, the tax-rate was \$2.10, though the assessment had been increased \$62,150,951 over that of 1896 and \$165,303,819 over that of 1894. This rate was fixed upon despite the fact that during those three years the actual values of property had, through the erection of huge office-

buildings, been more largely increased than during any previous period in the history of the city. Such legitimate increase of the basis of taxation should have reduced the average tax-rate.

What should have been done immediately after Mayor Strong came into office was to appoint a commission to investigate every department of the city government, with the view of reducing the number of officials necessary to accomplish the work in hand, by the discharge of many who held sinecures or quasi-sinecures at large salaries. The legislature and the city government had for years vied with each other in multiplying offices so as to strengthen the political organization in power, or, when the party in control of the State differed from that in the city, in adding to such offices so as to divide, between the party in control of the State and the political organization in power in the city, the incumbency of the new offices thus created. It was the duty of the Reform administration to get rid of all these useless and expensive additions of office-holders and clerical force, to make an official day of actual labor in the public offices six or seven hours instead of three or four, and in every way to diminish and reduce the expenses of the various departments of the city of New York to reasonable business limits. This should have been done. What was done was to put into every office originally created for mere purposes of expenditure a follower of one of the factions or organizations which made up the army of the Reform movement of 1894; to increase instead of diminish many salaries in the departments; and to make a more lavish distribution of public moneys for new construction of highways and buildings than had theretofore been made.

Another duty of the Reform administration was to exercise a most rigid economy so as to make the people feel that the affairs of the municipality were conducted upon strictly business principles and without fear or favor, and thus to accustom the public mind to the receipt of full value for the exactions by way of taxation imposed upon the public; thereby sharply differentiating the new administration from everything which, for a number of years preceding its advent, had been in operation. This duty was particularly strong in bad business years.

The rapid-transit underground work was in contemplation, and steps had been taken to make it a fact, when Mayor Strong entered office. The work could obviously only be carried forward, under the law, if the city was careful not to overstep the limit of its constitutional debt-creating power after including the amount necessary to accomplish this great purpose as part of the debt. Yet, during the years of the Reform

administration a large number of other improvements was undertaken at great cost. The Dock Department received millions of dollars for improvements of the water-front. This was doubtless a sound economic investment, and probably will ultimately yield a larger return than the expenditure incurred. From some points of view, it is free from adverse criticism; but from another point of view it is subject to the following criticism, which may fairly be made. Under the contemplated rapid-transit scheme, to carry out which the payment must be made out of an issue of bonds within the constitutional debt limitation, it was the duty of the city government to see to it that there should be no increase of the debt (even for expedient improvements if they could be delayed), which might by any possibility interfere with the success of a method of cheap and rapid means of transit other than the surface-roads and elevated railways. And all schemes such as dock improvements, the buildings of additional bridges over the Harlem River, such as that at 145th Street, but ten or twelve blocks from the new Macomb's Dam Bridge; the laying out of a great number of driveways in the annexed district, at a possible expenditure of \$5,000,000; the asphaltting of many of the streets of the city, should have been delayed until the much-needed relief by rapid transit had been accomplished. So that the point which will ultimately have to be determined by the courts is now already mooted, whether, since the rapid-transit question was presented for popular adoption, the municipal debt has not been already so much increased, in the issue of bonds for other purposes during the past three years, that the money needed for this great improvement is no longer adequately available to the city.

A municipal household has to be conducted very much like a private business. The necessary expenditures should be met first; and each expenditure should have a relative importance to all the others. It is no justification to say that an expenditure is useful when, because of it, a very much greater boon to the community must be postponed. It will be a great check to the prosperity of the city of New York should its citizens for many years be deprived within city limits of true rapid transit, from which so much in the way of comfort and addition to values has been hoped for.

It is true that in one department of the city administration—that of Street Cleaning—owing to the happy selection of its head officer, a degree of efficiency was attained theretofore unknown in the city of New York; also that the administration of the Police Justices' Courts was raised in dignity by the selection of a higher order of incumbents.

Had the superior efficiency in the street-cleaning work been attained without the expenditure of an additional dollar beyond what the Street-Cleaning Commissioner had at his disposal when the department was under Tammany rule, it would have been a rather complete demonstration of both the corruption and inefficiency of Tammany, as compared with the work of a Reform administration. It did, however, involve an expenditure for the past three years of an average of about \$500,000 per year more. No one begrudges that expenditure, because it produced a markedly beneficial result.

The same thing is true of the Department of Education. It would have been a fine object-lesson if the removal of the public schools from improper influences, and their conduct upon a high plane of efficiency and up-to-date educational requirements, could have been had at an expense no greater than that which had been indulged in under the waste and knavery of Tammany rule. But the superior efficiency of the schools was attained at an expenditure in 1895 of \$266,770 in excess of that made in 1894 by Tammany; in 1896 of \$1,028,887 in excess of that made in 1894. In 1897, the appropriation was \$1,437,501 in excess of the expenditure of 1894. This, without counting additions to expenditures provided for by bonds. The citizens of New York would have found no fault with these expenditures if in other departments corresponding savings had been made, because they argued that if 20 per cent of the \$34,000,000 theretofore annually expended by the city, exclusive of the interest payable on the public debt and New York's proportion of State taxation, was wasted under Tammany control, there should have been a saving of almost \$7,000,000 a year, out of which these beneficial additional expenses for education and cleaning public highways could have been made, and still leave \$4,000,000 to go to the credit of the taxpayers and in reduction of their taxes. The expenditures of public moneys in the various departments during the three years of the term of Mayor Strong, who stood before the community for decency as compared with the professional politicians banded together under the name of Tammany, were, with some few exceptions, as large as, if not larger than, in the years which had preceded his incumbency.

Furthermore, a set of non-economic, socialistic, and philanthropical tendencies, involving considerable expenditure of money and great irritation, was let loose upon the community with the inauguration of Mayor Strong on January 1, 1895. There is probably no other city in the world with a less homogeneous population than that of the city of New York. There is probably no other place in which the demands for

helpfulness and charity are so numerous, and where, on the whole, they have, from the humanitarian side, been so faithfully listened to and answered as in this self-same city of New York. There is probably no other city where there is so large a dependent and defective class. There are few cities in civilized countries where there is a larger delinquent and dangerous class. With the latter, the public arm, through the administrative machinery of criminal justice, is called upon to deal. The duty of dealing and caring for the dependents and defectives is divided among three classes: (1) Where the defectives or unfortunates belong to a family of well-to-do people, or where there is an active producer who earns beyond his own needs and who is imbued with a high sense of duty, such defectives and unfortunates are taken care of without calling upon organized private or public charities. (2) Where the deserving poor or unfortunates and defectives have racial or denominational ties, they are taken care of by the denominational and private charitable institutions which depend upon voluntary contributions and endowments for their support. (3) Where the unfortunates and defectives have no such advantages or claims to bring them under the foregoing categories, and may be termed "nobody's poor,"—which means everybody's poor,—they must fall, and should properly fall, under the care of the general taxpayer and be a charge upon the public treasury.

It is in the interest of civilization that as little as possible of charitable work should be done at the expense of the taxpayers, because the public officials have neither the machinery nor the thoughtfulness to discriminate properly as to the objects of charity, and the result of such work is usually degrading, and necessarily so, to its recipients. The amounts expended by most producers, of kindly disposition, in strictly private and coöperative private contributions, together with their annual subscriptions to the privately organized charities, equal sums which at times raise the question in the minds of the thrifty and provident whether self-denial pays when so much of the proceeds of the self-denial goes to those who are thriftless and improvident. Yet all this is, to a large extent, a voluntary burden, and has a tendency, morally, to improve the giver; but when, in addition to this, there is imposed a constantly increasing expense by way of taxation to provide for an enormously large class of people defective and deficient in industrial capacity or morals, and for another large class of unthrifty and reckless persons, it is incumbent upon the city administration to see to it that that burden shall not be so excessive as to take from the provident, thrifty, and useful members of society, by a socialistic distribution of their means, an un-

reasonably great part of the reward of their virtues. It is no answer to the criticism here made to say that charity, like mercy, is twice blessed,—blessing him that gives and him that takes. By all this is implied *voluntary* charity. The charity extorted by the tax-levy can scarcely be called “twice blessed”!

Immediately after Mr. Strong's administration commenced, the professional philanthropists attempted, with varying, but on the whole considerable, success, to shift upon the public treasury a portion of the burden borne by private individuals in taking care of the dependents; so that although the State had relieved the city from the care of the insane poor, the expense of which formed a considerable proportion of the total outlay for charities, yet, on the whole, at the end of the year 1896, the two departments of Charities and of Correction, which took the place of the one department theretofore existing, had expended, notwithstanding prior waste and extravagance, about as much as under Tammany rule. In addition there has been expended from the public purse upon private asylums, reformatories, and charitable institutions a sum in excess of the \$1,275,426 spent in 1894 under Tammany rule; viz., in 1895, \$1,314,654; in 1896, \$1,302,217. In 1897, the sum of \$1,527,051 was appropriated for the same purpose.

The story on the financial side is, after all, told by the city's total expenditures (exclusive of assessments), which were in 1894, \$38,395,094, with an increase for every year from that time until it reached \$48,229,555 in 1897, estimated by the appropriation for that year, which was an increase of almost \$10,000,000 since 1894. From this there should in fairness be deducted an increase of about \$2,500,000 in the State taxes and about \$400,000 for increase of interest on public debt; making an increase of about \$3,000,000 which is independent of the budget on household account. Deducting this \$3,000,000 from the \$10,000,000, there is an increase of about \$7,000,000 in the general expenditures. To this should be added the very serious consideration of the increase of the public debt during these three years. The net debt of the city at the close of 1894 was \$105,777,855; at the end of 1895 it was \$112,450,020, being an increase of \$6,672,165; at the end of 1896 it was \$120,710,525, being an increase of \$14,932,670 over 1894; and at the close of November, 1897, it was \$129,021,357, or a total increase of \$23,243,502 during the three years of Mayor Strong's administration.

These figures, showing the basis of the citizens' disappointment at the administration of Mayor Strong, can by no means be interpreted as a defence of Tammany. No one doubts that the control of the city by

Tammany was accompanied by flagrant misrule; and it is especially unfortunate, therefore, that no serious effort has been made to prove that it was so, by the introduction of economy and by reducing such elements of expenditures as were not absolutely essential to the public weal,—thus bringing home to the public mind the great advantage of placing the government in the hands of citizens organized otherwise than as regular political parties. So much was expected in this regard from the Strong administration, and so little performed, that a condition of resentment was aroused in the public mind which did much to defeat the citizens' movement of 1897, that was so earnestly undertaken and carried forward with such a vast expenditure of labor and energy, and which on its merits was so deserving of success.

Inspired by the success of the legislative investigation conducted by Mr. Goff and the reputation thereby acquired by him, quite an aimless lot of investigations of simple and minor social abuses were set in motion. These efforts were directed to the object of making people, by force of law, thoughtful, considerate and kind to their fellow-beings. The laws following them resulted in interfering with people in the conduct of their business, and produce considerable irritation.

New building laws were enacted;—improvements no doubt on those theretofore existing;—but they were enforced with a rigor previously unknown, and with such strictness that many builders of tenements and second-class apartment-houses, whose motives were unquestionably of the highest character, abandoned the idea of constructing tenements; thus depreciating the values of property in this city. These laws and the manner of their enforcement added much to the general irritation.

Before the Strong administration, the heads of the city government answered the charge of extravagance by the excuse that the expenditures were imposed by legislative enactment. Some of the expenditures are still remnants of that condition; but, simultaneously with the inauguration of the administration of Mayor Strong, there came into force a constitutional amendment which subjected any bill involving expenditures by the city government to the Mayor's veto, reserving to the legislature, however, the right to pass the bill over such veto. The expenditures involved since 1894 in such legislation met with the approval of the Mayor, and are fairly chargeable to the outgoing administration.

It may from the foregoing be therefore justly said that from the economic side the administration inaugurated in 1895 has not been a success. It was still less of a success from the political side. Early in the year 1895, the legislature passed a bi-partisan police bill which was

of such character that it aroused the adverse criticism of almost every conservative element which aided in the election of Mr. Strong. It continued in force that feature of police management which theretofore had divided responsibility and aided corruption. It was, in the opinion of experts, worse than the law for which it was substituted. It was approved by the Mayor.

The passage of the Greater New York Bill carried with it the possibility, which is now an actuality, that for a number of years the great powers of taxation and appropriation of public moneys in the city of New York and the surrounding districts might be handed over to a sinister organization, and that it would, in any event,—even under favorable political results,—operate injuriously upon the finances of New York City, as constituted before consolidation, for the benefit of the neighboring towns and congeries of population. The injury was inflicted for no other ostensible purpose than merely to add to the numerical count of the citizens of New York. The Bill was permitted to be advanced and its active promotion was participated in by the Mayor, who gave no warning to the community as to the possible effects of the measure. After the report of the Charter Commission, and when the passage of the Bill was imminent, every conservative interest in the city of New York was awakened to the danger then impending, and made protest against its enactment; but no sign of coöperation to save New York City from such a danger came from its chief executive.

When the Bill was passed by the legislature, the Mayor, after a hearing upon it before him, declined to sign it, basing his objection on some minor points; but his opposition came too late for any effective purpose, and the Bill was repassed over his veto by practically the same vote that had originally passed it.

The Commission to draft the Greater New York charter seemed to recognize the fact that without minority representation in the municipal legislative boards, the Greater New York experiment would be dangerous. They expressed a doubt, however, about the constitutionality of such a provision—in my opinion an unjustifiable doubt—and yet, despite its importance in the scheme of government, no serious effort was made, either on their recommendations or by the city authorities, to postpone the adoption of the charter until minority representation could be constitutionally secured in the Boards of Councilmen and Aldermen, so that should the city be recaptured, as it has been, by Tammany, a very substantial proportion of political power could still be retained by the better class of the citizens of New York. The matter was disposed of

by the Commission, of which the Mayor was a member, by a recommendation that the legislature pass a constitutional amendment providing for minority representation in municipal bodies. This recommendation was wholly disregarded by the legislature. The charter was promptly passed, and through its instrumentality the hold of the powers that work for evil upon the city treasury and upon the appropriating of other people's moneys, was strengthened instead of loosened. The term of office of the Mayor was lengthened to four years, and his power greatly enlarged; the incumbents of office were made more dependent upon the Mayor; the length of the terms of office of heads of departments was increased; and no safeguard was placed anywhere in anticipation of the event that might happen, of a sinister and dangerous organization once again taking political possession of the city of New York.

The larger street-railway companies of the city seemed to have greater immunity from the control of the departments than ever before, and obtained the right to change motive power without anything like a proper return in money for the additional franchises they exercised. They subjected the city's inhabitants to great distress in consequence of the extensive physical changes they made in such motive power, involving the tearing up of the leading thoroughfares simultaneously; and they produced a greater disturbance of comfort than had ever before been suffered in the history of the city. Whilst this work was being prosecuted by the railway companies, the Commissioner of Public Works also saw fit to tear up the great avenues of the city which had not been torn up by the railway companies, so as to conclude within his own probable term of office a public work which should take years for its completion. These two instrumentalities, operating at the same time, spread discomfort and occasioned zymotic disease through the length and breadth of the city, and alienated another host of voters from the support of anything in the shape of a Reform movement.

The liquor law, passed during Tammany's control of the city, was enacted with the view of not being strictly enforced in a cosmopolitan city like New York, and probably also with the view of a corrupt acquiescence in its breach. During Mayor Strong's administration, and in the hottest of the summer months, Mr. Roosevelt, the President of the Police Board, ordered this law to be strictly and rigidly enforced, and in this course received the full support of the Chief Executive of the city. This action alienated from the Reform movement, and from further adherence to its banner, thousands upon thousands of followers

who regarded such strict enforcement as an impairment of their personal liberty and a senseless and needless aggravation of their discomforts during a protracted period of extreme heat in 1895.

Finally, the Republican party, within those three years, placed upon the statute book a most rigorous and unreasonable excise law, the enforcement of which went far beyond Mr. Roosevelt's performances during the summer of 1895, and thereby interfered with the personal liberty of a large proportion of the electors of the city, and with the habits of the Germans to a greater extent than had theretofore been attempted. The latter met the taunt, that they should not allow Sunday beer to be of more importance to them than good government, by the answer that they should not be asked to sacrifice the exercise of their innocent indulgences to puritanical legislation; that the question of their personal liberty was quite as important, as a matter of principle, as good government in the city. Whether they were right or wrong in their reasoning is beside the question. As regards municipal matters it produced in a large class of the voting population a feeling of positive hatred against everything that was labelled "Republican" and told with great force against Mr. Low, the candidate of the Citizens' Union, who was known to be a Republican.

Therefore, when the question was agitated in the summer of 1897 of nominating a Citizens' Union candidate for the mayoralty of New York, account had to be taken of a widespread feeling of resentment and disappointment against the existing régime, which permeated many classes of electors; and it required the utmost delicacy and generalship to overcome the vast masses of opposition which had been accumulating by these successive events and mistakes, and to weld them again into a united host against Tammany. Under the present system of representative government, which recognizes majorities or pluralities only, and without the acceptance of the principle of Minority Representation, a community has no means of formulating and making its protest against misrule effective, except to vote for those in opposition. Such a vote, therefore, can in no way be held to imply sympathy with or confidence in the organization helped by such a protest. Of the 233,997 voters for Tammany's candidate, not one-half, it may be safely said, were in sympathy with Tammany. A very large proportion of this vote—how large it is impossible to say—represented the voters' disappointment at the measures which, and resentment at the men who during the last three years had oppressed and disappointed them. Unfortunately, Mr. Low's candidacy was publicly sup-

ported by many of the men in close affiliation with Mayor Strong's administration, and by the Mayor himself, and also by a number of gentlemen who had very vague, but very large, sympathies with the defective and dependent portion of the community, and were willing, if chance were afforded them, to play the part of beneficent providence to the needy through the pockets of the taxpayers. Thrift and enterprise are as much checked and possibly destroyed by well-meaning communistic distribution out of public funds, which have to be raised and replenished by the taxpayer, as by knavery. Therefore, movements to take from the provident and thrifty the means whereby they live, and to compel their expenditure upon persons whose needs they wish to see provided for by voluntary contributions, and not through force, are looked upon with great fear by the provident of an electorate, who are the good middle-class of the community. An increase in the tax-rate means positive hardship to them and to their families and those near and dear to them, for whom they have striven earnestly to lay by the means to prevent the possibility of their being compelled to become the recipients of private and public charity. Many voters hesitated to put their property into the hands of persons, who, even from good motives, threatened, in bad times, to continue an era of vicarious philanthropy at the expense of the taxpayer. The philanthropist has his proper function in making men more conscious of their duties to each other, and inducing them *voluntarily* to contribute from their abundance to supply the needs of those less fortunate or less intelligent; but he ought not to be placed in charge of the public purse. It was feared, perhaps groundlessly, that in the event of Mr. Low's election, some provision by way of appointment to office would be made for certain men who had very pronounced tendencies to use the public moneys in charitable directions.

The result, therefore, in 1897—the reconquest of New York by Tammany—is no indication of the breakdown of American institutions or of free government. It was the better element of New York that antagonized the voters who would normally have been in favor of good government. Their mistakes resulted in the weakening of the garrison and the opening of the gates for the entrance of the enemy whom they had ejected three years before.

New York has not, as the London "Economist" charges, deliberately chosen a corrupt government; and the inference, that New York must itself be corrupt, is unwarranted. New York was resentful at the miscarriage of its efforts three years before. No people living

under Democratic institutions as now organized, and without true minority representation in full operation, has an opportunity afforded it to exhibit such resentment except by inflicting upon itself another wound; and that was the unfortunate situation in the city of New York in the autumn of 1897. It may be true that the wound need not have been inflicted had the Republican organization been under more patriotic and wiser leadership. But had it been under more patriotic and wiser leadership, there would have been no oppressive Excise Bill and there would have been no Greater New York measure. The death of Henry George during the campaign may also have had some effect; but his following was grossly exaggerated, and, whatever it may have been, was probably insufficient to have changed the result.

The greatest misfortune of the situation lies in the fact that Tammany is secure in its position for four years and has complete control of every department of the city government. If the election had been for incumbents of but a year or two, Tammany might very readily have been made to feel within a reasonable period of time that the victory it gained was not because a large plurality of the citizens of New York like to live under Tammany rule. But of this privilege of promptly ejecting the incoming administration, the citizens of New York are deprived, not by Tammany, but by those who figured before the community as the most active political adversaries of that institution and who have fastened upon it the existing charter for the government of Greater New York.

Had an intelligent appreciation of the effect of minority representation existed in the minds of the promoters of the new charter, and of the legislature which passed it, and provisions securing its benefits been incorporated therein, let us see how much could have been done to weaken and practically nullify the recapture of the city by Tammany Hall,—a contingency which never seems to have presented itself to these charter-makers. We will assume that 500,000 votes were cast for councilmen and aldermen in Greater New York. This assumption is made because it is easier to prove the situation by round figures than by odd numbers. Let us assume the proportions as they substantially stood, and that 220,000 votes of these 500,000 were cast for the Tammany candidates, 140,000 for the candidates of the Citizens' Union, 110,000 for the candidates of the Republicans, and 30,000 for the candidates of all other organizations. Sixty aldermen and 28 councilmen were to be elected. The vote cast would have given, in round figures, an electoral quota for aldermen of 8,000 votes, and for councilmen 18,000 votes. This would have given the Tammany organization under minority

representation 26 aldermen of the 60, and 12 councilmen of the 28, a minority of the whole number in each body, instead of the 48 in the Board of Aldermen out of 60 and the 26 in the Council out of 28 which they obtained under the existing system of representation and by which they have absolute control of both chambers. The Citizens' Union would, under a proper application of the principle of minority representation, have obtained at the last election 16 of the aldermen and 8 of the councilmen. The Republicans would have obtained 14 of the aldermen and 6 of the councilmen, while if the votes of all the other organizations had been concentrated, 4 aldermen and 2 councilmen would have been elected by them. In both municipal chambers a clear majority against Tammany would thus have been elected instead of an overwhelming majority in its favor. This Anti-Tammany majority would have been able to hold the Tiger in leash during the ensuing four years of the administration of the city government.

The writer of this article hesitated for some time as to the wisdom of setting before the community the facts herein stated, he having participated in every Reform movement undertaken in the city of New York from Tweed's day down to and including the advocacy of the election of Seth Low as Mayor, and sharing with his fellow-members of the Committee of Seventy of 1894, the responsibility for the election of Mayor Strong. He felt however that inasmuch as the battle of municipal reform must be fought again and again until success is achieved, such success, when achieved, could be made permanent only by a clearer understanding of, and no illusions about, the causes of the failure of the friends of good government in the campaign of 1897. Any contribution to public discussion having that end in view must ultimately have beneficial results.

SIMON STERNE.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

L.

THE aspects which frown upon the practical politician at this moment are full of perplexity and contradiction. The practical politician is nothing if not a thick-and-thin partisan. His main reliance is the party discipline. His stock in trade are the offices. Regularity his shibboleth, the party label at once the source and the resource of his authority and power, he is equally without imagination and convictions. If the way be not straight before him, he finds himself in the dilemma of the poor boy of the fable, who, having neglected to learn his letters, could not read the sign-board when he came to the crossing of the roads.

In the political campaign just ended, whilst the genii who are supposed to obey the summons of the practical politicians did their duty by Mr. Croker in New York, they failed to respond with their accustomed promptitude and assiduity to Mr. Gorman, in Maryland, and denied the call of Mr. Platt altogether. Even Mr. Hanna, with the Administration at his back, could have wished for better service in Ohio. In Kentucky,—one hundred thousand voters remaining away from the polls,—the Silver Democrats had it all their own way.

Truly, the independent vote, representing a constant but uncertain state of rebellion in the public mind, becomes an ever-increasing and all-unknown quantity. Whether the obstruction it raises to the perspective of the drill-masters, and the derangement thus brought into the process of estimating party forces and forecasting elections, be merely an incident of the time, or a new and fixed element in American politics, may not be stated with assurance. Nor can it be intelligently considered unless we go back a little and bring up some arrearages of political experience; for this is the pivotal point of contemporary speculation, the riddle to be unravelled by the practical politicians, the problem to be solved by thoughtful people. What does it mean? Where is it going? If one could find a definite answer to these questions, he would be well upon his journey along that highway which,

just ahead of us, abruptly turns the corner of the century and shuts out the vista of the region beyond.

It is the purpose of this article to look somewhat into facts and causes, as well as conditions and tendencies, and, if possible, to strike a balance between the practical and the theoretical as far as they relate to parties and elections and affect the present and future of our public life.

II.

Parties have been in all times but lamps to light the way. Filled with pure oil, and properly trimmed and tended, they emit a steady glow; but neglected, or left in careless hands, they lose their virtue and become unsightly and worthless. The average practical politician, however, takes little account of such things. The only lamp that concerns him beams upon election returns; and if this reveals majorities, it matters little to him whether it be bright and clean or old and dirty. We are told that the lamp discovered by Aladdin in the garden was of this latter description; and perhaps, after all, the practical politicians make no mistake in their indifference to the quality of the oil, or to the appearance of the vessel.

There are men still living who can recall the break-up of the old Whig party. It was the conservative force of its day. The movement of that time grew too fast for it. It could not keep up with the drums and trappings of the slavery agitation; and, as the Democratic party stood for slavery and was unable to adapt itself to the other extreme, it sputtered out like a lamp whose uses are ended. Then followed an interval of darkness; and, having groped about in this darkness during the better part of four years, the elements which had composed the Whig party, with many Democratic recruits, joined the little band of original Free-soilers, and organized the Republican party, which, making a strong showing in 1856, elected its National ticket in 1860.

Thenceforward, the party lamps were well trimmed and tended, the filling used being of a very inflammable quality indeed. They blazed finally into a conflagration. But, with the collapse of the Confederacy, the extinction of slavery, and the restoration of the Union, the sectional and sentimental questions which had made the war, or which grew out of it, were adjusted, and the two great parties to these contests stood face to face with an entirely new set of political exigencies. There came to each the need of a fresh set of issues. The Republican party seized upon the theory of Protection as its mainstay. The Democrats allied themselves to the doctrine of "a tariff for revenue only."

But neither party was wholly sincere or at one with itself. There were Protectionist Democrats. There were Free-Trade Republicans. The old party machinery, though in each instance considerably worn, remained intact; and the party managers sought to make it suffice. Thus it is that we have but two competing organized parties, one calling itself the Republican party and the other calling itself the Democratic party, neither able to tell just why it exists and what it exists for, and both combined unable to supply issues distinct enough,—though sufficiently redundant in object-lessons of another sort,—to set up an old-fashioned political kindergarten. The independent voters are in this way constantly reënforced from each of the two camps; albeit there is to be reckoned with, besides these, a great body of indifferent voters, who, seeing nothing definite anywhere, grow more and more irresolute, knowing not how to vote, and who, in consequence,—and often in great numbers,—do not vote at all.

All this is a result of the absence of decisive issues, which the party managers abhor, and of the lack of courage in the party leaders and good faith in the declarations of the party platforms.

It was left for the campaign of 1896 to develop out of the antecedent chaos of opinions among the people and of cross-purposes among the politicians, a very dangerous array of party forces; and, had not the reserve of intelligence and virtue among the voters come to the rescue, the country would have been precipitated into a convulsion, partly economic and partly social, for which it was wholly unprepared. Optimistic patriotism thinks that this reserve of intelligence and virtue among the voters will always come to the rescue. But there are those, who may not be lightly dismissed as pessimists, or as prophesiers of evil, who are not so sure about this.

In 1896, the Republicans, representing the issues of sound money and orderly government,—issues uppermost in the people's mind and heart,—swept all the centres of population and carried the country. One year later, the Democrats swept these same seeming strongholds of conservative politics. Why? Because, in the meantime, the Republicans, forgetting the lesson of their dear-bought victory, had no sooner arrived safe in power than they proceeded on the regulation plan: They enacted a tariff law in favor of the protected interests, and on the plea of a deficit, higher than ever, yet failing to make good the deficit; they parcelled out the offices among themselves and their retainers; and, enjoying their good fortune to the top of their bent, they left the Money Question to take care of itself, looking to it that, in doing so, it should

occasion as little disturbance as possible. In point of fact, the Money Question remains precisely where they found it; though it is perhaps something to say that the policy of the Treasury in this particular has not varied from that of the preceding Administration, which, whilst it may not have been very brilliant, yet maintained the national honor and credit, and kept at bay the wolves of agrarian passion and plunder.

If, after the election of 1896, the Republicans had desired to make common cause with the Sound-Money Democrats, and to share with them something more substantial and enduring than the glory of the victory,—if their leaders had been large enough and broad enough to see the need of consolidating and keeping the immense McKinley vote together, with the purpose of permanently meeting and resisting the onset of the forces of populism of every kind and in every form,—they would have proceeded upon very different lines. In England, which furnishes the one modern instance of successful coalition, the Liberal Unionists, under Hartington and Chamberlain, joining with the Conservatives, under Salisbury, to defeat what they believed to be the dismemberment of the British Empire threatened by Gladstone's policy of Home Rule, all lesser questions were sunk in the one great issue; for the sake of that issue, the Conservatives became Liberals; Hartington, Chamberlain, and the rest abandoned Gladstone to his fate; Home Rule was beaten; the empire was saved; the Conservatives got an infusion of new blood and brains; and, after nearly a dozen years, the coalition is still in power and as strong, apparently, as ever it was. If there had been any statesmen in the Republican party, or, if the Republican party had been anything except a clever and fortunate opportunist, held together mainly by the Protectionist interest, on the one hand, and the cohesive power of the patronage, on the other, this lesson out of recent English politics would have been heeded and applied.

As a matter of fact, the Republicans have gone on precisely as if there were no object-lesson behind them and no danger in front of them. Their leaders have shown themselves quite as fatuous and blind as the Bryan leaders. They began in the Dingley tariff to build an impassable wall between themselves and their Sound-Money allies; and, having brought the Tariff issue to the front and sent the Money issue to the rear, they are even now tampering with the latter in ways that bid fair to produce still greater division and confusion, with the certainty that nothing will be definitely settled by the present Congress. Thus far, there is no fixed financial policy visible, and no likelihood of relief from agitation. There is nothing visible, except a vulgar and sordid strug-

gle between two sets of rival politicians, one calling themselves Republicans, and the other calling themselves Democrats. The public interest seems somehow to be lost in the shuffle. Is it unnatural, therefore, that individuals, finding themselves at sea, should catch now at one plank and now at another, and that the practical politicians, sure of nothing from election to election, should act on the principle, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die"?

III.

The Democratic party, being in power, had first to meet the Money Question. It proved a reef on which the party struck. The Republicans are now in power, and, the reef being exactly where it was, can they escape its perils? In the Speaker of the House they have a most skilful and resolute pilot. In the President they have a most experienced and accomplished party leader. But there is the reef, with two sessions of Congress—a long session and a short session—and, along with these, the certainty of a great deal of weather, right before them.

They have cut themselves off from much outside sympathy and support. They will have to depend chiefly upon themselves. Every American being a born financier, it is hardly likely that the Republicans, as an organized party, can agree upon any measure of fiscal policy to be put through Congress at the end of the party lash. Yet the game they started out to play is purely a party game; and what they cannot accomplish within the party may not be accomplished at all. The course of events, as well as the course of the Republican leaders, has put it out of the power of the Sound-Money Democrats to render effective assistance or to make a substantial showing. They have been, for the time being at least, crushed between the upper and the nether millstones.

Two purposes inspired the Sound-Money Democrats when they formally separated themselves from the main body of their political associates and set up an organization of their own. The first of these was the rescue of the country from what they regarded as an imminent, deadly danger threatened by the Chicago ticket and platform. The second was the creation of a nucleus around which the old Democracy might be rallied when the fusion made at Chicago should go to pieces, as they believed it would. The results have contradicted both these sincere but erroneous assumptions.

If the Indianapolis ticket had secured the vote it was expected to get, Bryan, and not McKinley, would now be in the White House. McKinley required all the Democratic votes he received. It may be

that the Palmer-Buckner ticket constructed a bridge over which these Democrats could pass. But it is quite certain that, if the Democrats who voted for McKinley had voted for Palmer and Buckner, Bryan would have been elected.

Subsequent events have, in many ways, borne out the same idea. It has been conclusively shown that, as a separate organization, the Sound-Money Democrats, as officered and marshalled by the Indianapolis convention, have not strength enough to count as a balance of power, and, as such, to shape results. The Republicans do not recognize them. Between them and the regular Democrats there is bound to be, as long as their organization continues in the field, implacable hostility. Meanwhile the Sound-Money leaders get nothing for their pains except ob-jurgation and contempt; for, when it comes to voting, their followers either do not vote at all, or else vote the Republican ticket.

On these points, the recent test in Kentucky was all-sufficient.

The failure of the one horn of the original dilemma to justify itself carries with it the failure of the other. If the Sound-Money Democrats hold the balance of power nowhere, they can nowhere form a nucleus for the rehabilitation of the old Democracy. In a word, as an organized movement, the Indianapolis programme—patriotic in its conception and ideal in its expression—has vindicated neither of the purposes which called it into being. Its authors have merely raked the chestnuts out of the fire for the Republicans, and got their fingers burned. Politically, they stand as neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring; and, if they should continue their organization, they would not effectively contribute to the cause of Sound Money. In that particular form, and under the same leading, they are not likely to continue it. But this does not mean that their cause is lost, that their sacrifices were made in vain, and that the two dizzy extremes of radical Republicanism and Radical Democracy only remain possessors of the field and masters of the future. No National Democrat need despair of attaining the ends of good government, both as to sound money and as to the public credit and order which were sought by the movers and authors of the Indianapolis convention. They will seek, however, new methods of procedure, and means of protest other than those formulated at Indianapolis, and submitted to a following whose instincts proved so much more acute and effective than the judgment of its leaders.

IV.

Ours is supposed to be, and in one sense, at least, is, a government of the people; and, as each nation is said to possess exactly the govern-

ment it deserves, the people of the United States cannot complain if theirs, being the freest in the world, is at the same time the most prodigal and unequal. The territory over which it extends its dominion is so vast, with interests so varied, that nothing short of a division of parties, always absolute, and sometimes tyrannous, can reduce its political decisions, such as they are, to proportions and system. There are two leading parties—the Republican party, and the Democratic party. But the Democrat in Massachusetts and Maine and the Democrat in California and Texas, the Republican in Rhode Island and Vermont and the Republican in Oregon and Colorado can reach but an approximate understanding, and must take many things for granted and on trust.

Those who have served upon platform committees in national conventions will recall that divergencies invariably arose whenever questions of a geographical character or tendency were introduced. The virtue and intelligence which are supposed to be inherent in Republican institutions and to emblazon the popular character have usually discovered an eye for the main chance; and Gen. Hancock builded more wisely than he knew when he described the tariff as “a local question.” That the wisdom of many exceeds the wisdom of one, may still be accepted as a truism. But, when we seek to ascertain, by a careful study of the late election returns, just what the sum total of the aggregated wisdom actually is, and what it specifically wants, the party leaders, hardly less than the practical politicians, are met by many puzzling contradictions.

There appear to have been “local issues” everywhere. Mr. Gorman was a “local issue” in Maryland. Mr. Hanna was a “local issue” in Ohio. Of course “local issues” dwarfed all other issues in Greater New York. The Free-Silver leaders and organs in Kentucky naturally insist that the result this year is a reversal of the result of last year, and claim Democratic majorities, wherever they appear, as sure evidence that Free Silver has yet to come to its own.

During the last twelve years, the popular verdicts have certainly been most capricious: Cleveland, in 1884 on a Tariff straddle; Harrison in 1888 on straight Protection; the McKinley Bill and Cleveland again in 1892 on a Radical “revenue only” platform; McKinley in 1896, the money issue absorbing all other issues; and now, the Dingley Bill succeeding, a Democratic revival in 1897. Who shall predict just what will happen in 1898 and 1900?

Intense and eager partisans, as well as the practical politicians, who

doubt nothing until they have stumbled over something, are already counting their chickens out of last year's basket of eggs; but, taking their cue from the lessons of the twelve years intervening between 1885 and 1897, men less optimistic will think twice before they venture upon any certain calculation, or estimate too confidently any political promise or asset.

There seem to be some reasons for believing that the quadrilateral contest for Mayor of Greater New York may prove but a forecast of the political chessboard in 1900, and that in the centenary year we may have a quadrilateral contest for the Presidency with candidates corresponding to Low and Tracy, George and Van Wyck.

Admonished by the success of the Democratic candidates in the recent election, where the Chicago platform of 1896 was ignored, there will appear upon the scene a multitude of Democratic counsellors urging the same policy of evasion for 1900. These will have reason and the facts of the case upon their side. But the Bryan faction, which makes up in ardor what it lacks in fact or reason, is committed to the repetition in 1900 of the campaign of 1896. Free silver is its trade-mark. Eliminate that and you eliminate it. If, therefore, Mr. Bryan and his friends are beaten in the national convention by the more conservative of their associates, led by Tammany, we may be sure that, following the example of the late Henry George and his companions, they will bolt the convention and set up for themselves. But, if they have their way, and nominate Mr. Bryan on the Chicago platform of 1896, can the conservatives of the party afford a second time to submit in silence and to witness another overwhelming defeat, both State and national, in States which, on tenable, even tentative, issues, are surely Democratic? Can Tammany afford it? Can men like Hill and Whitney and Gorman afford it? If they think they cannot, they will not sulk in their tents, but will seek to save themselves, and to rescue from the impending shipwreck their local organization and personal effects. Thus we may have a placement in the nation such as we lately had in Greater New York; Bryan standing where Henry George stood, and some other Democrat typifying Van Wyck.

The prospect of Republican unification, though not threatened by such imminent and obvious perils, is really little better. At the time of writing, the battle of the resentments over the distribution of patronage has already shown signs of beginning. The uncertainties of a dangerous fiscal debate in Congress yawns before the party leaders. Personal rivalries, big and little, have their teeth set. If the Republi-

can party escape the menace of such a situation and the consequence of its acts, it will reverse the experience of parties, which are but mortal.

Political forces on all sides are in a fluid state. This much at least the practical politicians understand; and the more enterprising among them are willing to take chances,—as indeed Mr. Low and Gen. Tracy did, and Mr. George and Judge Van Wyck. Ambitious men, to say nothing about professional party managers, are likely to find much to tempt them in such a lottery. The circumstance, that, under the conditions named, the election may be thrown into the House, will increase the temptation to the more adventurous of the practical politicians, and perhaps to the more unprincipled among the aspirants, and will multiply the number of speculators upon a stock-jobbing partisan exchange, to whom the risks seem so small and the possibilities so large. In Greater New York, it was what is called "anybody's race," till close upon the day of election. Is it a too visionary stretch of fancy to conceive, even thus far in advance, a similar political situation in 1900?

V.

In the foregoing observations, account has been taken only of the outer aspects, the concrete side, so to say, of the course of events and parties; but when we come to consider the inner life of the nation, the moral nature and the thought of the people, conjecture is more or less defied and baffled.

It is easy to see how the appliances of modern invention, annihilating time and space, and centralizing the possibilities, if not the powers, of government beyond the dreams of Hamilton, expose us to dangers, the very naming of which subjects one to the charge of sensationalism. With a President in office committed to the declarations of the Chicago platform of 1896, and inspired by the spirit of the campaign which followed the political conventions of that year, a recurrence of the Debs riots of 1894 might involve untoward disaster,—riot deepening into insurrection; the mob spirit organized and directed by the secret societies sweeping all before it; the flame of mob violence leaping from city to city throughout the centres of population; the civil forces powerless to impede; resulting, after a reign of anarchy and incalculable ruin, in the old, familiar story of military suppression and absolutism. On the other side of the argument, stands a century of popular achievement. The Federal Union has resisted every attack. The National Constitution has withstood every strain. Republican institutions have survived

all the shocks which have variously assailed and shattered feudal institutions. The war for independence and the foreign war; the struggle for constitutional existence; an irrepressible conflict sown in the blood and marrow of the social order; a conflict of sections; the ordeal of reconstruction; the disputed succession,—each of these foes to liberty has successively menaced the American Union; and yet, at this moment, it is stronger than ever it was. Is it merely the voice of national vanity that tells us we shall come out of the strife between capital and labor as we have come out of every other peril, still a Democratic republic, its faith renewed, its credit untarnished, and its flag flying over a race of free men, admirably adjusted to the conditions of the modern world, and thoroughly contented and homogeneous?

That we have travelled far away from the simple preachments of the Fathers of the Republic and from the primitive doctrines of the Constitution, few thoughtful persons will deny. That politics has become a profession, and that the politicians are organized into a class, the essential principle of whose being is office, disinterested and observant men need not be told. The difficulties of organizing public opinion into a counterbalancing force may be admitted. Yet, back of all, stand the facts of a hundred years of triumphant history, bidding us to be of good cheer. The following axiomatic propositions to a just and wise system of free institutions are as true now as ever they were; and, in the end, they must form the basis of that party organism which is to restore the Government to its better self, and to redeem the people from the excesses of mercenary politics, bringing about the indispensable readjustment of society to modern conditions and the inevitable reconciliation of capital and labor:—

First—The Government has no right, either equitable or legal, to tax the people, except to raise money for its own support; every dollar of taxation diverted from this purpose is robbery; and it is equally important that the money legally collected shall be honestly applied.

Second—The right of the people to local self-government is an inalienable right, as it is to local option in the counties, to home rule in the cities, to all rights in the State not expressly delegated to the General Government; and the preservation of this right of local self-government is essential to that just equilibrium between liberty and law,—the corner-stones of our system of Federal and State institutions.

Third—The money of the country must be good money; circulating everywhere; unquestioned and unquestionable; recognized at once and taken at its full value; and, to attain this universal recognition

and acceptance, it must consist of gold and silver and paper, the whole of interchangeable value, each convertible into the other on demand, and freely circulating side by side.

Fourth—The laws must be executed rigidly and impartially; legislation must be restricted to its proper functions; the principle of individual responsibility must be taught and enforced; the public credit and honor must become subjects of personal concern; and parties must be held to a real and strict accountability through their official representatives.

“Generalization,” the critic of language will say: but possible of attainment; though not until they be deeply planted in the popular mind and heart can we hope to reduce them to actuality and detail.

HENRY WATTERSON.

THE INCORPORATION OF THE WORKING-CLASS.

How can a permanent improvement in the condition of the working-class be realized? This is the all-important question that has at length forced itself for consideration not only on the more intelligent members of the class directly interested, but also on the much preoccupied minds of the possessing and governing classes. Within the memory of many who might object to being called "old," this question was ridiculed by polite society, and its public utterance was stifled by the clatter of cavalry and the rumble of cannon. Within the last few years, however, a real revolution in public opinion on the subject has been effected, the first results of which are now becoming visible.

If it were asked what is the cause of this change of opinion, the only really satisfactory answer would be that it is due to the long-obscured, but no less sure, growth of the conception of Humanity. A Czar Alexander decreeing land and liberty to forty-three million serfs, a President Lincoln signing the emancipation of four million slaves, and a Cardinal Manning riding at the head of one hundred thousand striking dock-laborers are so many evidences of the actual strength of a conception ever extending, and taking deeper root day by day. Many venerable prelates may see in the growth of this conception the eternal purpose of the Divine Spirit ever becoming more manifest to man. Learned jurists may call it the development of law; politicians may see in it the recognition of the natural rights of man; militant socialists may regard it as a concession made to avert their predicted social cataclysm; yet none of these explanations is contradictory to the fact of a growing race-consciousness,—a consciousness ever more rapidly tending to a radical improvement in the condition of the workers.

At this late date, it is very evident that no such improvement can be achieved by denominational, legislative, or private charity, however generous. Therefore, we have no hesitation in declaring that the desired result can be realized only by a more perfect social unity, involving the full incorporation of the working-class into the ranks of modern society. As a preliminary to the explanation of the method of such incorporation, it is necessary to realize the magnitude and difficulty of the task.

Of the great majority of those whose special calling it is to form the public mind, few there are who speak or write of the working-class with any clear idea either of its origin, of its development, or of its real aspirations. The great majority of the publicists have seized upon certain sensational phrases, coined by ideological professors and put in circulation by pseudo-politicians, without ever inquiring whether the working-class really accepts the dogmas put forward in its name, or whether the workers make any serious attempt to carry out those ideas in practical life. On the other hand, there is a constantly increasing number of manual workers who, after long observation and patient effort, have arrived at certain positive conclusions concerning the nature and extent of the task to be achieved. To such investigators, it appears that the working-class constitutes a majority of the people of every civilized country, and that it is composed of families of free men who, not having inherited lands, tools, or funds, ordinarily feed, clothe, and shelter themselves with wages earned by the daily labor of their bodies. This class is generally considered to be free because it is not a closed class from which it is impossible for anyone to escape, or to which entrance is denied; that is to say, it is not a caste. It is also held to be free because the members thereof are not slaves, to be bought, sold, and compelled to labor by the torture of the lash; neither are they serfs, without liberty to change their masters and places of residence. We must recognize, however, that this freedom is narrowly limited by an ineluctable fatality,—the fatality that labor is inseparable from the person of the laborer. Therefore, a labor contract involves the use of the laborer's body, and more or less domination over it. And we must further recognize that the systematic abuse of this domination is such that it has become more threatening to the existence of social order than were, in their day, the worst abuses perpetrated by ancient slaveholders or feudal barons.

There are those who never tire of asserting that the evident abuses connected with the wage system are irremediable, and that the wage system itself should therefore be abolished. But, as these theorists have never succeeded in establishing an objective demonstration of the practicability of any better system, we can afford to pass them over in silence. Again, there are others who assert that, instead of there being a working-class, there is an infinite number of working-classes, which, existing under widely different conditions, can never be united in a struggle against the abuses complained of. Without doubt, it is important to know what degree of truth there is in this view.

It cannot be denied that there are many grades in the working-class,

which, though they blend imperceptibly into each other, exhibit very essential differences as we approach each extremity of the industrial scale. Nor can it be denied that there are differences both in the nature and the intensity of the suffering endured by each of these grades. There is one large division of workers,—that of the general laborers,—which suffers chiefly from physical privation; and there is another and smaller division,—that of specially skilled laborers,—whose suffering is none the less severe because it is more mental; consisting, as it does mainly, of fear and dread. Let us illustrate the difference in the nature of that suffering, and then expose wherein lies the real unity of working-class conditions.

The skilled mechanic, with his family, may, ordinarily, have sufficient food and decent clothing; he may have a carpet on the floor of one of his rooms; and the whirl of a sewing-machine may be heard in his home. But all this does not mean that his lot is a happy one. If he have a tolerably comfortable home, that comfort is not, in most instances, the result of his own wages alone, but of the added wages of one or more of his children who, in a large proportion of cases, have been taken prematurely from school. It should be borne in mind that each worker has, on an average, at least one child, who, receiving but one-fourth of an adult's wages, competes disastrously with the father, the natural breadwinner of the family. Necessarily, as a result of such ruinous competition, the mechanic's wages are insufficient to enable him properly to fulfil his duty as a husband and a father; and his hours of labor are too long to permit him to cultivate his mind and to deal intelligently with the grave social and moral problems ever becoming more threatening.

Added to the stings of conscience, incurred by aiding the fatal system of child-labor, he also suffers from the sense of increasing insecurity. On Sunday and on working-day, in the brightness of mid-day and in the darkness of the night, he is ever haunted by the fear of two inexorable fates appearing in the guise of the employer and the landlord,—the uncertainty of work and the certainty of rent. To escape this latter fatality, he may listen to the seductive cry, "Own your house and cease paying rent," only to find, after bitter experience, that he has but changed the burden of rent for that of interest, that he must encroach upon the normal subsistence of his family, that he has chained himself like a serf to the soil, and that the employer takes advantage of his immobility to use him as a tool to effect a general reduction of wages.

Concerning the condition of the general laborer, two important facts are to be noted: First, that his wages are from one-third to one-half less

than those of the mechanic; and, second, that his family is usually one-sixth greater. To remedy the great deficiency of wages, he utilizes, from an early age, the labor of his children; and in this deplorable manner he succeeds in supplementing his income by one-third. Even with this addition to his maximum wage, he would be unable to meet the increased cost of subsistence arising from his larger family, if he did not curtail his expenses in other directions. Therefore, the furniture of his home is of the scantiest, and its quality of the poorest. His books are still more scanty than his furniture. Insurance for times of sickness is curtailed, or altogether neglected. Outside the garments absolutely necessary for working-purposes—the harness of himself and working-children—his expenditures for clothing are almost *nil*. And, finally, he attempts to solve the problem of making both ends meet by stuffing his larger family into a smaller and cheaper tenement. There is no denying that the lot of the general laborer, even with steady employment, is a hard one. But, when he is reduced, like many dock- or wharf-laborers, to casual jobs, he becomes still more dependent on the labor of his children, and even on that of his wife. In such case, it may well be that he often feels the pangs of hunger; and it is tolerably certain that sickness and disease are seldom absent from his cheerless and squalid home. Yet, in this last extremity of working-class existence, he struggles to keep together his few sticks of furniture as a barricade behind which he and his may battle against the fearful doom that awaits the vanquished workers—the doom of beggary or crime for labor's vanquished sons and daughters.

If the substantial correctness of this view of the sufferings of the skilled and the so-called "unskilled" laborers be admitted, it remains to point out the essential unity of their conditions. The main fact that distinguishes the workers, as a class, is that they do not and cannot make any appreciable permanent savings. As a rule, the wages of one week are all they have for the next. They are compelled to live from hand to mouth; and if, by the economy—and often the self-sacrifice—of the mother, some small surplus remains, that surplus is soon engulfed in one of the many frequently recurring family requirements, in the necessities of the next "dead" season, or of one of those prolonged depressions that invariably follow each period of excessive industrial expansion. The absence of inherited property, and the impossibility, practically speaking, of acquiring property by the labor of the body, is that which constitutes the proletarian character,—the universal characteristic of the working-class.

The principal reason why so much industrial anarchy and misery exist to-day is because this proletarian characteristic has not been more generally recognized by the workers themselves as a natural and normal condition,—a condition to be vastly improved by united action, but not one to be absconded from. Shallow orators have insisted that the working-class has been degraded, since some supposed Golden Age, by the violence and cupidity of aristocrats; and equally shallow writers have concocted wonderful stories of "self-made men"; intimating thereby that all might become capitalists by simply willing it. Owing to the strong common sense of the workers, such stories have not generally produced their logical effect; yet, too many, who otherwise might have remained honorable workers, have ultimately become the most extortionate "sweaters" and the foulest industrial vampires.

It is notorious that the worst abuses of our industrial system are those emanating from employers with insufficient capital, and that the smaller the employer, the harder the taskmaster and the worse the paymaster. All this is not to say that the humblest workman, who, by gift or bequest, finds himself in possession of sufficient wealth, should not become an employer. But it must be distinctly understood that, to improve the condition of the worker as a worker, and not as something else, is the worker's best and most permanent interest; and that while striving to secure for himself and others the best possible livelihood, all attempts to accumulate, with the view of becoming an individual or a coöperative employer, should be regarded as anarchical and highly detrimental to working-class welfare.

What then is to be done to realize that condition in which the working-class will be content with its lot? The answer seems difficult; but, in reality, it has been given by the working-class itself. As my desire is to carry conviction, I may be excused if, instead of stating that answer dogmatically, I approach the subject from the side of history.

Each social class, in its rise and progress, necessarily assumes a special form of organization, enabling it to maintain internal order, and to perform efficiently its proper function. When history opens, we see the theocratic and military forms of organization already fully established. At a later period, although still in the dim twilight of historic time, we perceive the beginning of the organization of a free industrial class as, one by one, slaves are emancipated and assume the responsibility of supporting themselves by their own undirected toil.

It is not easy for us to realize the great difficulties which that new

class had to overcome. In ancient society, when each family owned or hired sufficient slaves to spin, weave, and sew, to build, forge, and otherwise fashion all the ordinary articles required by the household, there was but little need of the products of free labor. But even in that remote age, the tendency to specialization in production gradually asserted itself, and made the existence of more and more freedmen possible. At first, that existence must have been a most precarious one. Ever in danger of being kidnapped or "shanghaied"; scorned alike by freeman and slave, as one declassed and without gods, hearth, or home; defenceless against outrage, through having lost a master without acquiring political franchise; in danger of starvation and disease, in an age destitute of almshouses or hospitals;—it was under such conditions, that the freed workers combined in trade-unions, and formed the germ of that free industrial organization which, in a later age, was to produce such immense results.

It will be well understood that it is not to the name "trade-union" that I wish to direct attention, but to the fact which that name designates. The trade-union is a general social fact,—not one confined to any age or country, but a fact springing into existence whenever and wherever a people has reached a certain stage of civilization. It is a universal fact; but the name varies. Thus, in antiquity, the trade-unions were termed "fellowships";—*ἐταίρεια*, in the Greek tongue, and *collegia* in the Latin;—in the Middle Ages, they were known as "corporations" and "fraternities"; while in modern France and Germany they bear the names of "syndicats" and "Gewerkvereins." Flavius Josephus, in the Eighth Book of his "Antiquities of the Jews," bears testimony to the existence of trade-unions among the Jewish and Phœnician workmen. Plutarch, in his life of Perseus and elsewhere, no less clearly indicates their existence among the Greeks. The same famous author, in his life of Numa, does not confine himself to saying that the constitution of the Roman trade-unions was amended by authority about the year 716 B.C., but, in addition, names some of the unions thus regulated. He says:—"This distribution was according to the several arts or trades of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers, and potters, . . . who had their respective halls, courts, and religious ceremonies." From this latter sentence, it is evident that the union had been previously recognized as capable of inheriting property, administering justice, and making the sacred invocations, libations, etc., customarily exercised by a *pater familias*.

The organization of the Roman trade-unions was distinguished by the simplicity of its several parts, that is to say, of its local unions and groups; by its great extension throughout a territory of about four million square miles; by its centralization in the Eternal City; and by its marvellous efficiency. In a law of Constantine, A.D. 337, mention is made of thirty-five unions of as many different trades. These, and many others mentioned in the Theodosian code, in the works of several writers, and in inscriptions on thousands of memorial tablets still in existence, were composed of many local unions scattered throughout the provinces and divided into groups in the different cities. The maximum membership of each of these local unions was fixed, by a law of the year A.D. 417, at five hundred and sixty-three members. The members of each local union elected, every five years, a dean and two assessors, or assistants. They also elected annually, four syndics; thus forming an executive of seven officers. There was further elected, every five years, by the votes of the whole membership throughout the empire, a general treasurer, who bore the title of "prior," and was responsible for the revenue and property of his union as a whole.

In recognizing that Roman civilization was essentially military, we are too apt to underrate or entirely overlook the industrial element of that civilization, and the important part played by the trade-union in building up that mighty power. The senate, alike in royal, republican, and imperial times, was the directing power of the state; and to carry its will into execution it ever relied on two grand organizations—the legions and the trade-unions. It was the legions who carried Rome's conquering sword to the ocean and the Danube, to the foot of the Caucasus and to the Grampians; but it was the unions who made those conquests possible, and who largely contributed to the herculean task of blending so many different nations, languages, and religions in one coherent whole. It was the unions who made the clothing, armor, and weapons of the legions. It was the unions who collected the stores for every campaign, and fed the legions whenever they were called for the safety or aggrandizement of Rome. It was the unions who built all those magnificent roads, bridges, aqueducts, baths, sewers, arenas, and temples in Italy, Spain, France, England, Syria, and Africa, whose ruins, even to this day, are eloquent witnesses to the marvellous technical ability of their constructors and to the sagacity of the senate. It was the unions who produced the finer articles of utility and luxury demanded by the wealthy patricians. It was the unions who collected the government land taxes (which were payable in kind), transported them by land and

sea, manufactured them into consumable products, and distributed those products to all who had the wherewithal to buy.

From the earliest times, the Roman trade-unions pursued a career of unbroken prosperity; and they did not cease to extend their beneficent influence until Rome itself tottered to its fall. From the time when the first Christian emperor made Constantinople the seat of his empire, vast swarms of Gothic and German barbarians had been massing on the frontiers, waiting for the opportunity to attack and plunder the "mistress of the world." These hordes were at length put in motion by another and more barbarous horde, the Huns, pressing on their rear. The Goths poured over the Alps; and scarcely had they been driven back, when a fatal mass of mingled German tribes crossed the Rhine, never more to be repelled. Wave after wave of the rude invaders overran the land like a ceaseless flood. Province after province was torn away. The means of communication were obstructed or utterly destroyed. The finely articulated organization of the trade-union was hopelessly dislocated; and, at the commencement of the fifth century, that organization fell, piece by piece, with the empire.

Four hundred years passed away, while the invading masses surged to and fro, ravaging and marauding, until it seemed that the very memory of civilization had been blotted out forever. At length from out that heaving mass of barbarism arose the mighty figure of Charlemagne. While almost continually engaged in beating back fresh hordes of barbarians, he found time, amid a host of other useful tasks, to attempt the reorganization of the unions. The attempt, however, was premature; for it was not until the twelfth century that Western Europe had sufficiently recovered to recommence emancipations, to reestablish municipal liberty, or to permit the restoration of the free organization of labor. There is sufficient evidence to warrant the assertion that many of the local unions of antiquity, though sadly shrunken, continued in operation during all this period. However that may be, in 1258, Etienne Boileau, Provost of Paris, was ordered by Louis IX to institute a thorough inquiry into the traditional customs and regulations then existing among the trade-unions of Paris. That inquiry occupied nine years; and its results are preserved in a book entitled, "*Registres des mestiers et marchandises de la ville de Paris.*" This invaluable record contains the rules, then for the first time written down, of one hundred different trade-unions existing in that city, and furnishes the most precise information concerning the changes which had taken place in the union form of organization since Roman times.

The mediæval unions differed from the unions of antiquity in that they had two centres, the one, religious and benevolent; the other, secular and protective. That is to say, they had a church and a hall. The union assembled in the church as a "fraternity," for worship and the benevolent works required by their rules: in the hall, the union met as a "corporation," to discuss trade interests and conduct elections. The ancient unions defrayed their internal expenses from the rent of lands granted by the state: the mediæval unions were supported by monthly dues, initiation fees, fines, gifts, and bequests from members and others. The mediæval unions were recruited solely by apprenticeship; whereas, the ancient unions gained members from three sources,—the sons of members, candidates of the freedman class, and purchased slaves, who, after a probation of an indefinite period, were emancipated and admitted to membership.

The mediæval unions also differed in having three several degrees,—apprentices, journeymen, and masters. Apprenticeship consisted in a novitiate limited to a fixed term; journeymanship afforded the workman an opportunity to prepare for the mastership; and the mastership was acquired by submitting proofs of competency to the wardens of the union. The social difference between apprentice, journeyman, and master was marked by little more than the natural subordination resulting from age and experience. They were each subject to the same trade tests, and passed through the same degrees. They worked side by side, ate at the same table, and slept under the same roof as members of one family. That primitive equality, however, was not destined to last.

The necessity for the employment of larger capital, when the decline of military violence permitted the extension of commercial relations, gradually resulted in the restriction of the mastership to the wealthier members of the unions. Journeymanship became more and more a life-long state; and the altered conditions soon led to the exclusion of the journeyman first from the master's family circle, and later from the corporation of his trade. Finally, the legal suppression of the fraternities left him completely isolated. Commencing about the middle of the fourteenth century, in the trades requiring the greatest capital, this process of exclusion had, by the middle of the sixteenth century, become general in the most industrially advanced countries. A series of royal charters and legislative enactments, culminating in the Statute of Apprentices (1562) in England, and the Edict of Henri III (1576) in France, marks the course of this great social revolution. Banished from the intimacy of his master, excluded from his corpora-

tion and thereby deprived of a voice in union, municipal, and national affairs, robbed (by the suppression of the fraternities) of the means of support in sickness and old age, disfranchised and disinherited, the worker sought in secret association to oppose to the unity of capital the unity of numbers.

Evidence of the continuous existence, from the fifteenth century almost to the present day, of secret societies of journeymen, united in defence of their class interests, is by no means wanting. Indeed, the present French government has published a collection of the official decrees which, during a period of three successive centuries, their predecessors had ineffectually fulminated against *Le Compagnonnage*,—a vast federation of secret, oath-bound journeymen's trade-unions, extending throughout the whole of France. It has been well proved that this occult federation included, among others, the several unions of bakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, curriers, farriers, gilders, glassworkers, hatters, locksmiths, nailmakers, plasterers, roofers, ropemakers, shoemakers, stone-cutters, tanners, turners, weavers, and wheelwrights.¹

In England, such secret associations took the guise and name of "friendly societies." One such society, The Friendly Society of Iron Founders, held its meetings, it is said, on moonless nights and on lonely moors, and, at the close of each meeting, buried its records in the ground, in order to escape detection and punishment. That society, to-day, is an open trade-union, with one hundred and thirty-eight local unions throughout the United Kingdom, twenty-one thousand members, and an annual income of \$400,000.

Resolving to throw off the cloak of secrecy and to take their stand in the light of open day, the unions soon found that they had to encounter the most unrelenting persecution. On June 14, 1791, the revolutionary Assembly of France issued a decree denouncing them as "unconstitutional, dangerous to liberty, and in opposition to the rights of man." Nor was England more tolerant; for in 1800, by the Act, 40th George III., *cap.* 106, laborers were forbidden, under penalty of imprisonment with hard labor, to hold meetings for union purposes; the funds of denounced unions to be given to the informers. For five hundred years the unions resisted all attempts to stamp them out of existence, when, in the year 1824, the penal laws against them were removed from the British statute book. On August 13, 1875, every legal

¹ "Le Placement,"—an official publication of *L'Office de Travail* (Paris, 1898), and, without doubt, the most important contribution made by any labor bureau to the history of the labor movement.

discrimination against them was finally abolished in the United Kingdom; and in France similar action was taken in 1884. It is hardly necessary to add that a large majority of the States of our Union have yet to follow in the direction indicated.

The essential feature distinguishing the modern trade-union is that it is based on the recognition of that separation of the functions of the capitalist and of the workman which arose gradually during the Middle Ages. Frankly accepting that separation as a permanent one, the union seeks systematically to regulate the relations between the employer and the employed—between the two great classes of modern society. As means toward arriving at such regulation, the unions employ *conciliation*,—that is, mutual discussion by the contending parties of their respective rights and reciprocal duties. When conciliation has manifestly failed, recourse is had to the *strike* and the *boycott*, as war measures; and in certain extreme cases, as, for example, early child-labor, etc., the intervention of the state is invoked.

First and foremost, the union demands for its members, and, consequently, for the whole working-class, “a minimum wage,—a wage which, when expended in the most economical manner, shall be sufficient to maintain an average-sized family in a manner consistent with whatever the contemporary local civilization recognizes as indispensable to physical and mental health, or as required by the rational self-respect of human beings.”

The second demand of the union is an “eight-hour work-day,” or a progressive reduction of the hours of labor, so as to secure, as soon as may be, a normal work-day, affording to the workers “leisure to live, leisure to love, leisure to taste their freedom.”

Another important feature in which the modern union differs from its predecessor is the existence of regular provisions for the support of its members when out of work or on strike. There are many who are under the impression that the chief business of trade-unionism is to foment strikes. That the direct contrary, however, is the case, is proved by the fact that strikes constantly tend to decrease in proportion to increased organization. According to the best available data, the sum spent in strikes is not more than 10 per cent of the total expenditure of the unions; while the care of their sick costs the unions half as much again as do strikes; and the support of their unemployed members consumes considerably more than double as much. It is simply impossible to calculate the enormous expense which the unions save the general public in ordinary times, or how much want and starvation they pre-

vent in times of great depression, or how much they save every country from agitation, irritation, and social hatred.

We have looked back to the beginning of the long struggle of labor for greater security and wider freedom; we have compared the condition of the free laborer in the past with that of the free laborer of to-day; and if the comparison is not more favorable to the modern worker it is, perhaps, because the effects of three centuries of practical disorganization cannot be overcome in a day. Since the trade-union has been accorded a moderate degree of freedom, it has made extraordinary progress; local unions have coalesced into national unions; the national unions of the several trades have united in vast national federations; and these federations are now organizing international relations destined to establish a unity coextensive with civilization, and, finally, to effect the full incorporation of the working-class into the ranks of modern society.

HUGH MCGREGOR.

CHINA, AND CHINESE RAILWAY CONCESSIONS.

CHINA, with an exceptionally fine climate, great mineral wealth, and vast fertile area, is, in effect, quite devoid of railways, as indeed of a thousand and one every-day mechanical devices, which more progressive countries deem essential to serve and to conserve a swarming population. Observing these backward conditions, the philanthropic Outside-Barbarian of other more newly-fledged nations looks over her fences with avid eyes, and itches to supply her needs—whether real or supposed—for a consideration. What he particularly craves, may be generically expressed, in modern phrase, as “concessions,”—a term implying lucrative, if vague, possibilities, while smacking of exclusive grant or monopoly. The concessions chiefly sought for, at present, are those covering railway or mining projects; but, whether the prizes be an exclusive license to vend quack-medicine or the manufacture of patent coffins, the foreign applicant waits.

As to railway possibilities in China, let us see what these are. The geographical “lie” of the country along the Pacific Ocean or China Sea is sufficiently like that of the Atlantic coast of North America to admit of using the latter as an illustration. By way of suggesting the mighty Yang-tse-Kiang River (leaving out of present account its great neighboring stream, the Hoang-Ho), one must first turn the Mississippi off to the eastward, so as to reach the Atlantic, below Savannah: then, near its junction with the sea, place Shanghai. Farther north, as Philadelphia is to New York, Peking would appear; while far to the south, below Key West, imagine Canton, with the British colony of Hong-Kong nearby. Stretching back, west from Shanghai,—past Soochow, Nankin, and other contiguous points,—up the Yang-tse, a jump of some seven hundred miles, or about as far from the eastern seaboard as is Memphis, Hankow would be found.

This sketchy outline will suffice for present needs; but, before considering it, one may, perhaps, reasonably pause to reflect that, between, or near, the few salient points here indicated, cluster the chief groups of China's estimated population of over three hundred millions,—benighted folk, resting content without the newfangled notions, whether

of creed or commerce, which we outsiders seek to force into institutions which were working fairly a thousand years before our ancestors emerged from the skin-clad, acorn-eating stage.

It must not be supposed that railways are absolutely lacking in the Middle Kingdom. Between Peking and its seaport, Tientsin, eighty miles of well-constructed double-track line have been opened within the past few months. There exists also the line from Tientsin north, along the Gulf of Petcheli, to the Kaiping coal-field at Tong-Shan, and beyond,—a total distance of about one hundred and seventy-three miles,—to Shan-hai-quan, where the famous Great Wall reaches the sea. This does not include about forty miles of partially constructed road extending farther north toward Moukden. Again, there is a trifling affair of some thirty miles, from a point on the upper Yang-tse, to the Tien-shan-pu iron-mines.

Altogether, China, with a population of over 300,000,000, has but 320 miles of railways; while the United States, with about 70,000,000 of population, possesses railways to the extent of 181,394 miles.

Confronting these figures, it is scarcely to be wondered that strenuous, ambitious foreigners, who suppose themselves knowing in railway matters, are anxious to go forth and "do something" for the Celestial Empire.

Additional railway-building is under projection; viz., a short stretch of about fourteen miles, from Shanghai to its deep-water port, Woosung, where, indeed, a railroad was actually built a few years ago, but torn up, as being ahead of time and objectionable to those vague, potent, geomantic spirits, the Fêng-Shui. Again, there is a proposed line of about eighty miles now under construction from Loo-kou-Chou Bridge, near Peking, southwest to Pauting-fu, near the important coal-fields of the Western Hills, whence, by aid of camel-trains,—said to employ ten thousand of those animals,—Peking draws her chief supply of fuel.

The immediate aim of the foreign railway-concession-seeker, however, concerns a more ambitious project; namely, a suggested trunk-line, of over seven hundred miles, extending from Peking, cross-country to Hankow,—a scheme which would include the above-mentioned Loo-kou-Chou and Pauting-fu section. This scheme possesses additional interest from the probability that, if built, an extension of nearly equal length and importance, viz., from Hankow south to Canton, would ultimately follow. If the inscrutable Chinese are capable of impatience, they would seem, in some degree, to experience that emotion over the creation of this proposed line from Peking to Hankow. Aside from

obvious internal political advantages, which would accrue therefrom, through thus linking more firmly together certain loosely bound provinces, another result is ever in mind; viz., that of ultimate escape and sanctuary for the government, if again hard-pressed by foreign invaders. Peking, the capital, lies perilously open to foreign attack; and the bitter lesson of the Anglo-French invasion, marked by the sacking and burning of the Summer Palace, may at any time be repeated. Though with the Celestials, a carefully ignoring memory is a studious cult, yet what was so recently threatened and so possible, at the hands of a small and theretofore despised enemy like Japan, has left something like a lasting impression. Then, too, there is ever rising, on the nearby Manchurian frontier, the dark, menacing cloud of Russian settlement, taking shape and growing, in even pace, with the rapid progress of the Trans-Siberian railway extension.

If, in time of sudden storm and stress, the imperial government may take the wings of a railway, and flit to Hankow, leaving line and bridges wrecked behind it, great possibilities for a little longer slumber, in customary ease and indifference, unvexed of outside harassment, will offer in that remote centre of supply and reinforcement.

For the construction of this ardently desired Peking-Hankow line—as, indeed, of any considerable railway work—the Chinese need, and must invoke and obtain, ample foreign financial assistance. To such end, the higher councils at Peking have appointed an agent, one Shêng-Tajen, who, as the director-general of the imperial Chinese railway administration, has been clothed with full powers to adjust and negotiate,—a phrase meaning, when reduced to final analysis and expressed in Western slang, to “raise the wind.”

His Excellency Shêng is a rising star in the murky firmament of Chinese politics. One might, perhaps, classify him as already risen, but that his policy with foreigners, by which his orbit must be measured, has yet to wait the test of time. Some there are who regard him a great potentiality of the future, seeing that he looms larger now than even the Grand Secretary, Li-Hung-Chang. The latter labors under the increasing disabilities of advanced age, as well as under those hampering, myriad jealousies which ever encumber the waning career of a once masterful and ambitious leader. Other observers believe that Shêng is doomed to early collapse,—at least in his present high official function,—through having rashly promised what circumstances may not permit him to accomplish, and represented to his government potentialities of grasp on foreign, as well as native, capital unwarranted by fact or reason.

Astute, progressive, daring, with the acquisitive tendency largely developed, Shêng-Tajen is full of aggressive force and picturesque possibility. As yet of full vigor, of large wealth, and but little over fifty years of age, he may, if circumspect or if effectively guided, reach any place of ministerial power and control that China has to offer. He is already an official of metropolitan rank and a director of the Court of Sacrificial Ceremonies. For somewhat more than a year past, Shêng has been in active negotiation with various foreign delegations in reference to his railway projects, but, thus far, with little or no tangible result,—thanks, as foreigners are disposed to say, to a too-inflated, overreaching estimate of what he and his country can offer or accomplish. It is rumored that his government is already growing restive over the delay in the fulfilment of his pledges; and he is not without jealous rivals, who are known to be intriguing against him.¹

Those foreign delegates who have frequented his *Yamên*, or council-chamber, will not readily forget their novel and arduous experience. Long, chill audiences, in donjon-like obscurity, with struggling effort at concrete, confidential negotiation, conducted aloud, through interpreters, in languages of which the one affords no counterpart to any technical or business phrases of the other, before a mob of alert, native hangers-on, who listen to one's secrets through open window and doorway,—these are incidents that remain in mind. Nor will be ignored, the memory of a keen-faced, courtly mandarin, with half-closed, yet always alert, eyes, whose ceremonious manner and easy affability never disguised a hard, tenacious purpose. Large foreign cash advances, at trivial interest, with next to no allowance of foreign profit, or of ordinary safeguard against native control of funds or native management of properties,—these, when stripped of complimentary rhetoric, were always conditions precedent to His Excellency's negotiations.

Shêng-Tajen is easy of access, and encouraging,—especially to those of sanguine, acquiescent temperament, who are ready to regard an unsubstantial nothing as a gain. A jest, principally one of a cynical cast, seems to be to his liking; and, at his table, he is a charming host. His business invitations have been somewhat freely offered to foreigners, though, far more circumspectly distributed than were those of Viceroy Li, who, in his recent tour about the world, appears to have been full of promises to mankind.

¹ Late China advices, received since the foregoing was written, indicate that Shêng's powers have been somewhat abridged by the appointment of another imperial railway commissioner—"for the North."

Foreign response to Chinese solicitation has been equally profuse. An American party¹ of five found themselves crossing the Pacific in December, 1896, in the same vessel with an English group of like size and intent. Another party, of mixed Canadian and American complexion, just missed the ship. At Shanghai, it was learned that the representative of a strong German syndicate had recently departed by special steamer for Peking; other American rivals were known to be on the ground; and later, French and Belgians arrived. As for the English, they are never lacking, being well to the front in affairs of the Far East; while Russians may be always reckoned on as burrowing effectively in any Asiatic background.

The philosophical observer who may chance to sojourn at Shanghai during the midwinter months, when the Peking route is blocked by ice in the harbor at Tientsin, will find a curious interest in the study of the typical concession-seeker. On arrival, he is uniformly impressive, secretive, and *affairé*, with a tendency sedulously to seclude himself, and to call for maps, interpreters, writing materials, and telegraph-forms. After some days, or weeks, of private pertinacious industry,—possibly with native official audiences reckoned in,—he emerges and expands. Guarded fraternization with suspected rivals may then ensue, symptomatically manifested within the precincts of the hospitable Shanghai Club,—to the distinct betterment of its bar receipts. Later, the more solvent of his kind take ship, homeward bound, and sail empty away. Some, however, having breathed the native air too long, remain,—victims of the well-known China Hallucination,—and, so long as their funds hold out, chase the ever unattainable rainbows of illusive hope. Others, of the lesser sort, lie stranded and helpless, content to accept any Chinese employment, however trivial, or to snatch whatever crumbs may chance to fall from China's none too hospitable table.

What with all these "foreign devils," plus their respective ministers and consular officials, swarming and buzzing about the ears of the bewildered mandarins the wonted "sacred everlasting calm" of the latter is sadly disturbed. It is hinted that, in the strange, gloomy, midnight sittings of the government *Yamêns*, within the inner Imperial City, at Peking, full and free anathema is continuously passed upon the vexing foreigner and all his works. Nor are heart-felt, native longings unexpressed for those good old days, when the Outside-Barbarians were

¹ The writer accompanied these gentlemen, in the capacity of legal adviser, charged, primarily, with the investigation of a preliminary contract, which an agent, already in China, was supposed to have secured for an American syndicate.

literally such, and could be kept so; when officials who had struggled to the top of things Chinese might remain there in peace, enjoying their indolent, world-old policy of *laissez-faire*, with incidental and productive "squeezes."¹

Whether the Chinese may or may not wish him away, the foreigner is always present and persistent; and, as is usually the case where the white race has to do with brethren of another complexion, he maintains a relentless pressure, with the frank and not too delicate diplomacy ordinarily characterizing a "grab-game." Each nationality invariably poses as China's first, best, and only unselfish friend, and ever whispers impressive warning against each and all of the others. Russia is at hand, standing effectively upon the substantial service she has rendered in blocking Japan's retention of Port Arthur and the Liautong Peninsula, and upon her timely support of China's recent foreign loans. England remains strong in her great prestige, her trained and permanent consular officials, her chain of Anglo-Asiatic financial agencies, and her handy navy, ready to support the claims of British subjects. Germany seeks to look in; while France appeals for greater elbow-room along the frontier she has grabbed in Tonking, and is ever clamorous; asserting, as to railways, a shadowy treaty right in favor of her subjects. The United States, China's nearest sea-neighbor,—and, of all the group, her most natural ally,—waits, like a poor relation, in the background, devoid of local financial agencies, and represented only by a hap-hazard, rapidly shifting diplomatic and consular service.* Her citizens, while modestly blinking reference to their Chinese exclusion laws, and to occasional home massacres of Chinese subjects, cling, with almost tender assiduity, to traditions of early, amicable international relations.² They

¹ That Chinese officials do "squeeze," is, unhappily, beyond dispute. The system under which they exist—with its requirements of a certain state, and multitudinous hangers-on, to be maintained on inadequate and uncertain salaries—necessitates this practice. One should look rather at the many really fine qualities of the typical native character outside of officialdom. Any Chinese, even the most humble, who fails to pay or honorably adjust a debt must inevitably "lose face" before his fellow-men; while nearly uniform respect and sympathy are shown for all the family ties and duties. So, too, patient, frugal industry, innate courtesy, and a certain fine self-containment are almost universally found in all ranks of life. The Foreign Devil, with his Boodle Aldermen, his *Mairies*, Local Parish Boards, or *Stadtrathe*, should not be too swift in casting the first stone at China's official jobbers.

² In respect of Mr. Denby, the Minister, and Mr. Jernigan, the Consul-General, who happened recently to be in office, no improvement was needed. These gentlemen uniformly rendered zealous and capable service in the protection and advancement of all American interests.

³ *Temp. Burlingame.*

ring the changes on their native country's single-minded lack of Asiatic territorial design, and upon the general superiority of American manners, machines, and methods, whether as adapted to railways, or otherwise.

To all this various and polyglot clamor from the outside world, the Chinese oppose chiefly—among other obstructions—two potent things; viz., a jelly-like inertia, and a soothing, whispered non-commitment. It has been surmised, indeed, that the Celestial finds a certain sly diversion, as well as profit, in thus baffling the foreigners, and in playing off one against the others. Nor are the Chinese, after all, lacking in reasonably sound advisers among foreigners, where the business in hand concerns a nationality other than that immediately consulted.

An absurd inflation of native notions as to the value of what China may concede, founded upon the usual vague, and often child-like, native conception of means and methods, is but the natural result of the foreign commotion about her doors. Little or no progress is, or can be, made. At the present time, the small Shanghai-Woosung line, although provided with material and a staff sufficiently large to have insured its completion months ago, is not yet begun; the Pauting-fu-Loo-kou-Chou section languishes; and the greatly desired Peking-Hankow line is still within the region of fumbling preliminary negotiation. From time to time, within the past year, rumor has confidently settled it that this last-mentioned work has been definitely confided to the Americans,—a belief naturally heightened by the fact that Capt. Rich, an engineer of their nationality, recently made a preliminary survey of the route. Latterly, however, after a varying suggestion of English, French, and German contractors, the Americans have faded out of sight; and now, only the Belgians remain at the fore. Indeed, it would appear that certain reckless persons known as the Belgian Syndicate—said to be a group of manufacturers whose primary object is to market their products in China—have closed a contract for the line with Shêng, substantially on his own terms. Their rivals may comfort themselves with the reflection that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread"; but nothing more substantial is left to them.

After a careful scrutiny of the terms of this Chino-Belgian agreement, one is at a loss to understand how men of business could thus have placed themselves and their funds in Chinese hands; or how a contract containing virtually all the unsafe and objectionable features which other negotiators have uniformly declined to consider could thus have been swallowed whole. By many observers in the East, it is sur-

mised that the present contract arrangement cloaks and blinds some important political move of other nationalities; that Belgium, an unobtrusive nation, having no territorial designs, has been put forward as a figure-head, behind which will appear later those who, in dealing with feeble China, rely on more potent forces than mere contractual stipulations, to shape and define both claim and remedy. Yet this fanciful theory has, apparently, but little real substratum of fact. Probably a more exact explanation of the Belgian arrangement is that impulsive negotiators, anxious to outstrip their rivals in a race, have hastily grasped the shadow rather than the substance of the prize. His Excellency Shéng will now, for at least a short while, point with pride to the apparently successful result of his trading; the hitches in which, thus far, have threatened and spurred him with what is abhorred of all Chinese, viz., the chance that he might "lose face" before his countrymen. It is safe to predict that he is still doomed to this mischance, and to a grievous disappointment in the business generally; as, also, that the Belgian contract will probably fall apart, on its first serious strain,—the paying over, in January next, of the first instalment of the promised 4-per-cent loan of £4,500,000, for the Chinese to play with. Already, every indication points to serious friction. In its initial stage, the contract was protested by the German, English, and American ministers at Peking, and, after being withdrawn, was subsequently allowed in an amended form. Now, as later advices show, the Belgians themselves seek modifications of their obligations.

Those familiar with Chinese ways and possibilities will experience no surprise if many long years elapse before the Peking-Hankow railway takes more definite shape. China herself is well used to waiting. She should, of course, build this larger system from native resources, like her existing smaller lines. But, alas! recklessly encountered wars are costly. When China has fully raised and paid the full Japanese indemnity of Taels 200,000,000, her funds and credit, with which she might have comfortably procured adequate railway systems, will have virtually vanished. What is her prospect now of further borrowing from the foreigner, whether for railway construction, or for other purposes? Her existing foreign debt, amounting, in 1896, to £38,630,000, and incurred, mainly, to meet the war indemnity, was placed abroad, on favorable terms,¹ chiefly, because it was secured upon the hypothecation of the receipts of the Imperial Maritime Customs,—a department managed with excellent and honest business methods, in

¹ The several loans having been at 6, 5, and even 4 per cent annual interest.

foreign hands,' absolutely untrammelled by native interference. The Maritime Customs revenue, during the year indicated, produced some £3,386,000; and, as the interest service of the loans, with some other charges for which provision must be made, absorbs about £2,900,000 of this sum, it follows that the available margin apparently remaining—less than £500,000—is not sufficient to base any considerable further security for loans upon; especially as every penny of this possible surplus is sorely needed for other than interest-paying purposes. Yet even this margin, which it was hoped would grow with the natural increase of import duties, and by reason of the opening of new treaty ports, now appears to have waned, if not to have totally vanished, owing to the continued decline of silver. Thus, in the case of a new foreign loan for railway purposes, China would now seem to have nothing free to offer, by way of security, other than a mortgage upon the railway property which may be created by means of such loan. The government might, it is true, give to any bonds which are to be issued upon new railway projects a more effective standing, by stamping or otherwise identifying them as of its own obligations; but thus far this plan has not met with official approval. If sanctioned, it would doubtless evoke opposition and protest from holders of the existing Chinese bond obligations.

Quite aside from provision for immediate railway purposes, the Chinese officials have of late been bestirring themselves to place and procure a new foreign loan. There is a balance of one moiety of the Japanese War indemnity—Taels 100,000,000—still due: its payment, on or before May 8, 1898, *i. e.*, three years from the date of the treaty, will not only save interest charges of Taels 2,750,000, but will also secure a result ardently desired by the Chinese, *viz.*, the evacuation by the Japanese of Wei-hai-wei. To meet this situation, a loan of £16,000,000 is now sought. It has been freely intimated to the outside world, that those who will provide this advance may confidently look for substantial favors in the way of concessions, covering the building of railway lines, other than the one which has been promised to the Belgians; for example, the proposed railways from Hankow, southeast to Canton; from Shanghai, west along the Yang-tse; and from Shan-hai-quan, north to Kirin, or to some other connection with the new Trans-Manchurian extension of the Russian Siberian railway.

¹ By the well-known Sir Robert Hart, who, through years of effort, has built up an admirable and effective service, with a large staff of assistants, chiefly European.

These concessions are, abstractly speaking, attractive; but, seeing that their acquisition and enjoyment are dependent upon the obligation to furnish financial accommodation to the Chinese of such considerable magnitude, the question of security for the funds to be advanced in the proposed loan or loans comes immediately to the front.

As we have seen, the margin of customs receipts now left unhypothecated is too scant to figure upon in any new loan business. How, then, is a further imperial borrowing to be secured? To fit the case, or to help it out, the Chinese have suggested a lien upon three hitherto unmortgaged sources of government revenue; viz., the land tax, the salt tax, and the *likin*. These items of revenue we have not space to discuss at length. It will be sufficient to say that they are vaguely established and difficult to reach, and that, in any case, resort to the pledging of them indicates desperation on the part of the Chinese, and means the availment of a last resource. Unlike the Maritime Customs receipts, the several taxes here referred to are administered wholly by the corrupt and careless hands of native officials, with the result that they produce invariably uncertain and always inadequate returns. Honeycombed, as they are, with moss-grown claims of vested rights, with underhand intrigue, and with barefaced "squeezes," it is and always will be exceedingly difficult to bind them with an adequate, effective, and comprehensive lien. To touch these revenues at all, especially under the intolerant searchlight of foreign investigation, means certainly to evoke trouble, and to disturb darksome, burrowing things, the first impulse of which will be to turn and sting. A social and political hornet's nest, of this kind, is not lightly to be stirred up by a government so unstable as is that of China.

Those who risk their money, skill, and labor in the creation and operation of a railway ordinarily ask and receive compensation not only in fairly secured interest upon any incidental bond-loans, but in a reasonable profit upon the cost of construction, and in some chance of participation in such future surplus earnings as their after-management of the railway property may produce. The Chinese, while uniformly demanding that the proposed loans upon the railway concessions shall be in large sums and at slight interest, have as yet declined to consider an allowance to the foreigner of profit upon construction, except in small percentages on possible purchases of material. They even decline to allow the foreigner to take a contract to build; preferring that his agreement should be to become an employee of the government for such building. Chinese laws, as at present established, rigidly preclude

aliens from holding shares—through which provision for participation in future earnings might be made—in any native railway enterprises.

Obstructive conditions of this character underlie all negotiations with the Chinese on these subjects, and thus far have been tenaciously insisted upon. They arise, partly, from the childish or inflated idea that foreigners are ready to rush in and take railway concessions at any price, and partly—so far as the restriction against foreign share-holding is concerned—from the native dread of outsiders obtaining rights, even if only through a share interest, in anything on Chinese soil. Negotiators from the outside world, of ordinary business experience, have found these obstacles insurmountable. The Belgians, as we have seen, have recklessly “jumped” them; but where these hardy traders will land, remains to be seen.

Probably, the final outcome of China's railway-extension problem will be the construction by the Chinese themselves of such trifling bits of road as may be most urgently needed, and for which payment may be squeezed out by hook or by crook. Longer lines, or more comprehensive systems, must wait their chance indefinitely, just as so many imperatively necessary improvements have done in the past ages of China's strange career. But even short lines, if well placed and constructed, and left under exclusively European management, like that of Mr. Kinder, the English engineer, should prove fairly profitable, or at least self-supporting. The existing railway from Tientsin, *via* Kaiping, to Shan-hai-quan is reputed to yield a profit in its operation; while the new road from Tientsin to Peking should have an excellent traffic, especially in summer. Its present service, although not fully established, is said to have invariably crowded trains. So, too, the little Shanghai-Woosung line, if, by any favorable chance, it can be pushed on to Soochow, Nankin, etc., should do a large business.

As will have been observed, it seems hardly worth while, under existing conditions, for foreigners to consider Chinese railway projects; but, even if these conditions were favorably modified, some features would still remain, which should not be overlooked. Large areas of the country affected by the proposed railways are now most economically served by ample labor supply, of the cheapest kind, operating sufficiently with mechanical aids of the most primitive forms. Whether by packs for men and animals, by wheelbarrows,¹ or by multitudinous craft of all sorts on

¹ There are four thousand of these, with a capacity of five hundred pounds each, licensed in the foreign concessions of Shanghai alone. They are found everywhere throughout the interior. Gen. Wilson in his “Travels in the Middle Kingdom,”

the great network of rivers and inland waterways, a vast inland commerce is carried on; while great fleets of sea-going junks exist for the coastwise trade. In the course of a few years, any system of railways should absorb the chief part of this trade, or, at least, such of it as may be conveniently reached. But this could only be accomplished through the establishment of extremely moderate rates; and these, of course, must be receivable in a constantly depreciating silver currency. Having this last point in mind, it will be appreciated that any railway venture in China, with foreign-held bonds, on which annual gold interest payments must be made, will bring annual moments of anguish to its managers.

Again, in large areas of the country, the population exists on the day-by-day or hand-to-mouth basis, with little or no surplus for outward shipment, and no margin for the purchase of additional inward-bound supplies. While the presence of a railway would gradually improve these conditions, and so lead to the creation of an increase in local traffic, this would necessarily take time, especially with a people so poor and so backward as the Chinese of the interior.

But the inland commerce of China, as a whole, is enormous, notwithstanding that it exists under conditions of this character, and that it is also throttled by the *likin*. The latter is an inland-barrier tax, imposed, with more or less arbitrary exactions, by local mandarins, who have, or claim to have, vested rights at all important interior points, and is a ruinous burden which should disappear from the path of a railway, as it has done from the routes of foreign vessels in the Yangtse-Kiang and other navigable rivers. Its absence would create a strong stimulus to trade in any territory immediately affected; but in China *likin* collectors, and like obstructionists, die hard.

Railway construction, in Middle China at least, presents no great difficulty, except from river-crossings, which are numerous and vexing; the country being generally rolling or level. Labor is plentiful and of the cheapest, but of the least skilled kind. Much of the material, however, must be procured, for the present, from abroad, as the great delta is treeless, and no facilities are as yet afforded for procuring timber from the mountains and upper rivers of the West. The Chinese iron-works at Hanyan, near Hankow, are now under foreign management turning out steel rails in moderate quantity.

says that the product of the Shan-si coal-mines is distributed by wheelbarrows for hundreds of miles. In some cases, they are equipped with auxiliary donkey-power, and often are rigged with a sail.

As to miscellaneous business enterprises, for which foreigners are seeking concessions or exclusive grants, there does not appear to be much scope for these. It has been sought, for example, to obtain a monopoly right for a cigarette factory, to be established inland, away from treaty ports; but, although high Chinese authority has expressed the opinion that such a monopoly could be granted, the business has not been proceeded with, because it has been thought impracticable to exercise exclusive rights of this kind, even if apparently obtained. Rival foreigners, importing like goods through the various treaty ports, whose trade might meet the obstacle of an interior monopoly, would clamor lustily, invoking, through their diplomatic representatives, the "most-favored nation" clauses of their respective treaties. Then, too, local native merchants are stiff-necked, and would promptly boycott the product of any monopoly factory which might seek to interfere with a cheaper market through the ports. Under these circumstances, which would as well fit other cases, foreign industries in China, such as silk filatures, cotton-mills, machine-shops, etc., have thus far modestly established themselves in the treaty ports,—as, for example, in the foreign concessions, at Shanghai,—seeking merely a proximity to markets and cheap labor, which are open to all, subject to the ordinary competition of trade. They, like home enterprises, depend on skilful management rather than on a monopoly.

In business, generally, China offers no greater openings than may be found at home for foreigners whose skill, energy, and foresight count for as much in one place as another. The great American mercantile houses, once so prominent, with their tea-hongs, banks, and steamship lines, have vanished, leaving only commission agencies to act as intermediaries for the Chinese, and to compete with English and Germans, not to speak of traders of other nationalities, who are everywhere on the ground, ready to cut off corners from profit percentages, and, by the aid of cable credits, to deal with minute margins of profit. As for the chance of employment under natives, next to nothing of this kind exists. Any foreigner going to China to seek work, whether as a trained specialist or a mere employee, at once raises in Chinese minds the presumption that he comes because he is not fit to survive at home. Americans like Mr. Walter Kennedy, now in charge of the Hanyan iron-works, Capt. W. W. Rich, who surveyed the Peking-Hankow line for the Chinese Railway Administration, Mr. John Dodd, the banking expert, and Mr. Shockley, the mining engineer, and others, of various nationalities, who might be mentioned, are exceptional cases. These

gentlemen, selected for their character and capacity, and, above all, especially invited by the authorities, readily inspire native confidence, and can find profitable engagements, as, indeed, men of their kind may readily do at home. The foreigner who *volunteers* his services in China's affairs is foredoomed to failure, whatever his degree or fitness.

After all, what do the Chinese want of the outside white races? Nothing, it may be safely said; nor will they accept aught from us but what is forced upon them through stress of circumstance. Inert, conceited, jealous, and suspicious, they are satisfied with their own environment, and are quite content to follow out their mysterious way to such destiny as crumbling, world-old institutions, groping in the dim light of the mouldy maxims of Confucius, may have in store. But the fates would appear to have decreed otherwise.

Within a few months past, Russia's ungloved hand has been shown again, taking a still stronger grip on China's northern frontier. The Russo-Chinese treaty, recently divulged, shows her to be vested with full and momentous rights in and throughout China's northern provinces; and now, throwing aside the mask which has heretofore obscured it, the great Trans-Siberian railway is on its way, across Manchuria, toward some more convenient port than Port Arthur, instead of to the more remote and ice-hampered outlet of Vladivostock. Already Russian railway-construction parties, guarded by military posts destined never to retreat, are swarming forward into Chinese territory, on this latest great march to the sea. China, powerless in fact, and bound by stipulated recognition of Russia's past services, may not openly object, much as she may inwardly writhe and squirm over such incroachment on her sacred soil. Russia paid her in advance, when the heavy paw of the Northern Bear barred the way of further Japanese conquest, and when Russian aid forced the indemnity loans upon unwilling markets. England, watching this new Russian progress, has, thus far, only sputtered, with startled and inept protest. But those who know her and her resolute ways and traditions, who appreciate the tenacity of her protection of her trade, and perceive the menace to her interests in China implied by Russian occupation of Port Arthur—and of Korea, as a necessary incident—will not suppose that the masterful English are long to sit still in patient tolerance. Doubtless a little further time will disclose some check, or strenuous counter-move, now in state of rapid formulation in British councils. England, in any case, must keep sharp watch and ward on Shanghai, as on the mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang, and, indeed, upon the whole great valley of that mighty river; nor will it suit

her policy to lightly suffer any Northern rival to Hong-Kong to be built up at Port Arthur.

Sometime, and without great delay, these puzzling movements of unchained political forces may compel a partition of poor, bankrupt, drowsing China. When such a time arrives, Russia will be found modestly demanding the northern provinces, with Peking, the Liautong Peninsula, and Korea thrown in, as help-weights. England, of a certainty, must claim the Yang-tse Valley, and liberal territorial allowance, near her southern colony of Hong-Kong. She will need, too, all she can obtain, to broaden out her buffer-states of Burmah and Siam, as against the French, who will be, as in the past, none too modest touching the enlargement of Tongking. Germany's aims are indicated by her recent seizure.

Where then, will be young, lusty, and aggressive Japan, with her strong new navy, and her armies of highly trained and fearless human wasps, ready, close by, across the way? What may she have to say, and what particular bone, from the dismembered carcass, will satisfy her? There are sentimental dreamers, who discern in the Japanese an ultimate design to link their destinies with those of their Chinese neighbors, and so to organize and consolidate against the wide outside world of the white races; to act as a pagan Joshua, who may lead the Celestial Israelites out of the desert of their present floundering fate. Be this as it may,—for the Asiatic future is as yet too obscure to lightly venture forecasts upon,—this much, at least, is certain: The new Japan must be considered in any present or future Asian question.

But poor China! "Was für ein plunder!"

And where, in all this wreck and chaos of a crashing and dismembered empire, shall we find the undaunted concession-seeker? Doubtless, as ever, chasing rainbows, and, as is his wont, cabling home, "Prospects better, remit funds."

CLARENCE CARY.

IS IT WORTH WHILE TO TAKE OUT A PATENT?

Is it worth while to take out a patent? Not if you can possibly avoid it. It seems a thousand pities; but this appears to be the conclusion reached not only by the vast majority of those who have taken out patents, but also by those who are on the eve of filing their claims for government protection. A small minority has been successful in reaching that good land supposed to be flowing with milk and honey; but the average patentee has gone through dreary years of litigation without even sighting the promised land.

Some people do not believe in patents at all; saying that the patent system is a creature of statute law and should be abrogated entirely. This position is untenable, for the one reason, that the incentive to all work is the hope of ultimate cash returns; and a patent, potentially at least, is valuable, the development of the art or science to which the work attaches being merely an incident.

In the present state of the patent law, if one can keep his process to himself, it is undoubtedly better to do so. Most inventions, however, cannot be guarded by lock and key; and in many, if not all, cases, it becomes necessary, for self-protection, to take out patents.

One of the main difficulties in the way of the patentee lies in the fact that it is not easy for the best lawyer to draw a patent so that his client will not speak reproachfully of him. It takes a very experienced hand to avoid defects which will nullify the patentee's proper advantage. An omission is fatal; an addition is fatal; and a vagueness is fatal.

In this paper I shall undertake a brief review of the present state of the patent law; limiting my remarks to cases involving chemistry, and showing where matters might be improved.

Many illustrations of omissions vitiating patents can be found among Webster's historic cases. There is the patent for the manufacture of verdigris. The method described in the specification was fully sufficient for making verdigris; but the patentee had been accustomed clandestinely to put acid into the boiler, whereby the copper was dissolved more rapidly, although no better or cheaper product resulted. The patent was held void.

On the other hand, if a patent is so long, and the claim defined by so many details, that another inventor can attain substantially the same results by the simple omission of one of the points covered by the original patentee, another patent may be evolved from the first without infringement.

Hence a patent lawyer has to steer very narrowly between the Scylla of fatal brevity and the Charybdis of excessive loquacity, and all this, probably, in the face of opposition in the Patent Office.

As an illustration of the shortening of the process in one particular, the Dualin Powder Case may be cited. Dualin is a yellowish-brown powder, resembling in appearance Virginia smoking tobacco. It consists of cellulose and other ingredients mixed in different combinations. The cellulose was prepared by treating sawdust with acids, and then boiling the mixture in a solution of soda, drying and further treating it in accordance with the patent. The defendants admitted that they used sawdust, but said they never treated it with any acid or alkali. As the plaintiff's patent made such treatment essential, the fact that it might be dispensed with not being mentioned, and as the defendant used nothing in the place of treatment with acid and alkali, it was held that there was no infringement.

In the main, and in time, the courts do substantial equity; and if it can be shown that the particular part omitted was not the essence of the patent, a new patentable process cannot be evolved from the first. This is shown in the Aluminium Case. The process, in short, was the passing of an electric current through a fused bath composed of aluminium compounds in the presence of a metal more electro-positive than aluminium. The defendants simply omitted the artificial heat given to the bath, according to the patent, they having discovered that electricity itself evolved enough heat to maintain a proper temperature. The court held that:—

“Even though the omission of external heat might be a commercial improvement, nevertheless, it was within the scope of the patent. To hold otherwise would impose upon the patentee of a process the necessity of stating not only the process, but the best apparatus for that purpose. This would be absurd.”

But it entailed years of work to reach this decision.

One of the favorite tricks of persons desiring to infringe a patent is the addition of substances more or less immaterial or useless. Although the courts, in the long run, stop this evasion of patent rights, still the patentee has heavy lawyers' and experts' bills to meet, in order to hold the infringers to legal accountability.

In this connection, the decisions in the Glycerine Cases are *apropos*. It had been discovered that if fats were heated with water, under sufficient pressure to prevent the formation of steam, the decomposition of the fats into their constituents of glycerine and the characteristic acid could be directly effected. The court said :—

“It is probably true, as contended by the defendants, that, by the use of a small portion of lime, the process can be performed with less heat. It may be an improvement to use lime for that purpose; but the process remains substantially the same. The patent cannot be evaded that way.”

Again, a patent may be rendered faulty through ambiguity, or general indeterminateness in the specifications. An experienced lawyer, however, rarely falls into this bottomless pit.

Among patents adjudged insufficient and unintelligible, the Magenta Case offers a striking example. The inventor, it would appear, recommended that aniline be mixed with an oxidizing agent, that the mixture be then allowed to stand for some time, or that the process be accelerated by heating. This, when construed, claimed to effect a particular object by two processes, one of which, it was proved, would not work. The plaintiffs were forced to admit that no beneficial result could be obtained without applying heat. The court seemed loath to rule against the patent, but applied the law strictly and against it.

It was through the element of uncertainty that acid magenta was brought into court. Magenta—sometimes called fuchsine, aniline red, rosaniline, roseine, or rubin—is one of the older aniline colors. Primarily a cotton dye, it was, by the patent, rendered applicable to wool-dyeing. The alteration was to be accomplished by a treatment with sulphuric acid of the *proper* strength; but the patent claim was drawn too broadly. The product claim was sustained.

These cases are instanced in order to show the minutiae that have to be remembered and guarded by the lawyer in drafting a patent. Often the crux of the case is some relatively minor point. The writer has seen the opposition examine a patent as with a microscope, every word being scrutinized, and the expert dragged forward and backward over the case in the hope that a weak spot in the patent might be found, or that he might be mystified, or become entangled in his speech.

The doctrine of chemical equivalents is frequently applied in chemical jurisprudence, and is often abused. It signifies the known substitutes that effect an evasion, more or less adroit, of the rights of the patentee. An easy way to use a process and yet avoid the patent is

supposed to consist in finding some equivalent of the protected chemical, which equivalent is not covered by the patent. To illustrate, I shall cite Martin's Patent—one of the oldest cases. This was a patent for making artificial stone by the use of potash and sulphuric acid, combined in a certain way. The defendants used boracic acid; but this was held to be tantamount to using sulphuric acid. One part of the judgment says:—

“It is well known that there are two or three substitutes for a crank: this is just as well known as that 10 and 6 make 16, and that 8 and 8 make 16. Wherever you can apply the exact sciences, you can frequently predict results without the slightest difficulty. I do not think this doctrine applies altogether in the case of chemistry. You cannot, because sulphuric acid will succeed, tell at all that nitric acid will succeed, until you have tried it. You cannot anticipate the result: it is a mere question of result upon experiment.”

By this doctrine—the doctrine of chemical equivalents—the sulphuric group has been held the equivalent of bromine or chlorine, benzine has been allowed as a substitute for water, and sulphuric acid has been held equal to tartaric acid.

Mr. Justice Grier draws a picture of the unfortunate way in which chemical equivalents are often made. In the *Goodyear Case*, he said:—

“Suppose that, before Goodyear's discovery, a manufacturer had taken to a chemist's laboratory some India-rubber, sulphur, and white-lead, and asked him to make vulcanized rubber. The answer would have been that it was impossible. Now, suppose that he had put into that chemist's hands the specification of the rubber patent. The chemist can now suggest many changes in the process which may produce equivalent or even better results. He could suggest some other metallic oxide which could perform the office of the white-lead; that possibly arsenic or magnesia, or some other metal of earth might be substituted for sulphur. Yet no one, whose perceptions are not perverted, can fail to see that all such changes have their foundations on the patentee's first discovery, and start by appropriating or pirating it.”

With all these difficulties besetting the path and endangering the life of a patent, is it any marvel that so few patents survive? Is it not rather a wonder that more are not lost in the many possible pitfalls? Remedies above criticism are not easy to suggest; but the following points are offered for consideration:—

In the first place, patents should be more closely scrutinized at the Patent Office; and we should not be open to the charge made by Johnson in his book on patent law. Speaking of the United States Patent Office, he says: “No application for an invention possessing any feature of novelty or utility is refused, if perseveringly and skilfully prosecuted.” The writer has heard it related that a patent was given in the

United States for the prevention of explosions of kerosene oil, by placing a potato in the containers.

It appears that patents are more easily obtainable in other countries. They are said to be granted in Belgium without previous examination, at the sole risk of the applicant. To-day, in the United States, it is difficult to induce financiers to invest simply on the strength of a patent having been granted, because it is scarcely possible to make out a *prima facie* case. This is certainly unfortunate, as there are many things worthy of being exploited which must remain neglected simply because it is becoming practically impossible to convince capitalists that any process whatsoever has a good fighting chance. They have become embittered by reason of the cost of maintaining their rights.

The German Patent Office guards the issue of a patent more carefully. When the application is filed in Berlin, it passes an examination, and is then mentioned in a Patent Office publication as "*ausgelegt*." The patent may then be attacked by interested parties; and if, after all has been said and done, the Patent Office decides in its favor, the patent is almost *res adjudicata*. This gives a considerably better standing to a patent than is the case in our country.

The Victorian statutes ordain that when the patent-law officer is of opinion that a patent should be issued, the matter is to be advertised for two months, and that within that time those who object to its issuance must file notice accordingly. The objector is supposed to submit all his evidence, and to argue the case fully and accurately at the proper time. The examiner, with the consent of the Treasury, may obtain the assistance of an expert, who is to be remunerated for his services.

It has been said again and again that a patent has no value until it has sustained a drastic course of litigation; and it is true, also, that all valuable patents are brought into court for construction, if there is a good fighting chance for the litigation.

Perhaps one of the most unsatisfactory features in our patent-law system is the use of the expert. A determined effort is now being made to readjust the standing of the expert in medical jurisprudence; and it would seem that at the same time a similar readjustment should be made in chemical jurisprudence. The law should provide for boards of official experts, whose findings could be laid before judge or jury, not as partisan evidence, but as scientific judgment on matters requiring expert testimony. Thus the data could be brought into the right perspective.

Cross-examination has come to be absurd in point of length and ir-

relevancy. Recently, the writer was cross-examined for five days, to demonstrate a point that might have been settled in less than as many minutes. This method of excessive cross-examination can be cured by agreement among the lawyers. When they agree to have short and concise examinations the point can be carried.

Or, if counsel on both sides would agree to use the blue pencil on the typewritten evidence, cutting it down to the salient and essential features, much time might be saved; and the case could then be presented to the judge printed in something like portable shape.

Further, a great deal of annoyance might be saved if those drawing patents would take the trouble to consult specialists in their particular lines. Again and again, the writer has seen chemical patents which a mere tyro in chemistry could have corrected. The last instance that came to his notice was that of a strictly chemical patent drafted by a lawyer whose exclusive specialty was electrical inventions.

A patentee of a chemical process labors under a disadvantage that cannot be measured. So soon as he publishes his process or product, he tells the world how to accomplish a more or less desirable end. If another then uses his process, the patentee has a number of points to prove against the defendant. In return, the patent itself is attacked; the burden being thus shifted to the patentee, who must prove that his patent is good. And last, the question of damages is peculiarly difficult of equitable adjustment.

Two of the successful inventions of to-day are the unpatented enamels or varnishes, pegamoid and pantasote; and this is because they find a better protection in secrecy than in a government patent.

This article has given only a few of the tortuous steps that the patentee is obliged to follow. If (1) chemical patents, when issued from the Patent Office, possessed a better standing both in court and in the minds of capitalists and financiers; if (2) a board of fair and honorable experts were established; and if (3) the litigation establishing the rights of a patent were abbreviated,—then I should be inclined to answer in the affirmative our question, “Is it worth while to take out a patent?”

HARWOOD HUNTINGTON.

EDUCATION IN HAWAII

THE education of the people is not a new undertaking in the Hawaiian Islands. The historian says that the first printing in Hawaii was done January 7, 1822; and he adds that it was work on a school-book. It is related that, when the missionaries persuaded the king and chiefs to undertake to learn to read and write, "the king directed two or three of his more intelligent subjects to try this matter, and see if it were safe, in which case he himself and others of rank would follow." The results of the experiment seem to have been satisfactory; for we read that

"all the leading chiefs, including the king, now eagerly applied themselves to learn the arts of reading and writing, and soon began to use them in business correspondence.

Before the end of 1824, two thousand people had learned to read, and a peculiar system of schools was spreading rapidly over the Islands. Each chief sent the most proficient scholars in his retinue to his different lands to act as teachers, with orders to his tenants to attend school. The eagerness of the people to acquire the new and wonderful arts of reading and writing was intense; and at length almost the whole population went to school."¹

Here was a public-school system established in feudal Hawaii while Pestalozzi was still trying his experiments at Yverdon,—a decade before that educational revival in New England with which the name of Horace Mann is forever linked, and some years before the surveyor, sent to lay out a town-site under the protection of Fort Dearborn, found only a score of inhabitants where now stands the great city of Chicago.

This school system, though crude, was full of life and effectiveness. Many years later, children were sent from San Francisco to Honolulu in order that they might have better educational advantages than those furnished at the city by the Golden Gate; and indeed one governor of California looks back to his *alma mater* at Honolulu. So much of history may serve to point the fact that, educationally, Hawaii is not a pioneer country, but one in which New England brains and New England hands laid deep and wide the foundations of American civilization and culture long before many of the best educational systems of the

¹ ALEXANDER'S "Brief History of the Hawaiian People."

United States were organized, and while those already organized were still crude and unsatisfactory.

The first written constitution and laws of the Hawaiian Islands were promulgated in 1840; and among them was a law providing for a school wherever "parents having fifteen or more children suitable to attend school live close together." From that time to the present, education has held the attention of legislative and executive bodies. And thus the present educational system has grown up. The legislature of 1896 passed an Act amending and consolidating the school laws of the country; and from this Act I quote the following :—

"There shall be an Executive Department to be known as the Department of Public Instruction, which shall consist of a Minister of Public Instruction and six Commissioners. . . .

No person in holy orders or a minister of religion shall be eligible as a Commissioner. Women shall be eligible to be appointed as Commissioners; provided, however, that not more than two shall hold commissions at any one time. . . .

For the purpose of supervision and inspection, the Department shall appoint an Inspector-General of Schools, to hold office during its pleasure; provided, however, that no person in holy orders or a minister of religion shall be eligible to fill such office. . . .

All schools established and maintained by the Department in accordance with law are public schools. All other schools are private schools. . . .

Every private school shall be subject to the supervision of the Department. . . .

There shall be no charge for tuition in any public school; provided, however, that the Department may in its discretion establish, maintain, and discontinue select schools, taught in the English language, at a charge of such tuition fees for attendance as it may deem proper; provided, however, that such select schools shall be established only in places where free schools of the same grade for pupils within the compulsory age are readily accessible to the children of such district. . . .

The attendance of all children between six and fifteen years of age . . . at either a public or private school is obligatory. And it shall be incumbent upon all parents, guardians, and others having the responsibility and care of children of such ages, to send them to some such school. . . .

The English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools. . . ."

As a rule, every village and hamlet where a dozen children of school age can be assembled has its school open during ten months in each year. The only exceptions are caused by the rapid development of the country; settlements springing up more rapidly than schools can be provided; yet these exceptions are only temporary. The compulsory-education law requires that children between the ages of six and fifteen attend school during the entire school year. In this connection, the following table, taken from the new Census Report, will be found interesting :—

NATIONALITIES.	Number within School Age.	Per cent Attending School.
Hawaiians.....	5,467	98.39
Part-Hawaiians.....	2,487	99.01
Hawaiian-born Foreigners.....	4,505	94.40
Americans ¹	126	86.50
British.....	73	83.75
Germans.....	63	83.25
French.....	1	.....
Norwegians.....	13	100.00
Portuguese.....	774	85.40
Japanese.....	147	94.55
Chinese.....	665	92.43
South-Sea Islanders.....	6	.....
Other Nationalities.....	13	83.33
Total.....	14,286	96.20

The reason why Americans, British, and Germans do not stand better in this table is that many children of these nationalities are educated by governesses at home till they are seven or eight years of age, or older. The following table shows the corresponding percentage of literacy :—

NATIONALITIES.	Number over Six Years.	Per cent Able to Read and Write.
Hawaiian.....	26,495	88.97
Part-Hawaiian.....	5,895	91.21
Hawaiian-born Foreigners.....	5,394	68.29
Americans ¹	2,060	86.02
British.....	1,516	95.44
Germans.....	899	86.31
French.....	75	92.00
Norwegians.....	215	80.46
Portuguese.....	8,089	27.84
Japanese.....	22,189	53.60
Chinese.....	19,317	48.47
South-Sea Islanders.....	407	40.05
Other Nationalities.....	423	75.41

Hawaiian-born foreigners naturally stand low in this table, because a large percentage of persons so designated are children. From the last Report of the Minister of Public Instruction (not yet published), I am permitted to draw the following facts :—

During the year there has been a gain in school attendance of 11 per cent. Hawaiians of full blood have increased 5 per cent; Part-Hawaiians, 11 per cent,—just the average gain. The gain of Hawaiians

¹ 130 sailors of U. S. S. "Adams" not tabulated.

of both pure and mixed blood has been a little less than 7 per cent. Portuguese (of both foreign and Island birth) have increased 13 per cent. These classes continue to form the bulk of the school attendance; 56½ per cent being of Hawaiian blood (pure or mixed) and 25 per cent being Portuguese, as designated above. The remaining 18½ per cent includes a large number of nationalities.

Teachers are employed by the year, but not for the year. Appointments are made to last during good behavior and satisfactory service. Tenure as a rule is long; and dismissals are few. A considerable number of teachers have taught for fifteen or twenty years under a single appointment, and in some cases in the same school. These teachers, being permanently employed, frequently establish their own homes, and become important citizens in their districts. Residences for them are sometimes furnished at the public expense. All this tends to create personal interest on the part of the teachers in their particular pupils; while, on the other hand, pupils look up to their teachers—who, in some cases, have been the teachers of their parents in the same schools—with a degree of respect which no stranger could command.

As regards the nationalities of teachers, the unpublished Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, above referred to, shows that of a total of 483 teachers, there are 64 Hawaiian; 63 Part-Hawaiian; 226 American; 76 British; 8 German; 5 French; 6 Scandinavian; 13 Portuguese; 12 Chinese; and 10 of other nationalities.

Many of the foreign teachers are men and women of liberal education and good professional preparation. Among them are to be found in considerable numbers graduates of colleges and universities such as Yale, Harvard, Amherst, Wesleyan (Middletown, Conn.), Cornell, and Oberlin, and of Oswego and the California State normal schools.

The influence of such leaders upon the teaching-force is necessarily great, and is now rapidly increasing. Recognizing the value of such leadership, the Minister and Commissioners of Public Instruction have lately instituted a kind of open school of higher pedagogy, to be conducted somewhat after the Chautauquan model; extended sessions to be held during the summer vacation. The courses undertaken in this organization are like those given in the pedagogical departments of the American universities; and only graduates of colleges or State normal schools, and those able to present satisfactory evidence of like qualification for the work are admitted to the classes.

Reading circles have been established on all the principal islands; and, under the leadership of the better educated teachers, they are do-

ing much to raise the standard of the whole force. Thus far, the books studied in these circles have been wholly professional in character; but it is intended that the scope of the work shall be widened in the future, so as to inculcate a broader culture.

In 1896, a Summer School for Teachers was established; and it has now held two very successful sessions. A large number of elective courses was offered to the teachers, nearly all being given by instructors chosen from the Island teaching-force. In 1896, Dr. F. B. Dresslar, and in 1897, Dr. E. E. Brown—both now of the California State University—gave courses of lectures in the Summer School. The attendance at each of these sessions included nearly one-half of the teachers of both public and private schools; thus testifying eloquently and forcibly to the zeal of the Island teachers. All this work is carried on by the teachers voluntarily and, for the most part, at their own expense.

A Normal and Training School has been organized, and is attended by nearly fifty students. Though not yet fully equipped, it is doing very valuable work. It takes the product of the common schools and makes it a teaching-force for these common schools themselves.

It is the chief work of the Honolulu Normal School to prepare teachers to teach the children of their own people. Thus, the tendency is to reduce the number of foreign teachers; although it is to be hoped that the day is far distant when Hawaii will cease to draw a part of her teaching-force from more favored localities.

It is noteworthy that the English language is practically the only language used as a means of communication or instruction in the Hawaiian schools; yet English is the mother-tongue of but five per cent of the pupils. Whenever the language of the school is not the language of the home, education is at a disadvantage. In fact, instruction under these conditions is well-nigh an unsolved problem. The children of Hawaii, like those of Poland, are now suffering from this disadvantage. It is probable that the native Hawaiians do less intelligent reading now than they did a few years ago, when their own language was the language of the schools. But conditions are rapidly changing. The English language is coming into use as a means of communication among the graduates of the public schools, many of whom have no other language in common. Thus, it is creeping into the homes of the people. When children learn even crude English from their mothers, the task of the teacher will be much simplified.

It is not strange that under existing circumstances the schools of Hawaii are nearly all primary in character, and that the percentage of

those entering even upon secondary education is very small. Industrial education was popular in Hawaii long before it became so in America; and the problem of introducing more of it into the common schools is one of the living educational issues. The Kamehameha Schools (founded and endowed by "the last of the Kamehamehas," the Princess Pauahi, wife of Hon. C. R. Bishop, now of San Francisco) are devoted conspicuously to manual training and industrial education. These schools, be it said in passing, have an endowment and equipment sufficient to render famous any city in America of the size of Honolulu, similarly endowed. And they have a teaching-force worthy of the opportunities they offer.

For many years, there have been schools at Honolulu and Hilo especially adapted to the needs of children of English-speaking parents. Lately, similar schools have been established in other localities; and still others will be opened shortly. It is from these schools that most of the students entering upon secondary and higher education come. A regular public high-school is in process of organization at Honolulu; the greater number of departments being already in working order. The endowed institution known as Oahu College has long offered full preparation for any college in America; and many of its graduates have entered leading American colleges on an advanced standing.

Expenditures for the public schools of Hawaii for the current biennial period are at the rate of \$2.17 per capita of population per annum, as against \$2.47 in the United States at the date of the last available statistics. Yet these expenditures in Hawaii amount to \$23.36 per capita of school attendance, as against \$18.45 in the United States. This apparent paradox is explained by the abnormally small percentage of children in the population of Hawaii. And Hawaii pays for tuition \$17.20 per capita of attendance, as against \$11.76 in the United States. In Hawaii, 73 per cent of the total cost of the public schools is paid for tuition: in the United States, 64 per cent only.

The mild climate of Hawaii accounts, in large measure, for the small expenditures required apart from teachers' salaries. Public-school buildings are unpretentious, with a single exception. The private schools have more money spent on them by their conductors. The result is that Honolulu can boast of two buildings as fine as any to be found elsewhere.

Creditable public libraries in Honolulu and Hilo, and similar institutions growing up in other localities, attest the culture of the residents, and, at the same time, serve as means of most valuable education. The absence of telegraphic communication, even among the islands, serves

to cultivate a taste for the deliberate in reading. The Bernice Pauah Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History is the best institution of its kind in the world; and in itself is enough to make Honolulu notable among Polynesian students and scholars. Here are to be seen, magnificently housed in a massive basaltic-stone building the best collections in the several branches from various localities in Polynesia and Australasia. The Museum, which is richly endowed is kept up to date by the able curator, Prof. W. T. Brigham, formerly of Harvard. The University Association of Honolulu, consisting of graduates of colleges and universities of good standing, has a membership of fifty-five. Every member claims some American college or university as his *alma mater*, though some have taken degrees in European universities also. "Honors are easy" among Harvard, Yale, Williams and Amherst. Wesleyan, Cornell, Michigan, and other institutions of similar standing are perhaps as well, though not so numerous, represented. Among Honolulu women are to be found numerous highly educated persons, and a considerable number of regular college graduates. Nor is culture confined to the capital city. College graduates are to be found on all the principal islands and in all the most important districts.

From what has been said, it will be understood that Hawaii has her peculiar educational problems; and they are very difficult. Many races and nationalities are included in her population; and the representatives are not always creditable to those represented. This population is rapidly increasing by accretions from without, as well as by natural growth. The children, as they appear in school, are indeed a heterogeneous mass. The heterogeneous must be made homogeneous, if peace and harmony are to prevail in the land. All these nationalities and races are to be moulded into one people. And this resulting people is to be a people of higher moral tone than the elements of which it will be necessarily composed.

Community of language is an essential step in this process. But educative instruction—that which leads to better thinking, better will, and better living—must not be sacrificed in any degree even to so desirable an end as community of language. Hawaii has not solved her educational problems; but she is facing them intelligently, bravely, and hopefully.

HENRY SCHULER TOWNSEND.

AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE: SPARTA AND CORINTH

WHAT remains to be told of the work of the American archæologists in Greece is of exceptional interest, although the results of the excavations have not been so prolific as the field of exploration promised.

During the first season (1892) at the Heræum, Dr. Waldstein visited the battlefield of Œnoë, in the plain of Argolis, and noticed, near the village of Koutzopodi, a large mound, which, he surmised, covered ancient ruins. In the following year, on April 20, he dug on this site also, confiding the work to the foreman. After the fourth day, however, Mr. J. M. Paton took charge of the excavation, which lasted but a few days altogether. Foundation-walls, forming an irregular parallelogram about 62 metres long and from 12 to 20 wide, were traced; but no elucidation of the nature or purpose of the structure was forthcoming, beyond Mr. Paton's conjecture that it might be "a building in connection with some extensive fountain or waterworks." At the same time, considerable Byzantine and other remains were met with. Yet the work was interrupted; Dr. Waldstein remarking that, "to arrive at more definite results, much more extensive operations would have to be begun. Considering the work we have before us at the Heræum, it would not be worth our while to do this for the present." It has not been done since.

Similar attempts made in Laconia were not much more effectual. This is the more to be regretted, since few sites present an interest so absorbing as that of Sparta. Apart from its transcendent historical importance, there is every reason to believe that it still conceals valuable remains. A contrary opinion is founded on what is clearly an erroneous interpretation of the famous passage in Thucydides (i. 10. 2) in which the great historian compares the two rival cities, Athens and Sparta, and prophetically speculates as to the future:—

"If the city of the Lacedæmonians were destroyed, and only its sanctuaries and the foundations of its structures were left, I think that among men of a distant age there would be much disbelief in its [former] power, notwithstanding its glorious records and the fact that it possessed two-fifths of the Peloponnesus and that its hegemony extended over the whole peninsula and many allies beyond.

For the city, not having been built in contiguity, nor having been lavish in splendid sanctuaries and structures, but having been inhabited in separate settlements according to the ancient custom of the Greeks, would appear inferior to its fame; whereas, if Athens were likewise destroyed, it would be imagined, from the apparent aspect of the city, that its power had been twice as great as it was actually."

A careful study of this passage shows, I think, that Thucydides speaks not of an absolute, but of a relative, paucity of public monuments in Sparta, as compared with her own great power on the one hand, and with the incomparable splendor of Athens on the other. To say, therefore, that, "notwithstanding the well-known passage in Thucydides, ancient Sparta possessed many magnificent buildings," is to misconceive entirely what Thucydides does say. Moreover, Pausanias has left us a very copious list of the public edifices of Sparta, notably the "Persian Stoa,"—erected out of the Persian spoils, and adorned with many statues,—and the temple of the titular goddess of the city, Athena Chalciceus, built by the famous architect, statuary, and poet, Gitiadas, who overlaid its walls with plates of bronze.

Unfortunately the description of Pausanias, though characterized by his usual precision, is in a way vague and embarrassing, owing to the fact that actually there exists above ground hardly any vestige that can serve as a starting-point in following the route through the city taken by Pausanias. Only the theatre and a square building, popularly known as the "Tomb of Leonidas" (*Leonidaion*), remain unobliterated, and therefore the topographical plans of Sparta drawn up by successive archæologists and travellers are only supposititious and mutually contradictory. The first special and more or less complete treatise on the subject, Prof. H. K. Stein's "Topographie des Alten Sparta" (1890), was followed, two years later, by a remarkable little work of a countryman of mine, Mr. C. Nestorides, who, having long resided in the district as professor at the local gymnasium, enjoyed exceptional advantages in this respect. Finally, in January, 1893, Mr. N. E. Crosby, a student of the American School at Athens, having specially visited the place for the purpose, published in the "American Journal of Archæology" (viii. 335–373) a very able paper on "The Topography of Sparta."

It will suffice to give here but a few data bearing upon the subject. Sparta was built on the right bank of the Eurotas, on a succession of low hills rising out of a small valley of rare beauty and great fertility, which is shut in by the mountain ranges of Taygetus and Parnon. The city was thus easily defensible, and was partially fortified only in 296 B.C.

It was not till 195 B.C., under the Tyrant Nabis, that Sparta was surrounded with walls. Later on, these fortifications were razed by the Achæan League; consequently, the walls of which Pausanias speaks must have been of Roman construction. No vestige of these is visible; but we know, from Polybius, that they were forty-eight stadia (about five and one-half miles) in circumference, and of a somewhat circular shape. The city was taken in A.D. 396 by Alaric, when he overran the Peloponnesus. Under the Byzantines, Sparta was known as Lacedæmon; and when the peninsula was conquered by the Franks in 1248-49, Guillaume II de Villehardouin established the dukedom of Sparta, and built a fortress about two miles to the west, at the foot of Mount Taygetus, on a hill called Mizithra. The inhabitants of the town, which was gradually confined to the height near the theatre, now abandoned it, and sought protection under the new fortress. Thus was formed a new town known by the contracted form of Mistra. After the establishment of the kingdom, New Sparta was built (in 1834) partly on the ancient site. In its immediate vicinity, considerable vestiges of a Roman amphitheatre are to be seen, as well as very important remains of Byzantine ecclesiastic architecture.

But, as the city of Sparta was never destroyed in ancient times, it has always been confidently hoped that very material discoveries would be made on its site, notwithstanding the probability that during the Middle Ages much of the old material was used up. This expectation was confirmed by the somewhat cursory investigations of the French "*Expedition Scientifique de Morée*," in 1820, by Schliemann's researches,—when he also excavated Vafio,—and by the discovery, in the spring of 1889, of a polygonal mosaic floor adorned with portraits and inscriptions. Moreover, the local museum at Sparta contains a very considerable collection of antiquities from the site itself and the vicinity. Indeed, Dr. Waldstein's first inspection led him to write: "From the nature of the soil, as well as from the indications of what has already been found there, I am bound to consider Sparta one of the most hopeful sites in Greece." Consequently, in January, 1892, he obtained from the Greek government a concession (the text of which will be found in the "*American Journal of Archæology*," vii. 515), by virtue of which the American School undertook to carry on excavations in Sparta and Amyclæ for seven years. In the spring of 1892, the School had already on its hands the incomplete exploration of Sicyon and Eretria, and had just entered upon the even more responsible work of the Heræum. Nevertheless, in the middle of March,

Dr. Waldstein commenced operations also at Sparta. He was allowed to excavate, not only on government lands, but to dig trial trenches on any private property without compensation,—so ready are the people of Greece to facilitate archæological research. He first dug on the Leonidaion, which he concluded was a small temple *in antis*. In other parts of the site, between thirty and forty trenches were sunk: but nothing of consequence was unearthed; and attempts to fix the locality of the *agora*, the most important centre in the ancient city, were equally disappointing. Therefore, it is stated, “the result was to prove that ancient Sparta was ruined, not only by Mistra on the hill, but by the mediæval Lacedæmon.” A final attempt, however, promised better results. Prof. Nestorides had already pointed out a small tumulus, a little to the north of the supposed *agora*, as the probable site of the “circular building,” which Pausanias says was erected about 576 B.C. on the advice of Epimenides of Crete, the famous hieratic poet and sage: it was adorned with statues of Zeus and Aphrodite. Here Dr. Waldstein dug. On the summit of the mound, he soon came upon a very large base for a statue, near which he discovered the thumb of a colossal marble statue, apparently holding a sceptre. These data and some foundations of an edifice satisfied Dr. Waldstein that this was the “circular building” of Epimenides.

Only a small part of this structure was unearthed, when Dr. Waldstein proceeded thence to Amyclæ. This small town, the home of Castor and Pollux and of Tyndarus, was one of the most noted centres in the Peloponnesus during the heroic age (“*Iliad*,” ii. 584) and maintained its independence of Sparta up to a comparatively late time. The hill of Hagia Kyriakè, about two and a half miles to the south of Sparta, was first suggested by Leake as the probable locality of Amyclæ; and the desirability of exploring the place and seeking some traces of the famous sanctuary of Apollo the Amyclæan was long recognized. Consequently, the learned Greek archæologist, Dr. Tsountas, carried out, in the autumn of 1891, some excavations the important and decisive results of which were known to those interested in such matters, having been published in the Greek archæological “*Ephimeris*” of January, 1892. The only account of Dr. Waldstein’s subsequent operations that has yet been published is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the following: “I conducted excavations also on the site of Amyclæ, but found that Tsountas had already laid bare all of promise there.”

The exploration of the “circular building” having meanwhile been left unfinished, Dr. Waldstein, accompanied by Mr. C. L. Meader, re-

turned to Sparta on April 15, 1893, and continued the work till the twenty-fifth of that month. Even then the structure was not absolutely cleared of earth. Vestiges of a Byzantine church were met with; and almost all the small objects found were Roman or Byzantine. The structural remains laid bare inclined Mr. Meader to believe that there was here "an ancient tumulus or grave, or an heroic place of interment." But Dr. Waldstein held to his original opinion, which, if substantiated, would, no doubt, prove a very material contribution to the topography of Sparta. Mr. Crosby, however, who had made a special study of the subject, declares: "The identification of this ruin with the circular building attributed to Epimenides, I consider a great mistake." And again, writing to the "American Journal of Archaeology" (ix. 212), he adduces evidence from Mr. Meader's own report, showing that the foundations unearthed were merely the retaining-walls of a mound which supported the base of the colossal statue of Demos described by Pausanias (iii. 11. 9). Mr. Crosby also took exception to the supposition that the Leonidaion was a temple *in antis*. To these exceptions Dr. Waldstein replied: "Mr. Crosby's strictures are without any ground. There can be no controversy with him on these points." He also states that he has good reasons for supposing the Leonidaion to be a temple; and there the matter—as well as the further exploration of Sparta—for the present stands.

About half-way between Argos and Sicyon, in a direct line, lies a small valley 890 feet above the level of the sea, ensconced between high mountains and watered by the Asopus. It formed the independent territory of Phliasia, the sturdy Dorian settlers of which, considered it the *omphalos*—the centre of the Peloponnesus. The gallant little town of Phlius contributed contingents of two hundred men at Thermopylæ and a thousand at Plataia, and was celebrated as the birthplace of Pratinas, the inventor of the satyrical drama and a competitor with Æschylus for the prize at Athens. Pausanias (ii. 13) gives an account of the monuments of Phlius, the exact locality of which is placed by L. Ross ("Reisen in Pelopon.," p. 25) on the right bank of the Asopus, where considerable remains are to be seen not far off, by the church of Our Lady of the Hill-side—most probably the site of the ancient temple of Demeter. Before Ross, this interesting valley had been visited and described by Leake in 1807; and it was here that Mr. H. S. Washington, accompanied by his brother, Mr. C. M. Washington, undertook at his own cost excavations in the early part of March, 1892. The results of this exploration do not seem to be important; but a full report of them has not yet appeared.

The latest exploration undertaken by the American Scholars bids fair to eclipse all their previous achievements in Greece. Not only is the vast site of ancient Corinth of exceptional interest and of great archaeological promise, but the work is fortunately in the hands of Prof. Richardson, the present Director of the School, who, as shown more than once in these articles, has given proof of sound scholarship and of that scrupulousness in research which is an essential in all scientific work.

Little need be said here of the ancient glories of Corinth, whose very name conjures up visions of magnificence and memories of artistic refinement. The spot itself, on which the great city stood, had in it the germs of prosperity and opulence; and commercial supremacy was by nature the portion of a community planted astride the isthmus which joins the Peloponnesus with continental Greece, between the two great highways of ancient commerce,—the *Ægean*, with all the trade of *Asia Minor*, *Pontus*, and *Egypt*, to the east, and the *Ionian Sea*, with the colonies of *Magna Græcia*, *Sicily*, and the *Pillars of Hercules* to the west. Corinth was thus the port of transit of the then known world; for the navigation round *Cape Malea*, to the south of the Peloponnesus, was deemed in antiquity proverbially perilous.

In such conditions the city rose rapidly in power and importance; sending forth numerous colonies, and amassing greater riches than any other town in Greece. Sumptuous temples and public edifices were erected; Corinthian architecture culminating here in the most ornate and elaborate of the three Greek orders. The art of the statuary and the painter also flourished here with extraordinary luxuriance; and the exquisite Corinthian fictile vases became as famous as the metal work which earned for Corinthian bronze (*Æs corinthiacus*) a world-wide fame. Poetry of the softer sort—the *Μοῦσ' ἀδύπνοος*, of which Pindar speaks in his thirteenth Olympian Ode in honor of the great Corinthian athlete, Xenophon—was cultivated at Corinth, but not the sterner kinds of literature. For the immense wealth centred in the great emporium, and the lax morals of traders from the East and the West engendered luxury and license. Aphrodite was the patron goddess of the city; and around her magnificent temple on the *Acrocorinthus* a thousand *hierodouli*, or female slaves, were lodged.

At the height of its prosperity, Corinth comprised some 70,000 inhabitants, besides 30,000 established in the surrounding territory; being then, in size and magnificence, second only to Athens. Though a great commercial centre, Corinth, like Athens, stood inland; and Lechæon,

its port, a mile and a half to the north, was joined to it by long walls which, extending southward, beyond the city, to the east and west slopes of the Acrocorinthus, formed a total circuit of twelve miles, inclusive of the suburbs. The most famous of these was Kraneion, where Diogenes was visited by Alexander the Great.

Such was Corinth in greatness and splendor, when Lucius Mummius, on the pretext that the ambassadors who brought the ultimatum of the Roman Senate to the Achæan League had been insulted,—though the city offered no resistance to him,—perpetrated, 146 B.C., one of the greatest barbarities of which even a Roman consul was capable. The males of the population were put to the sword; women and children were sold as slaves; and the beautiful city, after being sacked by the soldiery, was burned to the ground. The commercial interest of Rome demanded its effacement; and with its last dying flame was extinguished the “*lumen totius Græciæ*,” as Cicero spoke of Corinth. The Isthmian sanctuary over which the Corinthians presided was entrusted to Sicyon; but the site of the city was not allowed to be inhabited. For a whole century it lay desolate, when, in 46 B.C., Julius Cæsar rebuilt the city, which was renamed Colonia Julia Corinthus, and colonized it with his veterans and some freedmen. The old prosperity soon returned to its favored abode. Corinth now became the capital city of Achaia; and when St. Paul sojourned and labored there, a century later, it was one of the chief centres of the new faith. Another century elapsed before Pausanias visited Corinth. In describing it he says (ii. 2. 6) that “of the noteworthy things in the city, some are those which still remain of ancient times; but the greater part were executed in the flourishing period afterward.”

Indeed the artistic riches of Corinth must have been well-nigh inexhaustible. Shiploads of statues and other works of art had been sent to Rome; Mummius showing his appreciation of their worth by warning the masters of vessels that if any statue were lost or injured he would compel them to replace it by a new one. And Polybius, who was an eye-witness of the pillage, relates that the Roman soldiers played dice on one of the most famous paintings of Aristides, a contemporary of Apelles, for which Attalus, King of Pergamus, subsequently offered 600,000 sesterces,—equal to \$25,000. Cæsar's colonists, again, left but few graves unransacked (Strabo, viii. 381) in their search for the beautiful Corinthian vases, which they sold in Rome at fabulous prices. Yet, where the harvest was so rich, it is confidently hoped that much still awaits the patient gleaner.

The ancient city was built on two successive terraces at the foot of the Acrocorinthus, the precipitous and commanding Acropolis, which rises abruptly from the plain to a height of 1,886 feet above the sea-level. It is now crowned by a mediæval fort and a vast accumulation of remains; recording its eventful history from remote antiquity to this day. It was at all times considered one of the keys of Greece, and, if adequately fortified, could rival Gibraltar itself as a stronghold. The ancient oracle spoke of it as one of the two horns by which the coveted heifer, the Peloponnesus, could be mastered. Indeed, it has never been captured, except by treachery or surrender.

No language can picture the view from the summit of the Acrocorinthus, the surpassing grandeur of which was extolled by the ancients themselves. It embraces, as Leake says, "a greater number of celebrated objects than any other in Greece." The high mountains that shut in Argolis to the south join with the Arcadian range that abuts on the plain of Sicyon to the west, and, merged in the view with the mountains of Ætolia, Locris, Phocis, and Bœotia toward the north, enclose the blue waters of the Gulf of Corinth as of a serene inland lake; Parnassus rearing its snow-clad cap above them all. At the spectator's feet the Isthmus spreads out like a map; and beyond extends the Ægean, with its innumerable isles, and the Saronic gulf, with Ægina and Salamis. Farther still, to the northeast, at a distance of more than fifty miles, Cape Sunium is seen to merge into the Hymettus and Pentelicus range, encircling the plain of Athens in a ring of purple, with the immortal rock of the Acropolis rising up in its centre. Never shall I forget how, after journeying by early dawn up the rugged slope of the Acrocorinthus, I reached the summit just as the first rays of the rising sun fell upon the Parthenon and, lighting up its marble columns, made it sparkle like a huge diamond set in massive gold. The Acrocorinthus was said to be the domain of Helios, the sun, who won it in a contest with Poseidon; the Isthmus being awarded to the god of the seas.

Corinth and its fortress fell into the hands of the Turks in 1458; were taken by the Venetians in 1687; and were recovered by the Turks in 1715. The stronghold was finally won back by the Greeks in 1823. One of the most destructive of the earthquakes which often devastate parts of the Morea reduced the modern town to ruins in 1858, when a "New Corinth" was built by the sea, three and a half miles to the northeast of the old site, which was then abandoned definitely—and one may add, fortunately, in the interest of archæological research. It is now mostly under cultivation. A few vestiges of the old walls and the

unimportant remains of a Roman amphitheatre are still noticeable above ground; and, at a short distance, a rock, with several niches and artificial channels, from which water springs abundantly, is known as the Bath of Aphrodite. But the most conspicuous objects from a distance are the seven Doric columns, still supporting portions of the entablature, and marking the site of a temple, the identity of which has not yet been ascertained. But the style and the proportions of these huge monoliths, $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter at the base, speak of the great antiquity of this temple, which must have resisted Roman fury and have served as a sanctuary to the new city. A hundred years ago, twelve of its columns were still standing; and the destruction of the temple itself must have taken place at a comparatively recent date.

These details will give a general idea of the aspect of the site to be explored. The visible remains were scanty; but as successive layers of soil, washed down the slopes of the Acrocorinthus, had overlaid the ancient level with a shroud of earth from five to twenty-five feet in depth, there could be but little doubt that much still remained to be revealed to view. The topography however of the ancient city was a complete blank; for, in spite of Pausanias's description, no landmark was available as a starting-point. In 1892, the Greek government made an attempt to discover the *agora*; but the excavations then carried out under Dr. Skias failed in this respect, though they brought to light the well-preserved floor and stylobate of a dwelling-house of the best Greek period. Resting on this were found the remains of a Byzantine building. The inference naturally followed that the substructures of at least a large proportion of the buildings of Old Corinth must have been thus preserved.

Guided by such indications, the Director of the American School secured from the Greek government in December, 1895, the privilege of exploring this coveted site; and operations were begun on March 23, 1896. Rainy weather and the celebration of the Olympian Games interrupted the work during the first half of April. After that date, however, it was vigorously pushed forward with a force of about a hundred men up to June 8, under the personal direction of Prof. R. B. Richardson, aided by Messrs. E. P. Andrews, F. C. Babbitt, H. F. De Cou, T. W. Heermance, and G. D. Lord. Some difficulty was caused by the growing crops on portions of the land; and the expropriation of private tenures is still the main obstacle to the vigorous prosecution of the undertaking.

In default of any fixed point, save the columns of the temple, Prof.

Richardson decided to dig trenches in its vicinity and in other promising spots, in the hope of alighting upon one of the buildings mentioned by Pausanias; otherwise it was groping in the dark. Altogether twenty-one such trenches were sunk, most of them with lateral openings, and all about three metres wide and from four to seven deep. The first trench, though it supplied no certain indication, revealed thirty-one Ionic columns and parts of columns used as foundations for later buildings. In the second trench, thirteen rock-cut graves were found, with a considerable quantity of common red ware. The third trench was more encouraging in its results, since it laid bare a broad paved way of fine workmanship, with water-channels on either side of it—evidently one of the streets of the ancient city, leading, as is conjectured from traces met with in other trenches, to the *agora*. The most important discovery, however, and the one which decided the value of the exploration, was made toward the end of the season, when, on May 19, after a whole week's fruitless digging in trench No. 18, a succession of stones appeared arranged step-wise. On the trench being laterally extended, these proved to be the remains of the theatre. Five flights of steps, innumerable seat-foundations, and two seats *in situ* left no doubt as to the significance of the discovery. These remains are much shattered and damaged; and the steps, in some cases, are deeply worn by footprints. The interest of this fortunate find was heightened when it became evident that a later Roman theatre had been built on the remains of the old structure. A reliable starting-point was thus established; and from its position, relatively to the seven Doric columns, Prof. Richardson supposes the latter to be the Temple of Apollo. Beyond this temple, to the east, another trench brought to light a magnificent *stoa*, or passage, which also is believed to lead to the *agora*—the great centre of the city and of its chief edifices.

The minor finds of this season's work comprise a considerable number of sculptured fragments, four heads of statues, and a Dionysiac group in marble, about half life-size, representing Dionysus between Pan and a nymph. Some inscriptions, mostly Roman, four of them being practically entire; a large quantity of terra-cotta fragments and nineteen whole vases, found in a cluster of prehistoric tombs,—which in themselves are of great archæological interest,—complete the list.

The exploration, thus far, may be said to have been tentative. Nevertheless, it has already furnished indications of very great promise. Prof. Richardson writes: "I have repeatedly said to myself and others, in answer to the question, what form of success I would choose

for this year, 'To find the theatre.' " Archæological research is seldom rewarded in a more ready or satisfactory manner. The guiding end of the thread is now held; and it is in trustworthy hands. Nothing is wanting but the material means to follow it up; unravelling important secrets, revealing long-hidden treasures, and conferring enviable distinction on the explorers. The complete, thorough, and systematic excavations of Corinth will be an achievement surpassing even that of Olympia in point of historic interest, archæological and artistic importance, and in the number and value of the finds that may be reasonably expected from it. Brilliant as the work of the young American School has been thus far, an opportunity for even greater distinction now lies before it at Corinth. Prof. B. I. Wheeler thinks it will be "altogether the most important contribution made by any American excavation to archæological and topographical knowledge."

We have seen, in the course of these articles, what devotion, zeal, and enthusiasm have animated the young American Scholars engaged in the exploration of sites the most hallowed and most celebrated in the world. Many of the students, who had spared no personal labor, were led, by the noble spirit which such occupation engenders, to contribute, out of their more or less limited resources, toward the prosecution of the work. The people of Greece cheerfully give it every facility; while the Greek government is again ready, in the case of Corinth, as Prof. Richardson affirms, "to buy for us just as much or just as little land as we desire; paying a percentage of the price." But much is needed beyond this. To lay bare the entire site—not in a hap-hazard manner, incompatible with the requirements of science, and injurious to the repute of the workers—several seasons of labor will be necessary, and a large sum of money required.

Which American Cræsus will earn for himself a fame more enviable than that of the Cræsus of old, by supplying the necessary funds for a work noble in itself and promising him lasting renown? The erection of no institution, the endowment of no foundation at home, can compare in object and result with this exploration of Corinth by the American School at Athens. It will be a service rendered to every branch of science; it will be an achievement known to and discussed by the whole world; it will be the resuscitation of the "*lumen totius Græciæ*." The name of the Mæcenas who confers this benefit on science and civilization will ever remain connected with the imperishable fame of Corinth; while his munificence will add to the honor and prestige of America.

J. GENNADIUS.

THE RELATION OF THE DRAMA TO LITERATURE.

THE invention of printing and the extension of education have given immense influence to the art of writing; and hence has come about a tendency to judge the other arts by the principles that govern literature. Rarely do we find a man of letters who is not ready with his opinion of the picture in the gallery, of the statue in the square, or of the play in the theatre; and frequently his criticism is purely literary, being supported by no special study of any other art than literature, and being sustained by no familiarity with the principles of painting, of sculpture, or of the drama. Generally, the man of letters is lacking in appreciation of the individuality of each of these several arts, of the essential qualities of each, peculiar to it alone, and therefore most relished by those who can recognize this. In a picture, the man of letters sees chiefly the story, the sentiment, the thought: he has little desire and little knowledge to weigh the merits of technic, by which alone the various arts are differentiated, one from the other.

The painters have long protested against any judgment of their work in accordance with the principles of another art; and at last they have succeeded in convincing the more open-minded of us that what is of prime importance in a picture is the way in which it is painted, and that its merely literary merit is quite secondary. They are not unreasonable when they insist that the chief duty of a picture is to represent the visible world, not to point a moral or adorn a tale, and that in the appreciation of a picture we must weigh first of all its pictorial beauty. Nor are the sculptors asking too much, when in a statue they want us to consider chiefly its plastic beauty.

Now, the orator and the dramatist ask for themselves what has been granted the painter and the sculptor: they request that an oration or a drama shall be judged not as literature only, but also in accordance with the principles of its own art. And here the literary critic is even less willing to yield. He may acknowledge his own ignorance of perspective and of pigments, of composition and of modelling; he may confess that here the painter and the sculptor have him at a disadvantage; but he is not ready to admit that he is not to apply his own standards to the

works of the orator and of the dramatist. On the contrary, he maintains that the speech and the play, if they belong to literature at all, are, by that very fact, absolutely within the province of the literary critic. He cannot see why that which the orator and the dramatist may write is not to be read and criticised exactly as that which is written by the novelist and the essayist and the poet. Indeed, it is almost a misrepresentation of the literary critic's attitude to suggest that he has need to maintain this position; for it is rarely even hinted to him that he is not fully justified in employing the same tests in every department of literature.

Yet nothing ought to be clearer than the distinction between the written word and the spoken,—between the literature which is addressed to the eye alone and that which is intended primarily for the ear and only secondarily for the eye. It is the difference between words written once for all and words first spoken and then written,—or at least written so that they may be spoken. When this distinction is seized, it follows that oral discourse is not necessarily to be measured on the same scale as written discourse. It follows also that the speech and the play may be very good indeed, each in its kind, although they may fail to attain the standard of strictly literary merit which we should demand in an essay, a story, or a poem.

"Much of the ancient criticism of oratory," says Prof. Jebb, "is tainted by a radical vice. The ancient critics too often confound literary merit with oratorical merit. They judge too much from the standpoint of the reader, and too little from the standpoint of the hearer." For a just estimate of the rank of a speaker, "the first thing necessary," the same authority continues, "is an effort of imaginative sympathy. We must not merely analyze his style; we must try to realize the effect which some one of his speeches, as a whole, would have made on a given audience in given circumstances." It is this effort of imaginative sympathy which Schérer refused to make, when he sought to show that Molière often wrote bad French. Looking at some of the scenes of the great comic dramatist from a purely literary standpoint, the critic found many faults; but these blemishes to the eye, when the words were read in the study, were, many of them, beauties to the ear, when the words were spoken on the stage.

The dramatist and the orator are bound by many of the same conditions; and one of these is inexorable: Each of them must please his immediate audience. The poet can appeal to posterity; but if the orator does not hold the attention of those whom he is addressing, his speech

is a failure then and there, no matter how highly posterity may esteem it. The sermon accomplishes its purpose adequately, if it moves the congregation that listens to it; and so does a comedy, if it amuses the spectators that see it. If a speaker holds his hearers in the hollow of his hand while he is talking to them, and if he makes them thrill and throb with his words, then he has done what he set out to do, even if his words, when reproduced in cold type, fail absolutely to explain his success.

To affect his hearers is the first duty of the orator: to move his readers follows a long way after. That an oration should produce the same effect on both hearer and reader, is almost impossible: so competent a critic as Fox declared it to be quite impossible. When a certain speech was praised to him, he asked, "Does it read well?—because, be sure, if it does, it is a very bad speech." This is a hard saying. Indeed we need not hesitate to call it an overstatement, if we let our memory dwell on the oration of Demosthenes on the Crown, on Cicero's denunciation of Catiline, on Webster's reply to Hayne, and on Lincoln's Gettysburg address. But, like other overstatements, it may serve a useful purpose in putting into strong relief a side of the case which few of us see clearly. Lacordaire, a critic of eloquence as competent as Fox, is in substantial agreement with the latter. "The orator and the audience are two brothers," he declares, "who are born and who die the same day."

Perhaps cleverness is the final adjective to characterize Cicero; and certainly nothing could be cleverer than the skill with which the Roman rhetorician was able to meet the double demand on the orator,—if we may accept the suggestion of the late M. Goumy. The French critic maintained that the circumstances of the political situation in Rome made it physically impossible that Cicero could have delivered the diatribes against Catiline as they are preserved to us. They are too ornate to have been extemporized in the brief snatches of time at Cicero's command; and they are too long to have been endured by the impatient senate, restless at the crisis in the affairs of the republic. As the officer of state charged with the duty of discovering and putting down a conspiracy, Cicero no doubt made speeches to the senate; but what he actually said then—excellent as it was for its immediate purpose—can have been but a hasty outline of the successive orations as we have them now. Cicero was a born orator and a most accomplished master of the craft. No doubt the offhand speeches in which he reported the result of his detective work, and in which he solemnly set forth the awful dangers menacing the commonwealth,—no doubt, these speeches were vigorous

and adroit, and aroused to enthusiasm those who heard them delivered by the impassioned consul. But, as soon as he had leisure, Cicero began to polish what he had said; and he did not leave it till he had made it what he would like to have said; thus combining the advantages of the impromptu with those of sober second thought,—the wit of the staircase, as the French call it.

As we are in the habit of recalling only the orations which are endowed with remarkable literary merit, we are naturally inclined to attribute to this literary merit their effectiveness when spoken, instead of seeking beneath the mere literature for the purely oratorical qualities which alone can account for their original success. To this day, we read with delight what Demosthenes said in Athens, what Cicero said in Rome, what Webster said in the Capitol, and what Lincoln said on the field of battle; but the Greek orator and the Roman and the two Americans were none of them thinking of us when they stood up to speak. Each of them was thinking of the men to whom he was speaking at that moment: he was addressing himself to those who were actually within sound of his voice and who were to be moved to action by the words he was about to speak. If he should accomplish his immediate purpose he would be amply satisfied; and if his sentences should also reverberate through time,—this would be but a surplusage of reward. The primary appeal was to those who were listening then; and the appeal to those who may read now is secondary and quite subsidiary.

To set up the immediate effect of the oration upon the audience as the chief test of the orator may, to some, seem narrow. But, in so far as a man comes forward as a speaker, it is surely not unfair to judge him as a speaker. And the first duty of an orator is to hold the attention of those he is addressing,—or else why take the trouble of speaking at all? Why not ask leave to print and be done with it? Why go through the empty form of appealing to the ear, when the real intention is to appeal to the eye?

Some of the finest orations of Isocrates were apparently never delivered,—they seem, indeed, although strictly oratorical in form, to have been intended from the first to be read rather than recited; and when we remember how important a part in the development of Greek prose had been played by Greek oratory, we may even question whether Isocrates is fairly to be reckoned among the orators. But some of the finest orations of Burke might as well not have been spoken, for all the good their delivery accomplished. Burke's speeches are an inexhaustible storehouse of political wisdom from which succeeding generations will

continue to help themselves. But, if we apply the test of immediate effectiveness upon the audience addressed, we are compelled to deny to Burke the rank of a great orator. It is not a question of the matter of his speech: it is a question of the manner of the speaker.

It is quite inconceivable that a great orator should put to flight those whom he wished to bring over to his way of thinking; yet this is what Burke did, not once only, but often. When he arose to address the Commons, the House emptied itself. He might "wind into his subject like a serpent"; but his fellow-members fled swiftly, to escape the fate of Laocoön. He was called the "dinner-bell"; and his friend Goldsmith has recorded that he

"still went on refining,
And thought of convincing while they thought of dining."

Mr. John Morley judges that perhaps the greatest speech Burke ever made was that on conciliation with America,—

"the wisest in its temper, the most closely logical in its reasoning, the amplest in appropriate topics, the most generous and conciliatory in the substance of its appeals. Yet Erskine, who was in the House when this was delivered, said that it drove everybody away, including people who, when they came to read it, read it over and over again, and could hardly think of anything else."

In other words, Burke's greatest speech has the same merits as his "Letter to the Electors of Bristol"; and, for all the effect it produced, it might as well have been printed with no attempt at delivery. And here the kinship of Isocrates becomes evident; however superior the Irishman might be to the Greek in splendor and amplitude and penetration, they both of them lacked the first requisite of the orator. This condition precedent to triumph was possessed abundantly by Demosthenes and by Cicero, by Bossuet and by Webster,—men with whom it is not unfair to compare Burke.

It has been possessed also by many men of far inferior powers, lacking all things that Burke had, but having the one quality Burke was without. Who turns to Whitefield's sermons to-day for counsel or for comfort? But the size of the crowds that Whitefield attracted to hear him was limited only by the range of his voice. Who cares nowadays to shake the dust from off the five volumes of Sheridan's speeches ("edited by a constitutional friend")? And yet so potent was Sheridan's speech against Warren Hastings on the charge relative to the Princesses of Oude that an adjournment of the House was moved on the ground that it had left such an impression, that no one could arrive

at a determinate opinion; while Pitt and Grenville, after consultation, decided that Burke's speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts was not worth answering.

This discussion of eloquence may seem to some a digression, or at least an excursus; but it is justified by the essential similarity of oratory and the drama, the two oral arts, standing on the same plane and to be judged by the same standards. For example, the position of Burke on the platform is not unlike that of Browning on the stage. We may see in Burke all the qualities of a great orator; but the fact remains that those whom he sought to influence by his voice did not listen to him eagerly. And we may discover in Browning the qualities of a great dramatist; but the fact remains that his plays were not able to hold their own in the theatre. And, in like manner, we may parallel the vogue of Whitefield as a preacher with that of playmakers like the authors of the "Two Orphans" and of the "Old Homestead," who are ready to rest content if they can entrance the playgoer, and who have no hope of attracting the attention of the reader.

It is possible to discover in more than one dramatist of high rank the same feeling of distrust for a play that reads well which Fox so frankly expressed for a speech that reads well; and it is easy to adduce instances where the dramatist, having won the kind of success he sought, has been satisfied with that, shrinking from a publication of his plays which would permit them to be tried by purely literary tests. John Marston, in the preface to his "Malcontent,"—which he printed only because a pirate had already sent forth an unauthorized text,—asserts that "only one thing affects me, to think that scenes invented merely to be spoken should be inforcively published to be read."

For the same reason, Molière was compelled to publish the "*Précieuses Ridicules*." He also wrote a preface, beginning it by saying that it is a strange thing for people to be printed against their wills. He does not affect to despise his comedy, for in these matters the public is the absolute judge; and even if he had had the worst possible opinion of his play before the performance, he ought now to believe that it is good for something, since so many people together have praised it. "But," he says,—and here is the pertinent passage,—"but as a large part of the beauties which had been found in it depend on the gesture and on the tone of the voice, I thought it advisable that it should not be deprived of these ornaments; and I found the success which the play had had in the performance so great that I might leave it there." Thus we see that Molière, having composed at the same time the words of his

piece and the stage business that set off and sustained the words, was wholly unwilling to present to the reading public his mere dialogue stripped naked. M. Coquelin, in his striking paper on Molière and Shakespeare, has remarked that each of these great dramatists had thrown his plays alive on the stage, and did not recognize them on paper. For the authors, "Tartuffe" and "Hamlet" existed "only before the footlights. It was only there that they felt their plays bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh." Both Shakespeare and Molière were accomplished men of letters; and both of them were also incomparable masters of the dramaturgic art; therefore, nobody knew better than they how much of its most valuable quality a play must inevitably lose in its transferal from the boards of the stage to the shelves of the library.

All the great dramatic critics have understood this; and they have tried steadily to cultivate the "imaginative sympathy" needful to enable them to see a play as it might appear on the stage, and to seek always under the flowing words for the solid framework of the acted drama. But great dramatic critics are strangely scarce: there are a scant half-dozen of them in all the history of literature. There were at least five great Greek dramatists; but Aristotle is the only critic of the acted drama worthy to be named with Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Menander. No great dramatic critic was a contemporary of the Elizabethan dramatists; and in the eighteenth century Lessing stands alone. The merely literary critic is rarely able to look for other than merely literary qualities. Even Charles Lamb, with all his liking for the theatre, collected specimens of the Elizabethan dramatists, which revealed them abundantly as poets and only casually as playwrights. The application of Lamb's method to the greatest of all the Elizabethan dramatists might have preserved for us more or less of the familiar quotations in Bartlett; but it would never have suggested the possibility of a volume like the "Tales from Shakespeare."

The true dramatic critic has discovered that the dramaturgic qualities are as special as the pictorial or the plastic, and that, therefore, there is almost as much unfairness in judging a play by the sole test of literature as in so judging a picture or a statue. Indeed, to measure a drama by literature alone is like trying to criticise a painting by a photograph alone; and it is not the best painting that is most completely represented by the camera.

M. Ferdinand Brunetière, tracing the epochs of the French theatre, asserts unhesitatingly that a play is under no obligation to be literary.

"The drama," he declares, "can, if need be, live on its own stock, on its own resources, relying solely on its own means of expression." He explains that while the epic, for example, and the ode must be literary, as a condition of their existence, a comedy has no more call to be literary than a sermon. This bold opinion of M. Brunetière's is only an enlargement of an opinion of Aristotle's. To quote from Prof. Butcher's admirable translation:—

"If you string together a set of speeches expressive of character, and well finished in point of diction and thought, you will not produce the essential tragic effect nearly so well as with a play, which, however deficient in these respects, yet has a plot and artistically constructed incidents."

Thus we see that while literature may deal with words alone, while it may be a matter of delicate verbal adjustment only, the drama can get along without this refinement. The literary merit of a play is in what the characters say; for that is all that is spelt out in letters. The dramatic merit must be sought beneath the surface: it is to be found in what the characters do, in what they feel, and in what they are. "Hence the incidents and the plot are the end of tragedy; and the end is the chief thing of all," said Aristotle. And again:—"Tragedy is the imitation of an action, and of the agents, mainly with a view to the action."

After these quotations from two dramatic critics, let me quote also from two dramatic authors. The first is from the "Souvenirs" of M. Legouvé, perhaps best known to American theatre-goers as the collaborator of Scribe in the authorship of "Adrienne Lecouvreur." M. Legouvé tells us that

"the talent of the dramatist is a very singular and very special quality. It is not necessarily united to any other intellectual faculty. A man may have much wit, much learning, much literary skill, and yet be absolutely incapable of writing a play. I have seen men of real value and of high literary culture bring me dramas and comedies which seemed to be the work of a child. On the other hand, I have received from persons of no great intelligence plays in which was to be found a something nothing else can take the place of, a something which cannot be acquired, which is never lost, and which constitutes the dramatist."

And the second quotation is from the younger Dumas, from the illuminative preface which he prefixed to his "Père Prodigue." After asserting that the real dramatist is born, not made, Dumas declares that dramatic effect is sometimes so intangible that the spectator cannot find in the printed text of a play the point which charmed him in its performance, and which was due perhaps to "a word, a look, a gesture, a

silence, a purely atmospheric combination." And then he goes on to say that "a man of no value as a thinker, as a moralist, as a philosopher, as a writer, may be a man of the first order as a dramatic author"; and, "on the other hand, for a thinker, a writer, a philosopher, to be listened to upon the stage, he must indispensably be provided with the special qualities of the man who has no other value. In short, to be a master in this art, one must be also skilled in this craft."

The history of the drama has a long list of more or less forgotten playwrights, skilled in the craft of the theatre, cunning in stage-effect, and owning no other superiority. But this dramaturgic faculty, which they had as a sole possession, was also the gift of all the great dramatists, who had this in addition to their poetry, their philosophy, their psychology. No intricate plot of Scribe's is more adroitly contrived than the "Œdipus" of Sophocles; and no melodrama of Kotzebue's is more artfully constructed than the "Othello" of Shakespeare. Vision and insight Sophocles and Shakespeare had, as well as subtlety and power,—things unsuspected by the writers of the "Ladies' Battle" and of the "Stranger." But the greatness of Shakespeare and Sophocles as dramatists was due, first of all, to that same gift of playmaking which was the whole of Scribe's possession and the whole of Kotzebue's.

It matters not how beautiful a building may be, if its structure be feeble and faulty; for then it can be neither useful nor durable. Strength must precede grace; and the dramatic poet must begin by being a practical playwright, just as an architect must master construction. Whenever a poet denies this obligation, and shrinks from due apprenticeship to stagecraft, he surrenders his chance of being a dramatist. The stage of their own times is the platform upon which the real dramatists have always found themselves at home. Euripides and Calderon and Corneille did not retire into an ivory tower: they brought out plays to please the broad public. There is no more patent absurdity than the play that is not intended to be played,—the closet-drama, as it is called.

This unactable drama of lofty poetic pretence is largely a development of our own day, although it may find a doubtful ancestor in the tragedy of Seneca. The Roman rhetorician did not intend his pieces to be performed; and this is fortunate for him, as the fate is not doubtful of plays in which the deed is forever sacrificed to the word, and in which the heartfelt cry is suppressed in favor of the elaborated antithesis. Whether Browning and Tennyson and Swinburne had it in them to be dramatists, nobody knows; but nobody can deny that they

are not dramatists as were Goethe and Schiller, as are Ibsen and Hauptmann. However various their qualifications, they fail to reveal the most important of all—the possession of sufficient stagecraft to make the performance of their plays profitable.

It is in this ability to hold the attention of an average audience of their own contemporaries that the inspired dramatists stand side by side with the uninspired playmakers. Poets they are, but, first of all, theatre-poets, in the apt German phrase. Even to-day, despite the gulf of two thousand years that yawns between us and the civilization of Greece, we are gripped by the inexorable action as the awful fate of *Edipus* is unrolled before us in the playhouse, and we are dissolved in pity. And as for the sad story of *Hamlet*, were that performed in an asylum for the deaf and dumb, there would be no fear that the interest of the spectators would flag. There is that in "Hamlet" which the deaf would fail to get; and no doubt this is what gives the play its significance; but what they could take in by the eye alone would reward them amply for the effort. By whom was it first said that the skeleton of a good play was always a pantomime? And whoever has had the pleasure of seeing "L'Enfant Prodigue" has had proof positive that the drama can exist without even the elements of literature; for here was a play that made us laugh and made us cry, with never a word spoken.

The dramatists themselves have never had any doubts as to the relative importance of the theatrical and the literary elements in a play. To them, the skeleton of action is everything; and nothing, the verbal epidermis. In the preface to the "Mariage de Figaro," Beaumarchais assures us that, when he had mastered the subject of a play, he saw the characters before him. "What they will say, I don't know: it is what they are going to do that interests me." And Racine is recorded to have told a friend that a new tragedy of his was nearly completed,—as he had only to write it. Here, in Beaumarchais and in Racine, we see an incipient contempt for mere literature that came to a head in the advertisement of a New York theatre a few years ago, wherein it was proclaimed, as one of the elements of attraction of a certain more or less comic play, that it was "without literary merit."

A rough-and-tumble farce, hastily knocked together by a variety-show performer, to satirize rudely some folly of the moment, is of more importance in the actual development of the drama than can be any string of soliloquies and dialogues, however poetic or polished these may be. The farce that pleases the people has in it the root of the matter:

here is the germ of the real thing ; while the drama for the closet lingers lifeless and inert on the shelves of the library. The influence of the unpretending popular play—the folk-theatre, as one might call it—is far deeper and wider than most historians of literature have perceived. The beginnings of Molière's comedy must be sought in the French farces and in the Italian improvisations of his boyhood ; and no one has yet worked out the exact indebtedness of Victor Hugo and the elder Dumas to Pixérécourt and Ducange and the other melodramatists of the boulevard-theatres, whose labors made the path straight for the Romanticists.

The reason why this folk-theatre was so soon forgotten is simply because it lacked literature. Its merits were not only primarily theatrical ; they were wholly theatrical. These plays wereactable, but they were not readable ; and when they ceased to be acted, they disappeared into darkness. The instant that they were crowded off the stage, they fell sheer into oblivion. The success of a play, be it tragedy or comedy, depends upon its fitness for the playhouse and for the players of its own time ; but the survival of a play depends on its literary quality. Only literature is permanent. As the younger Dumas goes on to say, in the preface from which I have already quoted,

“a dramatic work should always be written as though it was only to be read. The performance is only a reading aloud by several persons for the benefit of those who will not or cannot read. It is through those who go to the theatre that the work succeeds ; and it is by those who do not go that it subsists. The spectator gives it vogue ; and the reader makes it durable.”

Upon this side of the discussion there is no need to dwell. Nobody disputes that dramatic literature must be literature, although there are not a few who do not insist that it must be dramatic. The great dramatists have accepted the double obligation ; and they have always recognized that the stage of the theatre, and not the desk of the library, is the true proving-room. This double obligation it is that makes the drama so difficult an art,—perhaps, indeed, the most difficult of all the arts.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

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ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION AND ITS IMPORTANCE.

MAN has been slow and deliberate in the examination of the whole area of the globe on which he lives. Even now, that examination is very far indeed from completion. Notwithstanding the vast practical results of geographical discovery, and the increase in knowledge and in wealth, which are the inevitable consequence of exploration, the great work is constantly checked by want of sympathy and of help. A distinguished man of science, the present Duke of Argyll, remarked last July that it seemed to him

“almost a reproach to civilization that we have arrived at the close of the nineteenth century without knowing the whole superficial appearance of this little planet. We are actually able to analyze the substance and distinguish the chemical composition of the most distant objects in space. This is an astounding result of science; and it does seem a strange contrast that we should not know the whole of this earthly home on which we live.”

His Grace referred to the vast unknown area within the Antarctic Circle.

This slow progress must be referred to the want of public spirit manifested by governments and those who possess accumulated wealth. It is certainly not due to any lack of zeal or energy on the part of those gallant explorers who have been ever ready to risk their lives in the cause of science and of progress, if only supplied with the needful means. In the days of Shakespeare, as now, the career of an explorer was held in high honor, and was ranked by the great poet himself with the profession of a soldier or a student.

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“Some to the wars to try their fortune there,
Some to discover islands far away,
Some to the studious universities.”

In those earlier days, the pioneers of civilization often went on hopeless quests, and, with intrepid courage and resolution, suffered hardships and encountered perils in pursuit of phantoms of the imagination. Their achievements were marvellous, when we consider the small means with which they obtained such great results. Nor have we now to mourn that their prowess was wasted.

The searches for *Prester John*, for *El Dorado*, for the Northwest Passage, were not made in vain. The wilds of Africa and Asia were penetrated; the rich valley of the Amazon was made known; and these discoveries led to the enrichment, in many ways, of the civilized world. More especially was this the case with regard to Arctic voyages. No practicable passage has been discovered; yet these enterprises were fruitful in useful results. They opened up new fields for the whale and seal fishermen, and enriched alike the mercantile communities, the stores of knowledge, and the records of heroism and self-devotion. It is, therefore, neither reasonable nor wise to deprecate similar enterprises directed to the polar regions of the southern hemisphere, on the ground that their utility is not immediately apparent. Even supposing that the valuable results to be derived from such exploration cannot be specified,—which is far from being the case,—it may be confidently assumed, from all former experience, that the examination of millions of square miles of the earth's surface, previously unknown, cannot possibly fail to afford valuable lessons, and to yield precious increases to human knowledge.

While the Arctic regions have aroused the interest of the civilized world since the days of Frobisher, and have been the scenes of repeated efforts during the centuries, until their secrets are now disclosed, the south-polar regions have received but little attention. The “*Terra Australis*” was the sport of the earlier mapmakers from the days of Mercator. On the maps of Arontius, Finæus, Mercator, and Ortelius, a vast southern continent is portrayed, which reaches to the Strait of Magellan, and includes the whole of Australia. The southern continent was omitted from the map of Hakluyt in 1599; but it was restored to its old place on the Gustav Adolf globes of 1620, and on many later maps. Considering the enormous attention it received from the mapmakers, and its consequent apparent importance, it is surprising that efforts to explore it were not more frequent and continuous.

A very remarkable proposal for Antarctic exploration was submitted

to Lord Burleigh about 1575; and a similar project was in the minds of Spanish statesmen. Cosmographers assumed that the existence of a southern continent, as a balance to the lands of the northern hemisphere, was a necessity. It was natural, therefore, that the enterprising viceroys of Peru should make some efforts for its discovery. We find that Garcia de Castro and the Marquis of Cañeta did send expeditions in search of the "Terra Australis." It was not thought necessary to steer far to the south, because Mercator and Ortelius had brought its coastline to within a short distance of the equator. Thus it was that, in searching for the southern continent, Mandana discovered the Solomon and Santa Cruz Islands, Quiros reached the New Hebrides, and Torres passed through the strait which bears his name.

But after Tasman had established the insularity of New Holland, and the temperate region was thus cut off from the vast continent shown on the old maps, the existence of the latter became a south-polar problem which invited solution; while the task of the explorer became proportionally difficult. In 1772, the British government determined to send Capt. Cook, in command of two small vessels,—the "Resolution" and the "Adventure," of 462 and 336 tons respectively,—to ascertain whether the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere was only an immense mass of water, or whether it contained another continent. The great navigator completed the circuit of the Antarctic region, in pursuance of his instructions; keeping as near as possible to the Antarctic Circle. He encountered pack ice and numerous bergs. In the South Pacific he reached a latitude of $71^{\circ} 10'$, where he was stopped by a line of closely packed ice, and counted as many as ninety-five icebergs. In his judgment it was not possible for any vessel to enter the pack; and, to attempt it, would be, he considered, a dangerous and rash enterprise, though he believed that there was land behind the ice. In January, 1775, he discovered the island of South Georgia, and Sandwich Land in $59^{\circ} 30' S$. The latter was for a long time the most southern known land. South Georgia had been sighted by La Roche in 1675; Sandwich Land, in 1762.

Capt. Cook firmly believed that there was extensive land round the south pole; for he could not otherwise account for the vast number of icebergs spread over the Southern Ocean. He thought it probable that "Terra Australis" extended farthest to the north in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans, because bergs were always found farther to the north in those oceans than anywhere else, even up to 48° ; while, in the South Pacific, they were seldom met with farther north

than 60° . But he believed that it was impossible to explore the great "Terra Australis," and that, consequently, he had settled the question so far as it was capable of solution. The South Shetland group, south of Cape Horn, believed to have been sighted by Dirck Gerritz in 1599, was rediscovered in 1818 by Capt. W. Smith; and the South Orkneys, a little farther east, by Capt. Powell in 1821; both groups being south of Sandwich Land, but still far to the north of the Antarctic Circle.

Up to 1820, no Antarctic land had been discovered; but the Russian expedition, under Bellinghausen, broke the spell. Like Capt. Cook, Bellinghausen examined the ice-pack all round the Circle, and sighted lands, which he named "Alexander" and "Peter," well within the Antarctic Circle, though north of 70° , in about the meridian of the west coast of South America. These Russian discoveries were the only known Antarctic lands from 1820 to 1831.

We next come to the enterprises of the Enderbys, who combined the pursuit of seals with an enlightened desire to extend geographical knowledge. Capt. Weddell, in 1823, sailed southward, on about the meridian of Rio Janeiro, until he reached a latitude of $70^{\circ} 15'$, without obstruction from pack ice; and he could have proceeded, so far as the ice was concerned, but returned because a southerly wind sprang up. Captain Biscoe discovered Adelaide Isle and Graham Land, a coast-line of undefined extent to the southwest of the South Shetlands, in 1832. He succeeded in landing on the mainland in $64^{\circ} 45' S$. In 1831, Biscoe had sighted Enderby Land, on the Antarctic Circle, and on the meridian just to the east of Madagascar. Kemp Island, near Enderby Land, was seen in the following year; while Sabrina Island and the Balleny Islands were discovered in 1839.

In the year 1840,—a period when governments were more conscious of their duties to civilization than has since been the case,—there were three government exploring expeditions in the southern seas, sent by France, the United States, and Great Britain respectively. It was then that a succession of islands or headlands was sighted,—some by Dumont d'Urville, others by Wilkes,—almost exactly on the Antarctic Circle, and extending from about 90° to 160° east longitude. The French actually landed on "Côté Clarie." These meridians enclose a large part of the Indian Ocean; so that the discoveries of 1840 appear to confirm the opinion of Capt. Cook, that the "Terra Australis" extended farthest north toward the Indian Ocean. The facts that the headlands sighted by Wilkes and Dumont d'Urville are on the same parallel, and apparently continuous, suggest the northern limit of extensive land.

There is a gap between its western extremity—called by Wilkes, "Termination Island"—and Enderby Land. (It was here that Sir George Nares crossed the Antarctic Circle in February, 1874, in the "Challenger.")

But no one had attempted to penetrate the south-polar pack. There appeared to be a general concurrence in the opinion of Capt. Cook that this was impossible, and that to attempt it would be a dangerous and very rash enterprise. Sir James Ross, who led the British expedition, thought otherwise. He commanded two bluff-bowed, old sailing-ships, formerly bomb-vessels, named respectively the "Erebus" and the "Terror." Ross was a man of unrivalled experience in the ice. He had passed eight winters and fifteen summers in the Arctic regions. He knew that ice was most closely packed at the outer edge, where it looked impenetrable, and that it was generally looser farther back. He chose the meridians of New Zealand for his route to the south. In about the latitude of the Antarctic Circle, he encountered the polar ice-pack on January 5, 1841. He made the signal, the two ships bore away before the wind, their bows were put straight at the ice with all sails set, and it slowly gave way to the pressure.

So-called "impossibilities" often disappear when bravely faced. After an hour's thumping, and often sustaining some heavy blows, the "Erebus" and the "Terror" forced their way into the pack; finding the ice much lighter and more scattered than it appeared to be when viewed from a distance. Navigation in the polar pack in these old sailing-ships was dangerous and difficult; but, for experienced seamen, it was not an unduly rash enterprise. On January 9, the great obstacle was overcome, and Ross was in the open Antarctic Sea. He discovered the great volcanic mass,—with lofty mountain ranges and one active volcano,—which he named "Victoria Land," extending for five hundred miles to 78° S. He also traced, for three hundred miles, a line of ice-cliffs, one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high. In the following year, he again charged the ice-pack and passed through it, though with much greater difficulty. In his third and last season, Ross wasted time in a survey of part of the South Shetland group. He made his attack on the pack near Weddell's route in March, which was too late in the season.

Ross stands alone. Though Cook and Weddell crossed the seventieth parallel, Ross alone made discoveries to the south of that parallel, and revealed to us that "Terra Australis" which, in the judgment of Cook, would be for ever inaccessible. No one will ever repeat Ross's

achievement of penetrating the Antarctic pack in a sailing-vessel. In a steamer it is easy enough; and in 1895, a Norwegian steam-whaler, called the "Antarctic," under Capt. Christensen, passed through the pack without difficulty and effected a landing at Cape Adare in Victoria Land. In 1893, Capt. Larsen, in the Norwegian whaler, "Jason," penetrated as far south as $68^{\circ} 10'$, on the eastern side of Graham Land; discovering some islands between 65° and 66° , one of which was an active volcano. Larsen's discoveries seem to indicate that, if Graham Land is not an island, it is a long promontory of the "Terra Australis" extending northward, beyond the Antarctic Circle, to 65° ; the South Shetland group streaming away from its northern point, in a northwest direction, to 61° .

Nothing whatever was discovered in the Antarctic regions from the return of Ross in 1843 to the voyage of Larsen in 1893, a period of fifty years. But the time has now arrived when the requirements of science make it incumbent on civilized governments to resume the duty so long and so shamefully neglected. The principal object of Sir James Ross's expedition was a magnetic survey; and this is still the most important part of the work to be done. It is known that, south of the parallel of 40° S., great changes have taken place in the magnetic elements since Ross's survey; but, without fresh observations, there are no means of ascertaining their extent. Hence, increasing difficulties are experienced in constructing variation charts to meet the requirements of iron-built steamships.

The secular change of magnetic declination in the southern ocean is large: but the amount is unknown; and it is only by organized observations that it can be ascertained. So that the interests, not only of science, but of the practical navigation of iron and steel ships, point to the increasing necessity of expeditions to Antarctic waters to obtain the required data. Moreover, the present time—when magnetic disturbances may be expected to be at a minimum—is the best for taking magnetic observations in high latitudes, where such disturbances are far more severely felt than in the Temperate zones.

The urgent need of a magnetic survey is a sufficient reason for despatching an expedition to the Antarctic seas; but it is very far from being the only one.

We have very little knowledge concerning the tides and surface currents of the Antarctic Ocean, and its meteorology. Its depths have yet to be sounded; and the dredgings will yield most valuable stores of new information to the naturalist. Dr. Murray, of the "Challenger,"

has said that, "All over the floor of the Antarctic Ocean there is a most abundant fauna, apparently more abundant and more peculiar than in any other region of the ocean's bed." He further points out that the flow of this ocean has been peopled from the shallow waters surrounding the Antarctic lands,—“a subject of great interest to all biologists, which can best be studied by an efficient exploration of high southern latitudes.” The work of an expedition would include magnetic and meteorological observations, the observation of the temperature of the ocean at all depths and at all seasons of the year, as well as soundings, trawling, dredging, and the study of the character and distribution of marine organisms.

But the determination of the nature and extent of the Antarctic continent offers the greatest attractions to the geographer. Cook concluded, from the number and size of the ice-islands floating north, that this continent was of vast extent. Ross discovered the source of these bergs in the ice-cap which terminates in the barrier—three hundred miles in length—along which he sailed. It is pushed out over the low lands into the sea; forming a solid wall probably fifteen hundred feet in thickness, of which two hundred feet are above water. When the glacier has advanced into depths of three or four hundred fathoms, immense masses are broken off and flow northward as the great table-topped Antarctic icebergs, sometimes miles in length. A very extensive land mass is necessary to bear such glaciers on its surface. Ross discovered five hundred miles of its coast-line running north and south, with lofty mountains in the interior. All the country seen by him was of volcanic formation. The headlands and indications of land on the Antarctic Circle, collectively known as Wilkes Land, may be a northern face of this great "Terra Australis." Graham Land may possibly be one of its promontories. Beyond this we know nothing. There is a great unexplored opening, facing the Pacific Ocean, between Alexander and Victoria Land; there is another, facing the Indian Ocean, between Wilkes's Termination Land and Enderby Land; and there is a third, facing the Atlantic, between Enderby Land and Graham Land. The latter is the most promising; for it was through it that Weddell penetrated to his very high latitude in 1823. This route would also lead to the opposite side of the globe from Ross's Victoria Land, where we might hope to meet with a formation of land not exclusively volcanic. Fossil pine-wood was found on Graham Land.

It seems almost certain that an ice-cap covers a considerable portion of the Terra Australis, or "Antarctica," as Dr. Murray calls it. The pre-

dominating winds in high southern latitudes are southerly and southeasterly; and the surface currents are in the same direction. Dr. Murray deduces that a large anticyclone, with a higher pressure than prevails over the open ocean to the northward, overspreads the Antarctic continent. The southerly winds would, therefore, be dry winds, with small precipitation; and the belt of excessive precipitation is probably passed in about 74° S. Meteorological observations on the land in more than one place are very important, in order to decide this point and to ascertain the annual snowfall and evaporation of Antarctica. From the latter an approximate estimate might be deduced of the annual discharge of icebergs from the glaciers. Vegetable life appears to cease at the Antarctic Circle; no plants having been discovered beyond it, except algæ and a minute cryptogam. But there are indications of the existence of more genial conditions in past geological times; and the discovery of fossiliferous rocks on the Antarctic continent would be of great scientific interest and importance.

Dr. Murray has enumerated some of the work to be achieved by Antarctic land expeditions; viz.,

“to determine the nature and extent of the continent; to penetrate into the interior; to ascertain the depth and nature of the ice-cap; to observe the character of the underlying rocks and their fossils; to take magnetic, meteorological, and pendulum observations.”

Our knowledge of the Antarctic region is very limited; but former navigators have recorded the nature of the ice which it will be necessary to penetrate, in order to reach the land. The pack consists of pieces of ice which have been much broken, pressed and heaped together, so as to form irregular-shaped masses. Drifting with winds and currents over a vast area, the pack is not met with in the same localities in different years. In the South Pacific, it was encountered by Capt. Cook in $71^{\circ} 10'$. Bellinghausen found it, near the same meridian, in 68° . In the South Atlantic, Bellinghausen and Biscoe found it in about 70° . Weddell sailed as far south as $74^{\circ} 15'$ without encountering it; but on the same meridian, twenty years afterward, Ross found the pack edge much farther north. The evidence of all the Southern voyagers shows that the position of the pack ice varies very much in different seasons; being influenced probably by the force of southerly winds.

Ross alone has had experience within the pack. There was great danger during gales of wind, because owing to the ice being in small pieces, the ocean swell was not checked, and there was a heavy sea covered with rolling fragments of ice. These pieces, often weighing

many tons, were dashed against the ships with terrific force; the rudders were torn away; and the sternposts were seriously injured. The difference between the conditions of navigation in the Arctic and Antarctic regions is very striking. In the north, there are fields and floes of ice of considerable extent, which may be fixed for a long time in one position. There is danger of long detention by being beset, which is not so likely in the Antarctic seas. But there are other perils which are perhaps more formidable for a sailing-vessel. In gales of wind, and in fogs, there is much danger from the swell, which makes it impossible to avoid collisions with huge masses of ice.

The substitution of screw-steamers for sailing-vessels will, however, create a complete revolution in Antarctic navigation. The risks will be reduced; and a great saving of time will be effected. During calms, and when adverse winds prevail with clear weather, a steamer would make a hundred miles in less time than a sailing-vessel would take to beat up twenty miles; so that it would be easy for a steamer to do in one season all that Ross and Wilkes combined were able to achieve in three. A steamer would be in little danger from icebergs, except in fogs; and in heavy gales she could lie to in safety under their lee, instead of drifting at the mercy of winds and waves. It will thus be seen that specially adapted screw-steamers will greatly facilitate Antarctic navigation, and remove many of the difficulties encountered by sailing-vessels.

The use of steam has never yet been applied to a discovery ship in the Antarctic regions; and its application will entirely change all the conditions. While the passage through pack ice will be shortened and deprived of many of its dangers, the exploration of open water, such as Ross met with when he discovered Victoria Land, will be effected in a fraction of the time formerly occupied; while the coasts can be carefully examined for good landing-places and suitable localities for establishing stations. With such immense advantages over our predecessors as have resulted from the progress of science and inventive skill during the last half-century, the work which to Capt. Cook appeared practically impossible, and which Sir James Ross performed slowly and with difficulty, is now comparatively easy. It will be a disgrace to this generation if the improved means at its disposal remain unused, and Antarctica continues to be unvisited and unknown.

There is abundant work for several expeditions; and at least three maritime nations, as in 1840, ought soon to be vying with each other, in friendly and generous emulation, within the Antarctic Circle. They must send forth wooden steamers well strengthened to receive blows

from heavy blocks of ice, and with the screw and rudder specially protected. Such vessels must be furnished with all modern appliances for deep-sea sounding, dredging, and other kindred work. They must have on board the means of establishing stations on shore, as observatories, and whence inland journeys can be made. They must also carry a competent scientific staff. While enjoying several important advantages over their predecessors, such expeditions should be deficient in no powers, as regards discipline, that were possessed by Wilkes, Dumont d'Urville, and Ross. Above all, they must be commanded by able and resolute seamen of experience and scientific training.

The work of surveying, exploring, and discovery is part of the duty of every civilized maritime Power; and it is a bad sign of the times when that duty is neglected. It is the noblest and most disinterested of the duties of a state, because it confers benefit primarily on its own subjects, but, ultimately, on the whole civilized world. One cogent reason why such enterprises ought to be despatched under government auspices is, that the best available men can then be selected for the work. In private expeditions, the leader usually selects himself, whether qualified or not, and then proceeds to raise funds; he being necessarily the worst possible judge of his own competency. Gallant individual explorers are as adventurous and as numerous as ever; but the exploration of Antarctica is far beyond private means, and requires aid from governments or from patriotic accumulators of wealth.

Scientific expeditions have been among the most important agents of civilization. They have created a brotherly feeling of sympathy between the nations in times of peace, and have even given a bright side to the horrors of war; for, by the courtesy of international law, a scientific expedition is respected by all civilized nations. By increasing the store of human knowledge, these expeditions give important aid to science, which, in turn, furnishes most of the numerous appliances that are required by an advanced civilization. For every year makes it more and more apparent that all advances in abstract science are followed, sooner or later, by equal advances in applied science, and in discoveries of practical utility.

While thoughtful and cultivated men desire that every part of the planet on which we dwell should be made known, all classes ought to learn and become convinced of the great utility of such noble enterprises as expeditions for the exploration of the south-polar region, which is by far the largest area that still remains unknown.

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

DANGEROUS DEFECTS OF OUR ELECTORAL SYSTEM: A REMEDY.

THE difficulties and dangers to which attention was directed in THE FORUM for November, 1897, are inherent in the electoral system, whether it be conducted according to the original theory of unpledged electors, or according to the present practice; consequently, the only way to escape them is, so to amend the Constitution as to abolish the system and provide for the election of the President and the Vice-President by a direct vote of the people in the several States in the same manner as all other elective officials are chosen. Moreover, this is the honest, Democratic, and American method of ascertaining the choice of the people. Every argument against it is necessarily an argument against the right, or capacity, of the people to govern themselves; for, if they have not the right, or are not competent, to choose the official who executes the laws, they cannot have the right, or the capacity, to choose those who make them.

If it could be shown that any great public interest would be endangered by a direct popular vote, it might be better to submit to a continuance of the evils to which we are now exposed than to make a change; but it will scarcely be contended by anyone who has carefully examined the subject that our institutions will be made less secure, or that any substantial interest will be imperilled, by simplifying the processes of government or the methods of choosing important public officials. In spite of a constitutional provision which was designed to prevent a direct expression of their will at the polls, the people have already—so far as it was possible to do so—repudiated the restrictions imposed upon them, and have asserted their right to dictate the course of their own agents. But their will is liable to defeat by accidents and mistakes which they have no power to prevent, and for which there is no adequate remedy; therefore, in order to protect themselves and insure the peaceable and orderly execution of the popular judgment, they have a right to demand that all useless forms and agencies shall be dispensed with. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest a plan by which this can be done without impairing the rights of any State, or in-

terfering with the legitimate interests of any citizen or political party.

A constitutional amendment, providing simply that the President and the Vice-President shall be chosen by the people of the several States, voting by ballot, on a day fixed by Congress, which shall be the same throughout the United States; that the electors in each State shall have the qualifications required for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature; that each State shall be entitled to a number of votes—to be called Presidential, or Electoral, votes—equal to the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress; and that, in ascertaining the result of the election, each person voted for shall be entitled to have counted in his favor a number of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes of each State corresponding to the proportion of the popular vote received by him in such State;—this would not only secure uniformity and equality, but would greatly simplify the proceedings, and avoid nearly all the dangers incident to the existing system.

Under such a plan, the several States would retain all the powers that they now possess in respect to the election of a President and a Vice-President, and that power would be exercised directly by the people, voting under such qualifications as should be prescribed by each State for itself. The Constitution now provides that

“ Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress ”;

but the States, as political or corporate bodies, acting through their public officials, or organized departments, do not now appoint any of the electors. Even the two electors awarded to each State on account of its representatives in the Senate are chosen by the people at large in the same manner as those awarded to it on account of its population. In this country, the people are the primary source of all political power, and their will, expressed in the form prescribed by the laws of the State, is the will of the State. It is apparent, therefore, that, so far as the method of choosing the electors would be concerned, and so far as the equal power of the States, as such, would be affected, the suggested amendment would make no change from the present practice; and, consequently, it cannot be justly said that any existing right of the States would be impaired.

The people of each State would continue to vote, as they now vote, independently of the people of all the other States; and the effect of their votes upon the result of the election would not depend in the least

degree upon the action of the people elsewhere. Voters in the several States would not become voters of the United States, but would remain voters of their respective States, with such qualifications as their own States should see proper to prescribe,—subject to the limitations and restrictions already imposed by the Federal Constitution. A citizen of one State might be entitled to vote for a President and a Vice-President under its laws, while a citizen of another, possessing exactly the same qualifications, might not be entitled to vote under the laws of his State. This would not be the case if they were consolidated, and voted as citizens of the United States; because, under such a system, all would have to possess the same qualifications.

Nor to elect a President or a Vice-President would this plan require a majority, or plurality, of all the popular votes cast in the United States, but only a plurality of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes to which the several States might be entitled; and the distribution of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes among the persons voted for would be based upon the returns from each State, made by its own authorized officials. It could seldom happen, however, that anyone could be elected to either office without receiving a majority, or plurality, of the total vote cast in all the States. If the votes of the people of the United States were to be aggregated in determining the result, so as to require a majority, or plurality, of the whole vote in all the States to elect, a given number of voters in one State would have precisely the same power as an equal number of voters in any other State, and the existing equality of the States, as such, in regard to this matter, would be destroyed. The power of each State would depend solely upon the number of its inhabitants, or actual voters; and in choosing the two chief officers of the government the smaller States would lose a great part of the influence they now possess under the Constitution.

But, by reason of the fact that two Presidential, or Electoral, votes would still be awarded to each State without regard to the number of its inhabitants, or qualified voters, the people who constitute a single representative district in Delaware, or Idaho, or any other small State, would have nearly three times as much power as the same number of people in any one of the very large States. In this respect, the suggested amendment would not alter the present system; and, in view of the impossibility of securing the assent of the small States to any provision which would deprive them of their equal suffrage, as States, it would be useless, even if it were desirable, to submit such a question to them. Any attempt to disturb the compromises of the Constitution,

by which the equality of the States in the Senate and in the election of President and Vice-President was provided for, would provoke a controversy in which the merits of all other features of the proposed amendment would be entirely ignored; and, consequently, those who really desire to secure a reformation of what they regard as the most objectionable parts of the system must be content to leave all others as they now are.

In my opinion, no amendment will afford a complete remedy for the evils now existing unless it shall provide for the distribution of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes of each State among the persons voted for according to the number of popular votes actually received by each, and that a plurality of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes shall elect. If the entire Presidential, or Electoral, vote of a State should still be given to a single person merely because he received a majority, or plurality, of its popular votes, the very large and the so-called "doubtful" States would continue to exercise more than their proper share of political power and influence in the selection of candidates, and in the elections; and none of the existing temptations to resort to unusual or improper practices, in order to secure a majority, or plurality, of the popular vote in such States, would be removed. How great that temptation is, and how unjustly the existing practice affects the rights of minorities, will be apparent to anyone who will take the trouble to look into the returns of our Presidential elections. For instance: In 1884, a popular vote of 563,154 in New York gave Mr. Cleveland thirty-six electoral votes; while 562,002 votes, cast for the Blaine electoral ticket, were not allowed any representation whatever in the Electoral College. In 1888, 648,759 votes in the same State gave Gen. Harrison thirty-six electoral votes; while 635,757 votes, cast for the Cleveland electoral ticket, were allowed no representation. At the last election, a popular vote of 20,372 in Delaware gave its three Electoral votes to one of the candidates; while 16,679, cast for his opponent, had no representation. In South Dakota, 41,225 votes gave four Electoral votes to one of the candidates; while 41,042 votes, cast for his opponent, were allowed no representation. These are not isolated instances of the gross injustice necessarily resulting from the operation of the present system, but are simple illustrations, from one large and two small States, showing what occurs, to a greater or less extent, in every State in the Union at each Presidential election.

The minorities not only have no representation in the Electoral Colleges, but the political power, which rightfully belongs to them as

citizens and qualified voters, is wrested from them and transferred to their opponents. Their votes are not merely lost, but, by reason of the interposition of a wholly useless body of electors, are actually counted for the candidate against whom they are cast. These are not, therefore, the ordinary cases in which minorities are justly required to submit to the will of majorities, or pluralities, but cases in which the minorities are compelled, in the final process of electing, to contribute their whole force to the success of their opponents.

It is true that this is not a necessary result of the electoral system as originally designed; for it was then supposed that the electors would be chosen solely on account of their individual qualifications for the office, and that they would be independent and unpledged. If practice had conformed to that theory, each elector would have voted according to his own judgment, and the electoral voters of each State would doubtless have been divided in most instances, or, at least, in many instances; but, under the present practice, which has now become so firmly established that no political party could afford to disregard it, the electors are pledged in advance to the support of particular candidates, and must, therefore, all vote in the same way.

If the Presidential, or Electoral, votes of each State are distributed among the several persons voted for in proportion to the popular vote received by them, respectively, it will be just as important to secure a large vote in one State as in another; and the demoralizing contests for the control of the doubtful or "pivotal" States will not occur. A Democratic vote in the Republican State of Pennsylvania, or a Republican vote in the Democratic State of Texas, would be as valuable to the parties, respectively, as if it had been secured in the most doubtful State in the Union; and a vote for either party in a small State would be just as important as a vote in a large one. If such a provision as is here suggested had been in force in 1876-7, the controversies which arose in regard to the votes of Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina would have been of no practical importance, because their determination either way would have affected but a mere fraction of a Presidential, or Electoral, vote in each State, and the result of the election would not have been involved. The rejection of all the disputed votes in the three States would not have defeated Mr. Tilden; and, consequently, there would have been no inducement to make partisan decisions in the local election tribunals, nor any ground for the fear of civil commotion, which disturbed the public mind and paralyzed business during the pendency of the proceedings. It seems that any proposed constitutional

or legal provision which, without doing injustice to any part of the people, would insure the country against the recurrence of such a dangerous condition of affairs ought to receive, at least, the careful consideration of Congress and of the States; and, if rejected, something better should be proposed in its place.

But, it may be said that the evils resulting from the practice of choosing pledged electors on a general ticket in the several States—thus giving the entire Electoral vote of each State to a single person—could be avoided by the enactment of State laws, under the Constitution as it now stands, providing for their election by districts; each district choosing one elector. It is apparent that this would furnish only a partial remedy for the evils now complained of; while it would afford opportunities for the introduction of other devices to defeat the popular will. In the first place, the inducement to resort to fraudulent or improper methods in the conduct of the canvass and election, although much diminished, would not be removed; for the manipulation of a few votes, in a close district, would secure an entire Presidential, or Electoral, vote for the successful party. The result of the election might frequently depend upon the votes of a small number of such districts; and, in such cases, all the forces of corruption and deception would be concentrated upon them. Besides, the minority in each district would still be deprived of its proper share of power in the election. In the second place, there would always be contention and strife concerning the formation of the districts; each political party struggling to secure such an arrangement in each State as would give it an advantage over its opponents. The art of gerrymandering would soon be brought to perfection in every State; and charges and countercharges of unfair legislation and corrupt practices in the conduct of elections would be heard in every part of the country.

The electoral districts could not be the same as the Congressional districts, for the reason that each State is entitled to two more electors than Representatives.

There would be no restrictions upon the State legislatures, as to the times when, or the manner in which, the electoral districts should be formed; and, therefore, they need not be equal in population, nor even composed of contiguous territory. The whole subject would be remitted to the absolute control of partisan legislation, without constitutional limitations, or rules of any kind; and it is no exaggeration to say, that the greatest confusion and dissatisfaction would almost certainly follow. The boundaries of the States are permanently established; they

cannot be changed from time to time, to meet the exigencies of political parties; and, if the Presidential, or Electoral, vote actually represented the entire popular vote of the whole State, instead of separate districts arbitrarily arranged for partisan purposes, a degree of stability and uniformity would be secured which would be unattainable otherwise.

The general American rule is, that, in choosing public officers, a plurality controls; and the application of this rule to the election of a President and a Vice-President is especially desirable, for the reason, among others, that it would almost certainly prevent the devolution of the election upon the House of Representatives,—a contingency which is always to be apprehended under the operation of the present system. That the President should not appoint the members of the House of Representatives, is not more apparent than that the members of the House of Representatives should not elect the President. In the discharge of his executive duties,—among which the distribution of patronage is, unfortunately, regarded by many as the most important part,—the President ought to be entirely independent of the House as a body, and of its members individually; but this cannot be the case when he owes his election to the action of the House. The constitutional requirement, that the votes of a majority of the whole number of electors chosen shall be necessary to elect, has, twice in our history, made it the duty of the House of Representatives to choose a President: once before the adoption of the Amendment of 1804, and once after. On both occasions, the public mind was filled with the gravest apprehensions of danger to the peace of the country. At the election of 1824, which was held under the Constitution as amended, Gen. Jackson received a greater popular vote and more Electoral votes than Adams, his strongest competitor, and, under the plurality rule, would have been legally chosen President; but the question was referred to the House of Representatives, and Jackson was defeated.

With a greatly increased number of States, each having its own special interests to protect and promote, and with a rapidly growing and widely distributed population, the probabilities of securing a majority of the whole electoral vote for a single person must be constantly diminishing; and, unless preventive measures are adopted, elections by the House may hereafter become the rule, instead of the exception. The party having control, for the time being, of a majority of the State delegations in the House of Representatives may purposely so direct the course of the contest before the people, by dividing the electoral vote, or may so decide upon the returns of such vote, as to refer the election

to the House; thus insuring the success of its own candidate, although a preponderance of both the popular and the electoral vote had actually been in favor of another.

In order to avoid the dangers incident to an election by the House, it has been suggested that, in cases where no one person secures a majority of the whole electoral vote, the matter should be referred again to the electors already chosen, or to the people, at a new election, with the sole right to choose between a stated number of persons, previously voted for; but such proceedings would necessarily involve much delay, and, in their practical operation, would, probably, in many instances, be, for other reasons, very unsatisfactory. The simplest and fairest way to prevent the election from being made by the House is, to provide that a plurality of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes shall be sufficient; and, as already intimated, this would be no departure from the common law of elections in this country. It is not only the rule in selecting State officials, but, also, in choosing Presidential electors under the present system; but, after the electors have been chosen by pluralities in all the States, the rule or principle is changed, and the electors can make no choice, except by the concurrent votes of a majority of their whole number. It has frequently happened that a majority of the whole number of electors was chosen by a mere plurality of the popular vote, and, consequently, that the person elected was not the choice of a majority of the people. In 1844, Mr. Polk received 49 per cent of the popular vote; in 1848, Gen. Taylor received 47 per cent; in 1856, Mr. Buchanan received 45 per cent; in 1860, Mr. Lincoln received only 39 per cent; in 1876, Mr. Hayes received 48 per cent. In 1892, Mr. Cleveland received 46 per cent of the total vote and was elected; but in 1888, he received nearly a hundred thousand more votes than his highest competitor and yet was defeated.

This brief statement is sufficient to show that, under the existing system, there is no fixed or uniform rule for the determination of the result, so far as it is affected by the popular vote, and that a person who receives a plurality of that vote may be chosen at one election, while a person who receives the same plurality may be defeated at another. There is only one absolute rule that can now be applied, which is, that, although the electors, themselves, are chosen by pluralities, it requires a majority of their whole number to elect, and, in case such majority is not given to any one person, the matter is taken out of the hands of the people and remitted to the House of Representatives.

Electors are chosen by pluralities, for the sole purpose of electing a

President and a Vice-President; and the propositions here made are, simply, that these useless agents shall be dispensed with, and that the people themselves shall elect, by a plurality vote, but securing to the minorities in the States the right to be effectively represented according to their numbers. Everything else involved in the plan, such as the method of ascertaining and certifying the votes in the several States, the final declaration of the result of the election, and other proceedings incident to the transaction, are matters of detail, which it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss. The essential thing is, a fundamental change in the theory and practice now prevailing; and, if this be agreed to, it cannot be very difficult to harmonize conflicting views upon subordinate questions.

JOHN G. CARLISLE.

THE RELATION OF PRODUCTION TO PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY.—II.

IN my first article on this subject, in the November FORUM, the available information relative to the total producing capacity of the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts and of the United States was crystallized; and calculations were based thereon, showing the margin of productive capacity over actual production, the running-time of establishments, and the number of persons that could be employed on the basis of full productive capacity. This constituted one side of the present discussion. The facts from which the calculations were made are exceedingly meagre. The other side of the discussion relates to the unemployed; and here the statistics are still more meagre. The sources of information, however, are practically the same—the Censuses of Massachusetts and of the United States.

An analysis of the Census of the Unemployed in Massachusetts for 1885 will naturally lead to an analysis of the Federal statistics on the same subject. The Eighteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, published in 1887, contains the statistics of the unemployed as shown at the decennial Census of that Commonwealth for 1885. The Census inquiry relative to non-employment, or, as it was called in the Massachusetts Report, "unemployment," was intended to cover the twelve months preceding the enumeration, which began May 1, 1885; the purpose of the inquiry being to ascertain the number of months during the Census year in which each person was unemployed—if at all—in the occupation upon which he chiefly depended for a livelihood; and the inquiry was applicable only to persons ordinarily engaged in some remunerative occupation. At the same time, an effort was made to ascertain the number of months during the Census year in which a person who was unemployed a part of the year at his particular trade or calling found employment in some other kind of work. This endeavor, if it had been properly carried out on the part of the enumerator, would have shown not only the degree of depression in particular industries, but would also have given the total number of months during the year in which each person was employed at any kind

of remunerative work. The results of this special effort were fairly satisfactory, although not so complete as a scientific ideal would require.

The investigation concerning the unemployed, considered as regards the inquiries made upon the Census schedules, comprehended all remunerative occupations, of whatever description, and included: All persons of any age who were earning their living, whether engaged in governmental service—national, State, city, town, or county; all professional people; all engaged in domestic and personal service, with the exception of housewives and those who assisted in house-work at home only, for which they received no stated compensation; all engaged in the various branches of trade, in transportation, agriculture, fisheries, manufactures, and mining, including day laborers and apprentices; and those who, for various reasons, were unemployed for the entire year.

By the phrase "unemployed persons" is meant those persons who were unemployed at their principal occupation during some part of the time covered by the Massachusetts investigation; that is, the twelve months preceding the Census enumeration of the people, which began May 1, 1885. It must not be assumed that all these persons were actually unemployed during the entire twelve months, or that the persons returned as unemployed were unemployed at one time during the period named; for, as a matter of fact, of the total number of unemployed persons, only 822,—representing hardly more than one-third of 1 per cent—were returned as having been unemployed during the entire year.

The primary result of the Massachusetts Census of Unemployed in 1885 showed that, of 816,470 persons engaged in remunerative occupations, the unemployed persons numbered 241,589, or 29.59 per cent; while 574,881 persons, or 70.41 per cent, were employed during the entire year; that the unemployed persons were not engaged in their principal occupations, on an average, 4.11 months; while for all persons employed in gainful occupations, considered as a whole, whether employed or unemployed, the average non-employment during the Census year was 1.22 months. In other words, a little less than one-third of the persons returned as being engaged in remunerative labor were unemployed for about one-third of their working-time; while, on the other hand, the working population of the Commonwealth, considered in their entirety, were employed at their principal occupations for a fraction less than eleven months during the Census year.

The results just shown for 241,589 persons unemployed, on an average, 4.11 months during the year may be considered as equivalent to 82,744 persons unemployed for an entire year.

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The official analysis further showed that 167,041 persons, or 69.14 per cent of the whole number unemployed for a part of the Census year, were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; and it is with this element of the unemployed that the present discussion is at this point concerned. Taking the results shown for persons in manufacturing pursuits, it is found, from the tables in the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, that the 167,041 persons engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical industries were unemployed, on an average, 3.90 months during the Census year, which is equivalent to 54,288 persons unemployed for the entire year.

In the statement in my article in the November FORUM concerning actual and maximum production it was shown that the value of products, according to the Census of Manufactures in Massachusetts for 1885, was \$674,634,269; that this amount was produced by 379,328 employees working, on an average, 291 days; and that in a full year, or 307 days, this number of employees could have produced \$711,727,617 worth of goods. The actual production (\$674,634,269) represented, however, only 59.27 per cent of the greatest production possible with then existing facilities, or \$1,138,239,023, which would have required 606,737 employees; that is to say, 227,409 more persons than were actually employed in the manufacturing establishments of the Commonwealth.

The following table shows, for all industries and for each industry having more than 2,000 persons unemployed during some part of the Census year, the number unemployed in Massachusetts, the average months unemployed, and the equivalent number unemployed twelve months:—

Industries.	Number Unemployed and Average Months Unemployed during Census Year.		Equivalent Number Unemployed Twelve Months.
	Number.	Average Months.	
All Industries.....	167,041	3.90	54,288
Boots and Shoes.....	42,624	3.87	18,746
Building.....	24,842	4.09	8,467
Clothing.....	9,102	4.33	3,284
Cotton Goods.....	24,404	3.42	6,955
Furniture.....	2,334	3.69	718
Leather.....	3,860	3.75	1,050
Machines and Machinery.....	4,781	3.85	1,584
Metals and Metallic Goods.....	11,991	4.10	4,997
Rubber and Elastic Goods.....	2,483	2.58	534
Straw and Palm-leaf Goods.....	4,218	4.84	1,701
Woollen Goods.....	9,708	3.94	3,187

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The average number of employees in the industries named in the preceding table, the estimated number of employees necessary to maximum production, and the excess of maximum number over average number of employees,—ascertained from the Census of Manufactures, the figures concerning the unemployed persons being derived from the answers regarding non-employment in the population schedules,—are given in the following table:—

Industries:	Average Number of Employees, as Returned in Census of Manufactures.	Estimated Number of Employees Necessary to Maximum Production.	Excess of Maximum Number over Average Number of Employees.
All Industries.....	379,328	606,737	227,409
Boots and Shoes.....	64,858	98,616	33,758
Building.....	27,878	46,187	18,314
Clothing.....	18,325	28,675	10,350
Cotton Goods.....	60,133	67,680	7,548
Furniture.....	8,190	14,073	5,883
Leather.....	9,228	13,963	4,735
Machines and Machinery.....	14,644	28,308	13,664
Metals and Metallic Goods.....	24,233	42,887	18,654
Rubber and Elastic Goods.....	6,469	9,586	3,117
Straw and Palm-leaf Goods.....	4,647	7,035	2,388
Woollen Goods.....	18,970	22,335	3,365

The average number of employees, as returned on the schedules for manufactures, does not differ materially from the number derived from the tabulation of occupations, as returned on the population schedules through inquiries made of the people themselves, for the industries specified, except for building and clothing; and this is due principally to the absence of carpenters, masons, painters, dressmakers, milliners, etc., doing a small business on their own account, who were not included in the Census of Manufactures. The number included in the Census of Occupations for each industry named is as follows: Boots and shoes, 62,403; building, 48,827; clothing, 33,296; cotton goods, 58,365; furniture, 8,447; leather, 9,926; machines and machinery, 15,751; metals and metallic goods, 29,521; rubber and elastic goods, 5,176; straw and palm-leaf goods, 4,699; woollen goods, 23,258. The foregoing figures show a really remarkable harmony between the returns made by manufacturers and those compiled from the answers of the people themselves.

Fortunately for the present discussion, we are able to draw from the Report on Population, Part II, Eleventh Census of the United States

(1890), some very valuable information relating to the unemployed for the whole country. Facts concerning the unemployed were asked for in the Census of 1880; but the results were so incomplete and valueless that no attempt was made to tabulate them. Thus it was that in the Reports of the Eleventh Census (1890) information of the character under consideration was, for the first time in Federal enumerations, compiled and presented in connection with the statistics of occupations derived from answers made on the population schedules.

In using the figures relative to the unemployed drawn from the Census of 1890, it must be understood that they do not represent the number of persons who may have been unemployed at any one time, but simply the aggregate number of persons who were unemployed for different lengths of time and, to a very considerable extent, probably, at different times during the Census year covering the twelve months from June 1, 1889, to May 31, 1890.

It should be stated, further, that the figures used show only the number and approximate length of time unemployed with regard to the principal occupations in which persons so reported were usually engaged, and upon which they depended chiefly for a livelihood. They do not show, therefore, the actual length of time for which they were unemployed in any form of remunerative labor; that is, the net period, after making allowance for the time when not engaged at their principal or usual occupations, during which their services may have been utilized at some other kind of work. The Census enumerators were fully instructed on this point; but the returns were not considered complete enough to warrant compilation.

Considering results for the whole country, the total number of persons, without regard to sex, unemployed at their principal occupations during any portion of the Census year was 3,523,730, being 15.50 per cent of the total number (22,735,661) of persons ten years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations in 1890. Of this total number of unemployed (3,523,730), 1,818,865, or 51.62 per cent, were unemployed from 1 to 3 months; 1,368,418, or 38.83 per cent, were unemployed from 4 to 6 months; and 336,447, or 9.55 per cent, were unemployed from 7 to 12 months.

Assuming now, for want of more exact data, that the average number of months unemployed for all the persons reported for each period would be the mean in each case, and reducing the number of persons unemployed for the different periods to an equivalent of so many persons for one year, the approximate number of persons unem-

ployed during the entire Census year—that ending May 31, 1890—was 1,139,672, or 5.01 per cent of the total number of persons who, according to the Census in question, were engaged in remunerative occupations.¹

The 3,523,730 unemployed persons were unemployed, on the average, 3.88 months during the Census year,—assuming, of course, as stated, that the mean of each period of months would fairly approximate the facts in the case. Of this whole number of unemployed, 1,068,404, or 30.32 per cent, were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries; and of this number, 562,807, or 52.68 per cent, were unemployed from 1 to 3 months; 393,648, or 36.84 per cent, from 4 to 6 months; and 111,949, or 10.48 per cent, from 7 to 12 months. Taking the mean in each case again, this gives an average of 3.89 months, which is equivalent to 346,447 persons connected with the manufacturing and mechanical industries of the United States unemployed for the entire Census year.

Considering the results for Massachusetts in the same way, on the basis of results drawn from the Federal Census of 1890, it is found that there were 179,462 persons in that Commonwealth who were unemployed during some part of the Census year, and that this number is 18.27 per cent of the whole number of persons at work in the Commonwealth in 1890. This number of unemployed persons was subdivided according to periods of non-employment, as follows: 103,675, or 57.77 per cent, from 1 to 3 months; 56,928, or 31.72 per cent, from 4 to 6

¹ In the First Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, published in March, 1886, it was estimated that, of the whole number of people employed in all occupations in the United States, there might have been 1,304,407 out of employment on July 1, 1885. This number, however, applied to all occupations; and, reducing the estimate to those engaged only in agriculture, trade and transportation, mechanical and mining industries, and manufactures, the number 998,839 was reached as constituting the best estimate of the unemployed in the United States during the year ending July 1, 1885,—meaning by “unemployed” those who, in prosperous times, would be fully employed, and who during the time mentioned were seeking employment. The Report stated: “It is probably true that this total,—in round numbers 1,000,000,—as representing the unemployed at any one time in the United States, is fairly representative, even if the laborers thrown out of employment through the cessation of railroad building be included.” This estimate of the Commissioner of Labor was fully corroborated by independent estimates. It should be remembered, however, that mechanical industries in 1885 were still depressed; that being the closing part of the period of depression extending from 1882 to 1886. It will be seen how remarkably close the estimate for 1885 was to the results shown by the Census of 1890, as stated in the text.

months; and 18,859, or 10.51 per cent, from 7 to 12 months. Taking the mean, as before, the whole number of persons (179,462) was unemployed, on an average, 3.74 months; and this is equivalent to 55,929 persons unemployed the whole year.

Using the number of unemployed persons in Massachusetts in 1890, as shown by the Federal Census of that year, it is found that, out of a total of 179,462 unemployed persons, 114,842, or 63.99 per cent, were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; and of this number, 70,865, or 61.71 per cent, were unemployed from 1 to 3 months; 33,020, or 28.75 per cent, from 4 to 6 months; and 10,957, or 9.54 per cent, from 7 to 12 months; which, reduced to an average, becomes 3.58 months, and represents an equivalent of 34,243 persons connected with the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts in 1890 unemployed the entire year.

According to the Census of 1890, 485,182 persons in Massachusetts, working, on the average, 289.51 days, produced \$888,160,403 worth of goods, based upon the returns of annual statistics, as stated in my November article; and had this number of employees worked the full year (307 days), they would have produced goods valued at \$938,748,380. The amount produced in 289.51 days was, moreover, but 72.65 per cent (based upon the Massachusetts Reports of Annual Statistics) of a maximum productive capacity, which, as shown, was \$1,222,519,481; and, to produce this value of goods, 632,119 persons would have been required. For the whole country, the average number of persons (employers and employees) engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries was 4,712,622; and the value of goods produced by them, \$9,372,437,283. Assuming that this amount was produced in 289.51 days, as shown for Massachusetts, the product of the United States for the full year would have been \$9,906,275,394, and the maximum productive capacity, \$12,900,808,373; the actual production being 72.65 per cent of a possible maximum production, to produce which, 6,137,396 persons would have been needed.

If the 26,923 establishments in Massachusetts in 1890 had been run to their utmost capacity, 146,937 more persons would have been employed than was actually the case; and for the United States as a whole there would have been employed 1,424,774 more persons in the 355,415 establishments making returns of manufactured products in 1890.

The following table shows, for the United States, the number of persons unemployed and the average months unemployed during the

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Census year 1890, with the equivalent number unemployed 12 months, for all industries and for certain specified occupations:—

Occupations.	Number Unemployed and Average Months Unemployed during Census Year.		Equivalent Number Unemployed Twelve Months.
	Number.	Average Months.	
All Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries.....	1,068,404	3.89	346,447
Blacksmiths and Wheelwrights.....	26,424	3.98	8,754
Boot- and Shoe-makers and Repairers....	57,713	3.55	17,057
Brick- and Tile-makers and Terra-cotta-workers.....	26,260	4.26	9,324
Carpenters and Joiners.....	194,903	3.93	63,868
Clothing Makers ¹	92,821	4.07	31,465
Cotton, Woollen, and Other Textile Mill Operatives	85,379	3.63	25,810
Glass-workers.....	17,963	3.46	5,177
Gold- and Silver-workers.....	4,082	3.31	1,127
Iron- and Steel-workers (includes Moulders)	52,780	3.57	15,713
Leather Curriers, Dressers, Finishers, and Tanners	7,996	3.56	2,374
Machinists.....	19,131	3.67	5,854
Marble- and Stone-cutters	18,482	3.80	5,851
Masons (Brick and Stone).....	68,869	4.24	24,181
Painters, Glaziers, and Varnishers.....	68,405	4.00	22,759
Plasterers.....	16,733	4.21	5,865
Rubber-factory Operatives.....	6,828	3.03	1,597
Saw- and Planing-mill Employees.....	43,233	3.84	13,839
Tobacco- and Cigar-factory Operatives...	25,584	3.76	8,007

For certain occupations given in the preceding table, it is possible to determine, with reasonable accuracy, the number of persons which would have been required to produce the maximum value of goods, without any increase in the then existing plant, and to compare this maximum number with the average number of employees, as returned in the Census of Manufactures, for those industries which are, to all intents and purposes, equivalent to the occupations designated in the first table on the following page.*

¹ Includes dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses, sewing-machine operators, shirt-, collar-, and cuff-makers, and tailors and tailoresses.

*The differences in classification between the return of occupations derived from the population schedules and the return of employees (average number) in manufacturing establishments derived from the schedules of manufactures make exact comparisons impossible; and in some cases no comparisons whatever can be made. In the case of the building trades no results can be given, as the Massachusetts Report on Annual Statistics for 1890 supplies no data as to working-time and proportion of business done.

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Occupations.	Average Number of Employees, as Returned in Census of Manufactures.	Estimated Number of Employees Necessary to Maximum Production.	Excess of Maximum Number over Average Number of Employees.
All Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries.....	4,712,622	6,137,396	1,424,774
Boot- and Shoe-makers and Repairers....	184,275	236,927	52,652
Clothing Makers.....	409,395	519,262	109,867
Cotton, Woollen, and Other Textile Mill Operatives.....	498,977	541,984	43,007
Glass-workers.....	49,781	59,625	9,844
Iron- and Steel-workers (includes Moulders).....	212,229	285,855	73,626
Leather Curriers, Dressers, Finishers, and Tanners.....	44,672	59,237	14,565
Machinists.....	247,754	333,477	85,723
Marble- and Stone-cutters.....	35,989	54,172	18,183
Rubber-factory Operatives.....	19,066	23,550	4,484
Saw- and Planing-mill Employees.....	86,888	107,058	20,170
Tobacco- and Cigar-factory Operatives...	135,927	207,440	71,513

The following tables have, on the same basis, been compiled for Massachusetts, covering such occupations as showed a considerable element of unemployed in 1890, according to the Federal Census of that year, and for which approximately fair comparisons could be made:—

Occupations.	Number Unemployed and Average Months Unemployed during Census Year.		Equivalent Number Unemployed Twelve Months.
	Number.	Average Months.	
All Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries.....	114,842	3.58	34,243
Blacksmiths and Wheelwrights.....	1,138	3.69	350
Boot- and Shoe-makers and Repairers....	33,592	3.35	9,377
Carpenters and Joiners.....	9,844	3.57	2,930
Clothing Makers ¹	7,261	4.07	2,462
Cotton, Woollen, and Other Textile Mill Operatives.....	17,069	3.61	5,138
Gold- and Silver-workers.....	1,900	2.79	441
Iron- and Steel-workers (includes Moulders).....	1,948	3.54	575
Leather Curriers, Dressers, Finishers, and Tanners.....	3,402	3.47	984
Machinists.....	1,959	3.67	599
Marble- and Stone-cutters.....	2,166	3.31	598
Masons (Brick and Stone).....	4,182	3.89	1,355
Painters, Glaziers, and Varnishers.....	5,329	3.76	1,671
Rubber-factory Operatives.....	3,213	2.75	736

¹ Includes dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses, sewing-machine operators, shirt-, collar-, and cuff-makers, and tailors and tailoresses.

Occupations.	Average Number of Employees, as Returned in Census of Manufactures.	Estimated Number of Employees Necessary to Maximum Production.	Excess of Maximum Number over Average Number of Employees.
All Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries.....	485,182	632,119	146,937
Boot- and Shoe-makers and Repairers....	78,599	101,044	22,445
Clothing Makers.....	28,843	36,572	7,729
Cotton, Woollen, and Other Textile Mill Operatives.....	122,470	134,328	11,858
Iron- and Steel-workers (includes Moulders).....	4,846	6,527	1,681
Leather Curriers, Dressers, Finishers, and Tanners.....	8,088	10,724	2,636
Machinists.....	25,027	33,682	8,655
Marble- and Stone-cutters.....	4,242	6,386	2,144
Rubber-mill Operatives.....	8,718	10,767	2,049

The calculations in my article in THE FORUM for November and in this article lead to a few specific and suggestive results that can be stated in figures; and, first, for Massachusetts in 1885,—a year near the close of the general industrial depression which prevailed from 1882 to 1886. In that year, and in that Commonwealth, it has been shown that there was the equivalent of 54,288 persons belonging to the manufacturing and mechanical industries unemployed the entire year. The output of the industries of Massachusetts at that time was 59.27 per cent of the producing capacity of all the manufacturing and mechanical industries of the Commonwealth. Had 14 to 15 per cent been added to the actual production,—making the proportion about 74 per cent only of the actual productive capacity,—the whole 54,288 persons equivalently out of employment the whole year would have been employed, even on the basis of the establishments running, as shown, but 291 days; while, had some 5½ per cent been added to the actual production,—making 64.77 of the actual productive capacity of the Commonwealth,—the establishments would have run full time every working-day in the year.

It has been shown for 1890 that there were 34,243 persons connected with the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts equivalently out of employment the entire Census year. Had 7 to 8 per cent been added to the actual production of the establishments of the Commonwealth, the whole 34,243 persons out of employment would have been employed. That is to say, if the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts had produced about 80, instead of 72.65, per cent of their maximum possible product, every person connected with

such industries would have been employed full running-time, or 289½ days; and had only 6 per cent been added to the actual production, every working-day would have seen all establishments running on full time.

For the whole United States, we can draw deductions only for the year 1890; and of course the percentages are practically the same as for Massachusetts for that year. So, had the actual production of the whole country, so far as manufacturing and mechanical industries are concerned, been increased between 7 and 8 per cent, the whole number of persons (346,447) connected with such industries unemployed for the equivalent of 12 months would have been fully occupied. The year 1890 was, of course, a prosperous year as compared with 1885, which was one of the closing years of a period of depression.

The writer has been informed many times during the past year or two by business men that in the worst periods of the recent depression, now passing away, the volume of business was only from 6 to 10 per cent less than in normally prosperous years. The preceding calculations seem to bear out this statement. An addition, then, of from 6 to 10 per cent to the volume of business would have restored normal conditions; while, in the hardest of times, from 10 to 15 per cent added to the volume of manufacturing and mechanical production would have done away entirely with all evidences of depression. The margin, then, between prosperity and industrial depression is exceedingly small. The great problem is how it can be reduced, either wholly or in part. The problem is not a new one, even with this generation or in this century, as has been abundantly shown historically.

It is the firm belief of the writer that the number of unemployed at the present time, or at any time since the advent of the régime of machinery, is not only not in excess of the number of unemployed under old systems of production, but is in fact less,—a condition that, it is believed, has been shown beyond dispute. Nevertheless, it is no less a problem how to reduce the number of unemployed; and the thought and effort of students and producers, as well as of legislators, should be given to its solution. It does not matter what conditions have existed in the past: our duty is to deal with the difficulties of the present; and the only reason for looking to the past is to ascertain whether the difficulty of the problem is being lessened, and, further, to learn what efforts have been made toward solving so intricate and painful a question. Notwithstanding my belief, expressed above, that the number of unemployed persons is less than formerly, there is no reason why all the facts should not be brought out, and such suggestions as they indicate frankly stated.

The world is growing better. There is an increased proportion of the whole people engaged in remunerative occupations; barring temporary reduction, a constant upward tendency in wages; a constant tendency to reduction in cost, and therefore of prices to the consumer; a general rise in the standard of living; and all this accompanies the great producing capacity of our industries.

It is incontrovertible that the present manufacturing and mechanical plant of the United States is greater—far greater—than is needed to supply the demand; yet it is constantly being enlarged, and there is no way of preventing the enlargement. Industrial depression, perhaps, may have a greater influence than any other cause in preventing an extension in the producing capacity of our industries. Legislation, when vicious, may cause stagnation, and thus call a halt in the erection of manufacturing establishments; but no legislation aimed directly at such a result would accomplish anything. The indirect influence of legislation may be felt.

The suggestion which ordinarily comes to one's mind is that relating to the transfer of employees from one occupation to another. This was the pet theory of economists, of theorists, and even of moral philosophers, during the last part of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the present century; it was the chief argument in England for more than half a century; and the suggestion was that the government should, by some means or other, undertake to transfer employees from one industry, where there were too many persons, to industries in which there was a shortage; but then, as now, the impossibilities of such a mobilization of labor prevented any specific movement. If there are ten thousand more people looking to the iron trade for their support than such trade demands, the impossibility of transferring them to the cotton trade—supposing that trade to be understocked—becomes clearly apparent. It is difficult enough to mobilize labor when considering habitat alone; but when it is suggested that the skill and training acquired in one trade are to be laid aside and the persons involved required to enter another trade, the difficulties increase to such an extent as to prevent any movement of the kind. The forced migration of employees from place to place, and their transfer from one industry to another, are suggestions for relief that must be abandoned when considering any organized or systematized movement by which to overcome the margin between actual production and productive capacity. Such measures would not lead to the employment of the unemployed.

Many will turn to the idea of securing greater outlets for our manufactured products: in other words, that in the extension of our foreign

trade lies the solution of the question how to overcome the margin, or to add the required 8 or 10 or 15 per cent to the actual production of the country, and thus lead to the full employment of all who seek work. Herein lies some hope. The difficulties in this direction, however, are great indeed; for Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, the United States, and, to a considerable extent, Austria, Russia, and Italy, are all seeking outlets for their surplus products,—each of these great producing communities having reached an industrial condition under which it is not only able to supply its own wants, but to produce a surplus of commodities. England, as the leading manufacturing nation of the world for many years, with generations of skill in mechanical employment, undertook to supply the world with her manufactured products. With her immense advantages and her control of raw materials, this was natural. With the aid of science, of rapid transportation (which she did much to develop), and of the vast capital she possessed, England was enabled to carry on great enterprises in the line of production. With the constant increase of equipment to carry out her industrial policy, England at last found herself, on account of the course of other nations, with a plant altogether too large for the demands made upon her, and with a capacity sufficient to supply not only her own home and colonial markets, but a great share of the other markets of the world.

The United States, seeking to become independent of Great Britain industrially, as well as politically, found it essential to establish a commercial system which it was thought would enable our industries to become gradually free from the industrial control of England. So, English and other foreign producers of manufactured goods have gradually lost the American market, and American producers have gradually found themselves in a position to supply the home demand. Stimulated in this direction, the United States has gone on perfecting machinery, duplicating plant, and crowding the market with products, until to-day we are in the exact position of England, with productive capacity far in excess of the demand. This condition has been reached under a system the reverse of that which has prevailed in England.

France, at first drawing her skilled workmen from England, and tardy in the establishment of manufacturing industries, at last concluded she ought to supply her own markets, at least, and so began war on British industry. To-day, France finds herself in precisely the same industrial situation as Great Britain and America. France has supplied her own demands and is seeking to supply those of others.

Germany has followed the example of France and of the United

States, and with precisely the same results,—she is seeking outlets for her surplus production.

Notwithstanding these statements, our export trade in manufactured products is constantly increasing, as shown by recent statistics of the Treasury Department. Had the classification of the Federal Census of 1890 been used by the Treasury Department, the proportion of exports of manufactures to total exports would have increased much more relatively to the export trade in other goods. The Treasury statistics show that, ten years ago, the total value of exports of domestic manufactures was \$136,735,105, or 19.45 per cent of the total exports of the country; while for the year ending June 30, 1897, the total exports of domestic manufactures amounted to \$276,357,861, or 26.78 per cent of the total exports of all kinds. For the eight months ending with August, 1897, the percentage had risen to 30.11 per cent.

It is the duty of our Government, therefore, in order to supply remunerative employment to the greatest number of citizens, to take every step possible toward the extension of our foreign trade. Reciprocity leads to the exchange of products, and thus to the employment of an increased number in those industries in which we are now so adequately equipped. The stability of the currency, which follows the establishment of a sound financial system, and treaties favorable to trade are measures to which legislators can profitably address their efforts. Yet legislation cannot solve the problem of the unemployed: it can but take steps toward its solution, and aid, instead of hinder, the disposition of the output.

In all probability, however, the causes of and the means for overcoming the difficulties lie deeper down than legislation or commercial systems. Economists protest that there is no over-production in the world. Probably they are correct; yet they usually talk about under-consumption as being a fact. Unequal and defective distribution is the principal cause of what is known as under-consumption; nevertheless, there are other factors which, in all probability, make under-consumption the more effective cause of the inadequate output as compared with the productive capacity of our industries.

The consuming power of the ordinary laborer in certain parts of the United States is estimated at from 50 to 75 cents, or, at the outside, \$1 per week, including food, shelter, and raiment; while in some other parts of the country the consuming power of the wage-worker is represented by at least \$3 per week. If, therefore, through a higher perfection of skill,—resulting from industrial education and education

generally,—the standard of living for those whose consuming power is gauged at the low rate named can be increased to that of the higher rate given, the problem of the unemployed would pass away. An increase of \$1 per week per family of those living under the lower rates of consuming power, with the increase of half that amount per week in the family expenditure of the remainder, would make a market sufficiently expansive to overcome the margin between actual production and productive capacity. At the Census of 1890, there were 12,690,152 families in the United States. Given the capacity to increase the expenditure per family a little over \$1 per week, and the margin would disappear. A higher standard of living means the highest prosperity of all our industries; and as the standard of living is raised, the proportions of the problem grow less and the severity becomes greatly reduced. This has been the experience in the past; and it will be the experience in the future. All efforts, therefore, which have for their purpose the raising of our people to higher levels of living are practical efforts, and effective ones, in solving the problem of the unemployed.

This leads to the consideration of the old question of discontent, which so thoroughly frightens the Pessimist. It is through discontent that this problem of the unemployed will be solved, if it ever is solved. A contented community cannot advance in civilization, in consuming power, and in prosperity. It is only those communities whose members are not content with their conditions that ever show any progress or take any marked steps forward. Every man should be content only with the knowledge that he is growing away from his old condition, that he is advancing. When content with the idea that there is no further progress, and that there is no improvement of his condition in prospect, he is worth but little as a citizen. Discontent, in the sense in which it is used here, does not mean unhappy, irrational discontent, which leads to riot and revolution, but that divine discontent which ought to enter into the soul of every person who cares to grow in any direction.

“The great fact about the whole matter is that the material progress of labor can be achieved only as wages rise, and prices, through the use of improved methods of production, decline. Nothing can be of real service to labor which does not promote one or the other of these movements. . . . Whatever will create among laborers new desires, habits, and tastes, new demands for comforts and refinements, new ambitions for higher individual and social life, strong enough to make them organize to enforce these demands, will do it.”—“*Gunton's Magazine*” for October, 1897, p. 278.

Everything, in fact, which will promote discontent with vile and bad conditions, everything which will teach the members of communi-

ties that they can have better things only as they better their own conditions, everything which will lead men to appreciate—and thus to strive to secure—a wider margin between the time essential to obtain a living and the capacity to employ their leisure in the cultivation of their own tastes, should be stimulated.

A man has a right to some of the spiritual things of life. The earnings of the working-man have already been enhanced beyond the actual necessities of life. The margin above this line is, perhaps, 10 to 15 per cent; and as he learns the value of time, and progresses in the enjoyment of the higher things of life, he will seek to increase the margin and enhance the enjoyment. If he be content in the knowledge that he is securing this, it is the only economic content desirable. If he be discontented in the knowledge that he is not reaching a higher plane of living, it is a healthy discontent, and in it lies more of power toward reaching a solution of the problem of the unemployed than in any legislation or perfunctory acts that can be performed.

We have the plant. We have the productive capacity. Shall the consuming power of the people be enlarged, and shall the opportunities for the increase of the consuming power be obtained? Every effort that has been made so far toward the solution of the problem of the unemployed has been ameliorative in its character. All these efforts are good; for they teach the man in want the necessity of supplying his want by his own efforts. That charity which means almsgiving only increases the number of the unemployed, and therefore retards all efforts toward overcoming the margin between actual production and productive capacity; but the worst is, it weakens the person. The noble efforts that are being made by public-spirited citizens in our great cities recognize this, and therefore seek to open channels for productive labor, the immediate consequence of which is the increase in the consuming power of the objects of the efforts. Specific efforts that hinge upon perfunctory and dogmatic measures may have some temporary results, which, upon the surface, look real in their effects; but they tend ultimately to an extension or expansion of the difficulty. -

The meagre facts on which the calculations in these articles have been based, and which, of necessity, are confined to manufacturing and mechanical industries, although lacking scientific accuracy, approximate accuracy sufficiently to indicate real conditions in such industries; and if they offer any suggestive hints on lines of practical effort, the labor of bringing the facts together will have been amply repaid, and the purpose of the labor satisfied. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

WHENCE CAME THE AMERICAN INDIANS?

WE may assume that there is a region which was the home of the first man, or the primordial species. Where was this home; and by what route did the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent find their way from that pristine region?

Ethnology is the science of aboriginal peoples. Researches in ethnology are investigations to discover the origin or derivation of peoples. What, then, does the science of ethnology teach of the origin or derivation of the American Indian?

When the New World was discovered, a great number of tribes were found dispersed through all the habitable regions of the continent, thinly scattered in every district. The total number was comparatively small, possibly but a few millions. Nowhere in America was there found a nation, as that term is used by ethnologists—that is, a people organized into a government on a territorial basis. Everywhere the people were organized into governments as tribes and confederacies on a basis of kinship; but this kinship was often a legal fiction.

When people are organized there must be some method of grouping or regimenting them. Among the American Indians this was by kinship. Consanguineal kinship was reckoned usually in the female line. It was necessary that men who belonged to the same clan should trace their kinship through mothers: such a group of consanguineal relations is called a clan. But there were a few tribes that reckoned kinship through the male, as did the Greeks and Romans: when groups are organized in this manner they are now called gentes. A clan is a group of people who reckon consanguineal kinship through the female line: a gens is a group of people who reckon kinship through the male line. Clan organization seems to have preceded gentile organization. Most of the tribes of North America have clan organization: a few have gentile organization. One system always precludes the other. A family group, composed of two parents with their children, is again regimented with other such families into a group of consanguineal kindred as a clan or a gens. The consanguineal group is again regimented into a higher group, which we now call the tribe; that is, all

those persons in clans or gentes who reckon kinship with one another by affinity or intermarriage constitute a higher group known as the tribe. Then tribes formed alliances, which are now known to ethnologists as confederacies. When they formed such alliances, it was under the legal fiction of kinship. They agreed to be brothers, or fathers and sons, or uncles and nephews. Thus the confederacy was founded on conventional kinship. Within these groups, others were developed, from time to time, into the nature of which we need not stop to inquire. We may now understand what the ethnologist means when he speaks about tribal society as distinct from national society. In tribal society, people are regimented by kinship: in national society, by territory.

In national society, a man belongs to the township in which he resides, takes part in its councils, and is amenable to its laws. He is also an integral member of the group of persons who have a home in the county. In the same manner, he is a member of the group of which the State is composed, he takes part in the government of the State, and is amenable to the laws of the State. Finally, he is a component member of the national group. Thus, he is a citizen in a hierarchy of groups; and his citizenship depends on the locality of his domicile. But, in tribal society, a man belongs to a hierarchy of groups by reason of his kinship, actual or conventional.

Now, all the people of America, at the date of their discovery by Europeans in the Columbian epoch, were organized into tribes; and the scanty millions, scattered over the vast region, were grouped as tribesmen. Such tribal society is quite familiar to us through the Hebrew scriptures, and has been found as a primitive condition in every part of the globe; so that the origin and history of civilization are now almost universally considered as the development of society from the datum-point of tribal organization. It began thus in Hellas; and every nationality which history investigates can, in like manner, be traced back to tribal conditions. We know it from the Hebrew scriptures as patriarchal society, in which the patriarch is the elder man of the group in the different groups by which society is regimented. In the family and in the clan or gens, the ruler or chief is usually the oldest male; in the tribe, he is often the oldest male by convention or legal fiction; while in the confederacy he is always the oldest male by legal fiction. Thus, tribal society is often said to be patriarchal society.

In recent years, another term, which is altogether misleading, has come to be used. We have seen that the clan reckons kinship through the female line, the gens through the male. A patriarchy is a govern-

ment ruled in its different units through elder males; and the term has this etymologic, as well as scientific, signification. When it was discovered that sometimes, and usually in North America, the group next above the family reckoned kinship through females, the clan, by a misuse of the term, was said to be matriarchal, or ruled by women; but the existence of such a method of government has not been found. The use of the term "matriarchal" in this manner by a few ethnologists has led many publicists to assume that the earliest stage of society is matriarchal, and that in primitive society the rulers are women. There are paternal and maternal groups; but there is no matriarchal group: the groups are all governed by men. In the Columbian epoch, most of the tribes had clan organization in the second group, but a few had gentile organization.

For a long term of years, an attempt has been made to discover the relationship between the American Indians and other peoples of the globe, hoping thereby to discover their origin. Thus, researches in the ethnology of the American tribes began with an examination of their physical characteristics as animals. This science is called somatology. It examines the relative proportions of the parts of the body, especially of the skeleton; but it also enters into minute details of everything relating to the human body, as, for example, the color of the skin, the structure of the hair, the attitude of the eyes, the conformation of the cranium, etc. Now, in these physical characteristics, such great deviations, or extreme types, as are found in the Old World are not discovered among the American Indians. For example, there is no race of dwarfs such as is found in Africa; nor has there been found a race of giants. It was long believed that the Patagonians were giants; but in fact we cannot say more than that some of them have well-developed bodies. In America, some tribes have an average stature somewhat larger than others; but the variations in the members of the same tribe are much greater than between different tribes. In the same manner there are variations in the proportions of their limbs; but no very great extremes are found from tribe to tribe, although somewhat greater extremes occur among the individuals of the same tribe. In the color of the skin there is very little variation. All the American Indians are rather dark; none of them are black; and none are white, except that now and then albinos are met with. They all have rather straight hair, that is, the cross-section of the hair varies but little; they have dark eyes (excepting now and then the peculiar eye characteristic of the albino); but the oblique eye of some of the races of the Far East has no counterpart

here. It is possible to enumerate the physical characteristics of the American Indian to an indefinite extent, and still it would be found that the extremes of type between tribes are usually much less than between individuals of the same tribe. In general, the extremes found among the peoples of the Old World are not found in America; but the average or mean of the American is about the same as that of men in the rest of the world.

On this subject there has been much research; tomes have been written, methods of examination refined, and extensive systems of anthropometric observations made; but, the more thorough the investigation, the firmer is the conclusion that the aboriginal peoples of America cannot be allied preferentially to any one branch of the human race in the Old World. The research, in its refinement, has created an art of anthropometry; but its practice has not produced a system of ethnology. The failure of somatology to solve the problem of the derivation of the North-American Indian from some other people in the Old World has led to other methods of investigation, which must now be considered.

Let us look at the state of industries among our tribes. All were skilled in the manufacture and use of stone knives, spears, and arrow-heads. All, or nearly all, of them made pottery. All of them constructed dwellings of the material most available for that purpose in their several habitats,—those of the Arctic clime making snow huts; those of the arid regions, stone houses; those of the Everglades, shell-revetted palefits, or key dwellings; and all utilizing the materials near their own homes in dwellings of a great variety of structure.

In various directions, now here, now there, the several tribes had attained to a high degree of skill in the textile arts. The extent to which the skill of the natives in the production of artifacts had advanced—with one article here and another there, so that altogether many and diverse industries were produced—is simply marvellous; especially when we consider that metallurgy was scarcely developed in the Western Hemisphere, no tools of bronze or iron being used in manufacturing.

The domiciliary structures and articles of primitive industry are greatly diversified, and often are made with great skill and ingenuity. But this grand fact stands out in high relief; viz., that everywhere the local industries were adapted to the immediate environment, and the people learned to use chiefly those things which were furnished them by nature in the several regions they inhabited. Sometimes they supplemented their stores by bartering with adjacent tribes. Every

article found has the impress of the soil; and there is no evidence that any of the industrial arts of the American Indians were borrowed from the Orient.

Artifacts are found in mounds and tombs, where they were buried with the dead: but nothing has been found which could not have been made by the tribes discovered in the Columbian epoch; and the pious offerings of antiquity tell the same story as that told by the artifacts discovered in use among the tribes by the European invader.

Stone implements and many other things are found in the latest Pleistocene deposits of valleys and plains everywhere throughout America. Nothing has been discovered which antedates the glacial epoch, and nothing, with certainty, which has been deposited antecedent to the retreat of the ice; though some few rude implements have been found for which a claim has been set up, that they date back into the latter part of the ice age of the region where found. But these conclusions are held to lack good geologic evidence of such age. The evidence on which they rest proves too much; for it often carries tool-making man back into the Cretaceous age. We may, with safety, assert that the evidence carries him back far into the river and aerial overlacement that succeeded the formations of glacial origin.

The story which these fossil artifacts tell is one of great interest; for, the older they appear, the ruder are they fashioned. From this we are forced to the conclusion that the industrial arts of the American aborigines began with the simplest tools of stone, bone, and other material here in America itself, and that their development to that high degree of excellence attained by the tribes at the time of their discovery was indigenous. The industrial arts of America were born in America. America was inhabited by tribes at the time of the beginning of industrial arts; so that if we are to find a region or a people, from which the tribes of America sprang, in the Eastern Hemisphere, we can only conclude that they left the Old World before they had learned to make stone knives, spears, and arrow-heads, or at least when they knew the art only in its crudest state. Thus, primitive man has been here ever since the invention of the stone knife and the stone hammer. How much longer, we cannot say.

With the industrial arts, decorative arts are developed. Like all primitive decoration, it is symbolic; but the symbolism used is everywhere the same. The animals of the habitat are pictured on the pottery, woven into the fabrics, and represented in the basketry. Especially are the universal symbols of the regions found. These regions or worlds

of the primitive cosmologist are the east, west, north, south, zenith, nadir, and centre, associated with pictures of animals and other characteristics observed in the particular locality. No tribe in America has been found which does not teach a cosmology of regions, with a primitive intercourse between them in the symbols of the cross and the swastika.

The decorative pictures found scattered through every great valley of America, on the domiciles and artifacts in use by the tribesmen, and in the ruins and graves of their ancestors, show that the American Indians had not yet acquired the knowledge and skill to represent objects in linear perspective. They could not represent on a plane surface objects in position on that plane, together with objects in a position on a plane at right angles thereto; but there are found a variety of conventional methods of representing three dimensions in pictographs. A knowledge of this fact sometimes aids the archæologist in detecting a hoax. Not many years ago, an inscribed tablet, said to have been found in a mound and to be of great antiquity, was, for this reason, immediately pronounced by an archæologist to be spurious. Another archæologist was not long in discovering that the petroglyph was copied from the advertisement of a brewery, with Gambrinus astride a keg!

The archæologists of Europe find glyphs on articles among deposits which they call "paleolithic," as representing an age when only the crudest stone implements were used; but these glyphs delineate objects in perspective with a minimum of crude lines worthy of Hogarth. Found in America, they would be taken as practical jests; and the archæologist who would accept one as a specimen of primordial art would be regarded as the victim of a hoax.

Perhaps with every tribe in America we find games of chance partially developed into games of skill. All such games have some kind of paraphernalia like dice, cards, or checkerboards. These are also found in the tombs and ruins of antiquity. They all seem to have been developed as schemes of divination; and they can be reduced to a few simple types based chiefly on the cosmology of regions. From one end of the land to the other, one common system is found. All belong to a world-wide system; and the ideas found in one region may be discovered in every other region. These games are thus the common heritage of mankind. They give no evidence of the derivation of one people from another, but only of the unity of the human race in primitive intellectual endowments.

Let us next review the evidence existing in language. The earlier travellers were surprised to find a great number of tongues spoken by

the tribes. A few people in one district were entirely cut off from their neighbors in other districts by the barrier of language. Traders who went from tribe to tribe, or from confederacy to confederacy, found that the few words of trade language which they had mastered in one region would not serve in another. Missionaries, who sought to spread the Christian religion, found it a hopeless task to promulgate their doctrines as itinerant evangelists, and were forced to establish themselves in districts by tribes, devoting themselves to a study of the languages individually. Every language seemed to have difficult vocables, with unpronounceable elements, and a grammatical structure that revelled in distinctions to which civilized men were unaccustomed in ordinary European speech. Some of the latter, however, occur in the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin. Thus, they found the declensions and conjugations of the three languages of historical learning pretty well developed, though variously modified; but, in addition, they discovered a set of grammatical distinctions which made those languages difficult of acquirement to them, though simple to those brought up in the use of such grammatical forms. Thus, distinctions were made between elder and younger brothers, elder and younger sisters, between uncles and aunts in the female and those in the male line, between cousins in the male line and cousins in the female line; and these were again distinguished as elder and younger. When things were to be counted, they had to learn a different set of numerals for different classes of things. Long objects were counted with one set of numerals, short objects with another, standing objects with a third, and recumbent objects with a fourth. Many such distinctions were observed, in addition to those of gender, number, case, tense, mood, and voice, with which, as scholars, they were familiar.

Among a people not exceeding in number those of a small European nation, but widely scattered throughout North and South America, and regimented in bodies of kindred, a vast system of distinct languages was found, usually so unlike each other that they did not furnish a method of intercommunication between different peoples. Of such languages some hundreds are well known: perhaps there were thousands. Every year's investigation multiplies the number; and any one such language, when carefully studied, is found to be composed of a number of languages,—sometimes of those known elsewhere, often of languages otherwise unknown.

The multitude of tongues thus found is thrown into groups; each group representing a number of languages having common elements in

part. Thus we have a group of Algonquian languages, of which there are about forty, no one of which could be understood by a people speaking another, and differing greatly in the extent of non-common words. Such a group is called a stock. In the same manner, the Athapascan stock has from thirty to forty languages; the Siouan stock twenty or more; the Shoshonean stock a greater number; while there are stocks which are represented by a single language, like that spoken at Zúñi, or by the Kiowa.

The Eskimauan language, which is spoken at the extreme north of this hemisphere, is also found in the north of Asia. The people have been called Orarians, that is, "dwellers on the shore." They inhabit a narrow strip of country around the margin of Greenland, and to the west of Baffin Bay, around all the great islands and down the coast to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the western shore of Hudson Bay, and about the bays and straits to the north; then to the west around Alaska, and still farther along the Arctic shores of the eastern continent. They thus extend along the winding island and mainland coast for more than ten thousand miles; inhabiting a narrow fringe of country by the sea, and obtaining their livelihood therefrom. More than ten thousand miles of coastland are occupied by a people who speak one language.

But in Newfoundland there are tribes which speak another tongue mixed with the Eskimauan; while on the southwest coast there are other tribes speaking mixed tongues; and the same is true of tribes inhabiting the northern coast of Asia. If we call all these tongues Eskimauan, then the principal tongue is still homogeneous, and a common medium for the communication of tribes occupying, as I have said, more than ten thousand miles of the most difficult coast known to mankind. While there is intercommunication, it is infrequent because of the difficulties and perils of Arctic navigation. Thus, in all that stretch of country there is but one language. What are the conditions under which this language has been preserved in its integrity and homogeneity? Simply these: The territory occupied by the peoples speaking this language is cut off from the interior by an uninhabitable belt of glacial land, so that the means of communication are to be found mainly on the seaward side. The inhabitants, having been distributed over this enormous belt of coast from a primitive tribe having one language, have preserved that language through all their vicissitudes and stages of culture; while in the southeast, where the Eskimauan territory joins territory occupied by tribes having other tongues, we find mixed languages. The same facts appear on the southern coast of Alaska, in

languages differentiated from the main stock by admixture with other languages. With the exception pointed out, the Eskimauan language is the purest language known on this hemisphere. So far as they have been studied, all other languages are compounded of at least two, and usually of many.

From these examples we learn this important fact with respect to language; viz., that the differentiation of two or more languages from the same stock, by reason of the separation of the people into tribes and their reorganization into the nation, plays but a minor part, indeed a very minor part, in the multiplication of languages; that the chief factor in differentiation is the compounding of different primordial tongues.

A new language may be formed by the admixture of two or more distinct tongues; the distinct tongues being wholly absorbed, or they may remain as distinct languages spoken by branches of peoples not amalgamated. New tongues are developed by compounding and re-compounding; and this process of compounding has proceeded in all time as it has during the historic period. We know how languages have developed in this manner during the last two thousand years; their origin by compounding is attested by all history; and there is not known throughout the wide earth a single instance where, by the division of the people into nations, a language has differentiated into two or more dialects without the admixture of elements from some other tongue. We are therefore compelled to regard the evolution of language as a process of integration by compounding, and, consequently, to think of a vast multitude of primordial languages. Every little tribe produced a language of its own; for we no longer look at language as something of divine origin, but understand it to be a conventional body of words devised by men in their efforts to communicate ideas, and having a beginning in simple tribal speech only a little superior to that of some of the lower animals.

Every language which is studied is traced to lower and still lower stages of structure; and when we speak of a stock or family of languages, we mean a group that is conventionally related through the compounding of common elements.

As we cannot reduce the languages of the Eastern Hemisphere to one common primordial tongue, so we cannot trace the languages of the Western Hemisphere to one common body of speech; nor can we discover any primitive or fundamental relationship between any one language of the West with any one language of the East. We are

therefore forced to conclude, from the evidence of language, that the tribes inhabited this hemisphere anterior to the development of articulate or grammatic speech,—that is, before words were so crystallized by phonetic development that they might enter into the compounds necessary to the evolution of a body of speech, and etymological research should be able to abstract its roots and compare them with the fundamental elements of Eastern tongues. As in historic times languages have developed their vocabularies by compounding and adding foreign elements, and in the process have sloughed off cumbersome grammatic forms and replaced them by logical forms as parts of speech, so we must conclude that the same process was at work in prehistoric times.

A vast amount of investigation has been expended in a search for some primeval language as the foundation of the language of the Aryan or Indo-European peoples. But, the longer the investigation continues, the more hopeless the problem; for the greater is the number of the primitive languages found to be. Not one language became the Aryan languages; but the latter were derived from innumerable primordial tongues. There was no single primordial American tongue; but, when languages were formed, there were as many bodies of speech as there were tribes of men.

Let us now turn to contemplate the opinions of mankind. The history of opinions is the science of sophiology. Ethnologists have long been in search of these opinions as expressed in the cosmology and mythologies of the American Indian. We now know that all our tribes were primitively zoötheistic; that is, they worshipped beast gods, which beast gods were the primordial animals,—the progenitors and prototypes of existing animals. The gods of each tribe were the particular animals of the habitat of that tribe. True, they all worshipped the heavenly bodies; but they supposed them to be the primitive animals transported to the zenith world. They also worshipped certain animals of the nadir world,—the underground beasts. Thus they assigned the birds to the heaven; the badgers, moles, and other burrowing animals to the nadir; and the other animals to the four cardinal regions. Their progenitors or prototypes are still believed to inhabit these distant regions, and such birds and beasts as are now found here to have come from these regions as their primitive homes.

Thus, all the American Indians have a cosmology of regions and a theology of animal gods; but the tribes differ from district to district in the personages of their pantheon. The gods are always organized

as a tribe; but the chief of the tribe is now this, now that, mythic personage. Among the Ute it is *Shinauav*; and among the Zúñi it is the sun. Among those tribes that have made the greatest progress in culture, there seems to be a tendency to exalt celestial personages, and to adopt a philosophy which singularly resembles that of our Aryan forefathers. We are able to discover vestiges of ancient zoötheistic belief among the tribes of the Orient; and we are also able to discover vestiges of a regional cosmology in many places throughout the Eastern Hemisphere. So, we are justly entitled to believe that the cosmology and theology of the American Indian were at one time universal; but we are not able to trace any direct connection between the Orient and the Occident in the cults of primitive peoples.

We are therefore abundantly warranted in saying that the American Indian did not derive his forms of government, his industrial and decorative arts, his languages, or his mythological opinions from the Old World, but developed them in the New. Man thus seems to have inhabited the New World through all the lost centuries of prehistoric time. In fact, we are compelled to believe that man occupied the entire habitable globe anterior to the development of arts, industries, institutions, languages, and cosmological opinions. That this aboriginal man was spread abroad from some primitive habitat may be true; but there is no evidence that the dispersion of mankind was subsequent to the development of distinctly human activities as represented by arts, industries, governments, languages, and philosophies, although he had already acquired a supremacy over the lower animals which made him the universal species.

How this primordial species, the ante-human species, was distributed from some geographic centre or region, is the problem which remains for solution; and this cannot be solved by ethnology as represented in physical races or as exhibited in cultural characteristics. If it shall ever be solved it will be done only by geologic research,—by discovering the remains of the man-animal in his primordial condition as they are buried in some geologic stratum, and by following them from land to land in geologic formations.

Ethnology has traced the problem outside its domain and found it to be a geological problem. Ethnologists have traced mankind back into a geological period,—the glacial,—back to a time when the geological distribution of land areas was quite different from that which now obtains. As it is a geological problem, it can be solved only by geologists and biologists.

Let us now review the statements made, in order that we may the more thoroughly realize the nature of the argument and the conclusions derived therefrom. We have reviewed in a summary manner the somatologic elements, or those which depend upon the physical characteristics of men, and have found that we cannot derive American tribes from any other tribe or group of tribes in the Eastern World. Then we have briefly set forth the evidence furnished by the five classes of demotic facts; namely, arts, industries, institutions, languages, and philosophies. In the five categories of demotic characteristics, we discover that there are certain features which are universal to mankind, and certain other features which are of local origin: these must now be briefly reviewed.

In the case of the æsthetic arts or arts of decoration, arts of physical amusement or sports, and arts of intellectual amusement or games, we find them all founded on ideas universally entertained by tribal men throughout the globe, but that, at the same time, their embodiment in objective material is controlled by tribal habitat. Thus, in decorative art, the pictures produced represent the material objects, such as animals, geographic features, and phenomena of the heavenly bodies, which are to be observed in the particular locality inhabited by each tribe. The games are those which spring out of the surplus of human activity everywhere among mankind; but they have a special environment, represented in the objective materials of the locality. All games start from the universal effort of mankind to divine the future, but find their expression in objective materials pertaining to the locality where they are exploited. In considering all these arts, we are led to the conclusion that they are not derivative from abroad, but are developed by local environment.

The same is true of the industrial arts. Houses are made of ice where there is perpetual ice; of mats of tules, rushes, grass, and leaves where such materials are abundant; and of slabs, small trees, boughs, and bark where such materials are the most convenient. They are made of slabs of stone in arid and cliff regions where flat stones are abundant; the cliffs themselves are utilized where cliffs prevail; and, finally, in the Everglade regions, house-sites are selected and these sites developed and improved by palefit structures and shell embankments.

In institutions, we discover that regimentation is founded on the universal idea of kinship, and that the regulation accompanying regimentation is founded on the universal idea of superior age, while the details of regulation relate to the activity which the locality demands.

In languages, we find that they start with the universal effort of mankind for expression, and that the objects expressed are in part universal to mankind. All languages have pronouns, all languages have numerals, all languages have words for universal concepts, such as father, mother, son, and daughter; but, in addition to these universal concept terms, there are other terms which express the facts of the local environment.

Finally, in philosophies, certain universal concepts, as of regions, heavenly bodies, fire, etc., are woven into myths, the actors in which are the animals of the locality.

To a limited extent, arts have travelled from tribe to tribe by acculturation. Industries have, in like manner, travelled from tribe to tribe; for one tribe has borrowed from another the ideas which are expressed as object-lessons. Tribes have come in contact with tribes; they have made wars on one another, and often established peace and regulated intercommunication. They have thus borrowed legal principles from one another, and entered into mutual agreements on the nature of these principles. The individuals of tribes have conversed with one another by gesture speech, and, finally, by oral speech; and thus languages have been compounded. Tribes that have commingled with one another have interchanged the elements of their philosophies; and thus myths have spread. Such is the state of demotic characteristics discovered in the Columbian period; but there is no evidence that the tribes of the Occident have ever commingled with the tribes of the Orient. Thus we are forced to conclude that the occupancy of America by mankind was anterior to the development of arts, industries, institutions, languages, and opinions; that the primordial occupancy of the continent antedates present geographical conditions, and points to a remote time, which can be discovered only by geological and biological investigation.

In the demotic characteristics of the American Indians, all that is common to tribes of the Orient is universal, all that distinguishes one group of tribes from another in America distinguishes them from all the other tribes of the world.

Mankind was dispersed over the habitable earth anterior to the development of demotic characteristics.

JOHN W. POWELL.

THE TRUE MEANING OF THE NEW SUGAR TARIFF.

THE discussion of the Sugar Schedule of the new Tariff law, which has been conducted in the newspapers and other publications, has revealed a marked degree of commercial and political bias. In one influential trade journal the following statements occur:—

“Very much appears in the current news from Washington as to the comparative protection given to the refined-sugar interests by the new sugar schedule, as compared with the protection given by the Wilson Bill. These estimates and opinions are mostly theoretical and fanciful, and have no real existence in the business world. From a business standpoint of actual transactions in foreign raws and refined, the following is the correct comparison of the protection of the two bills; and it will be noticed that the new tariff cuts very severely into the protection granted under the Wilson Bill, and the parity throws the gates wide open for the free importation of foreign refined in much larger quantities than heretofore. . . .

The new bill, therefore, reduces the American refiners' protection on Dutch Granulated and other non-bounty sugars from .281c. to .139c. per lb., or say 50 per cent reduction; and on Fine German Granulated the reduction is from .324c. per lb. to .189c. per lb., or say 41 per cent reduction; and on First Marks Granulated the protection is reduced from .2632c. per lb. to .189c. per lb., or 28 per cent reduction.

This statement gives the actual status of the new bill, as regards the refiners' protection, from a strictly business standpoint, without assumptions or theories of any kind. Actual business is being put through, or can be put through, on the basis of the figures given. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to see wherein the American refining industry has received adequate protection for the safety of its business.”

In the political newspapers, the criticisms of the new bill are based chiefly on party considerations. The Democratic press finds in the provisions of the bill only the dicta of the Sugar Trust; while the Republican organs state that the Trust has been dealt a staggering blow.

The importance of the Sugar Tariff, both as a revenue-producer and as a protector and promoter of an indigenous sugar industry, demands an unbiased and non-partisan discussion of its provisions. In the present article, an attempt will be made to explain the true meaning of a somewhat complicated law, the real significance of which was probably not understood by all who voted on its final passage. It is safe to say that if this identical schedule had been reported by a Democratic, in-

stead of a Republican, committee, the party vote on its adoption would have been reversed.

The basis of the duties now laid on imported sugar is a raw under No. 16, Dutch Standard, and testing not above 75 degrees by the polariscope. The Dutch Standard is composed of a case of fourteen nearly square bottles, numbered serially from 7 to 20. They are put up annually by the Dutch sugar-brokers in Amsterdam and Rotterdam and preserve from year to year, as nearly as possible, the same tint of color and degree for each number. Before the use of the polariscope became general, this test was applied to raw sugars. The case of colors which I have before me, as I write, is stamped "Bloemen & Gerhard, Amsterdam," and "C. Reub & Co., Rotterdam." The numbers in this case extend from 7, a very dark brown sample, to 20,—the latter a light yellow or cream tint. No. 16, which is the basic color of the new Tariff, possesses a tint which is difficult to describe. The color is neither gray, light brown, yellow, nor tan, but is what might be produced by a mixture of them all. Since refined sugars have been in such exclusive use in this country, it is a color which would effectually exclude the article from the tables even of the poor. It is not, however, a deeper color than is found in many cane-sugars of high polarization and agreeable taste. The polarization of the set of samples above mentioned shows them to have the following values; viz., No. 7, 88.2°; No. 8, 88.5°; No. 9, 91.8°; No. 10, 93.4°; No. 11, 93.6°; No. 12, 94.9°; No. 13, 96.7°; No. 14, 97.3°; No. 15, 97.3°; No. 16, 97.6°; No. 17, 98.3°; No. 18, 98.7°; No. 19, 99.3°; No. 20, 99.1°.

It will be seen, by these figures, that, as a rule, the polarization increases with the number of the sample; the only exceptions being Nos. 14 and 15, which have the same polarization, and Nos. 19 and 20, which have a less polarization in the higher than in the lower number. The average increase is about one degree on the polariscope for each number; but the increase is by no means regular. In one case, from 7 to 8, for instance, it is only three-tenths of 1°; while from 12 to 13 it is 1.8°. It is evident, from the above figures, that the color standards have little or no value, from a scientific point of view, in determining the saccharimetrical strength of the sample.

The polariscope is an instrument which changes an ordinary ray of light into one having peculiar properties, not very happily called polarized. Given an ordinary ray of light of the shape of a log, a polarized ray may be said to be shaped like a board cut from that log. A solution of sugar has the power, in proportion to its strength, of twisting this

board-shaped ray. The polariscope has an attachment which measures with great accuracy the arc through which the plane of light is rotated in passing through the saccharine solution. When a solution of sugar contains no other substance capable of affecting a polarized ray, its content of sugar can be measured by the polariscope with precision.

Theoretically the basic sugar of the present Tariff contains 75 per cent of pure sugar. In point of fact, however, as will be shown farther on, this is not strictly true; for a raw sugar contains not only sucrose,—the substance legally meant by sugar,—but also other sugars and bodies affecting, to some extent, a ray of polarized light. Practically, however, a scientific study of the Sugar Tariff must begin with a low-grade sugar containing 75 per cent of sucrose.

The basic rate of duty is 95 cents per hundred pounds of this sugar. With each increasing per cent of sugar, as measured by the polariscope, an increase of duty of 3.5 cents a hundred pounds is imposed. If the polariscopic reading, therefore, be 100,—showing an absolutely pure sugar,—the rate of duty is 182.5 cents per hundred pounds.

In addition to the above duties, imported sugars are subject to other charges. All sugars above No. 16, Dutch Standard,—that is, all sugars suitable for consumption in this country, and all refined sugars of whatever grade,—pay an additional duty of 12.5 cents per hundred pounds. All sugars which, on exportation, receive bounties, directly or indirectly, pay, in addition to the above charges, duty equal in amount to those bounties. It devolves upon the Secretary of the Treasury to ascertain and determine the magnitude of these bounties. The amount and character of some of them were set forth in my article in *THE FORUM* for July, 1897.

In respect of the direct export bounties, the amount to be paid is easily ascertained. On German sugars, it varies from 27 to 38 cents per hundred pounds, according to quality as determined by the polariscope. On French sugars, the rates vary from 31 to 39 cents per hundred pounds. In the case of Austrian sugars, the amount of excess tariff is more difficult to fix. The total sum allowed annually by the Austrian government for bounties on exported sugars is \$3,641,000. Should all the Austrian exports come to the United States, the total excess of duty would be equivalent to the sum mentioned; provided the exports were sufficiently large to absorb the whole amount. If the total exports from Austria should be greater than the minimum amount required to absorb the entire bounty, a lower rate per pound would be paid. In fixing the countervailing duty on Austrian sugar, it will be necessary to

keep *en rapport* with the total export movements of that country. The total duty paid on French or German refined sugars polarizing approximately 100 will be 195 cents plus 39 and 38 cents, respectively, per one hundred pounds. On low grades, the tariff will be from 28 to 31 cents per hundred pounds more than the regular rates. This increase would mean the total exclusion of bounty-fed sugars from our markets, were it not for the fact that these sugars can be purchased at a price equal to the export bounty below the regular market rates.

In the case of indirect bounties, such as are paid in France, the complications which will attend the levying of a countervailing duty are likely to cause the Treasury serious embarrassments. If these duties were fixed according to the data which are now available, French sugars would be practically excluded. As was shown in my former article, the indirect bounty on French sugars, if made available, would amount to nearly 60 cents a hundred pounds. This, added to the polariscopic, differential, and direct countervailing tariff, would bring the whole duty up to 293 cents per hundred pounds,—fully 100 per cent *ad valorem*. The adjustment of these indirect duties will require not only expert knowledge, but also delicate diplomacy.

The foregoing shows that the tax on imported sugars is of three different kinds, levied in three different ways. These kinds are: First, a duty levied according to the polariscopic reading, beginning with a basic duty of 95 cents per hundred pounds for a polarization of 75, and increasing by 3.5 cents a hundred pounds for each additional polariscopic degree; second, a differential duty of 12.5 cents a hundred pounds, beginning with No. 16, Dutch Standard; and, third, a countervailing duty equivalent in amount to any export bounty paid on imported sugars.

The methods of levying the duty are: First, by ascertaining the saccharine strength by means of the polariscope; second, by an arbitrary color standard, fixing the point where the differential duty shall begin; and third, by ascertaining the magnitude of export bounties.

From a strictly scientific point of view, the only objectionable feature of the Sugar Schedule is the Dutch Standard of color. In former times,—when the Dutch merchants dealt only in Java sugars, and the polariscope was not in commercial use,—the color standard was a useful method of discriminating between sugars of different saccharine strength. Now, it is possible to make a nearly white sugar which will not give a polariscopic reading of above 85, and a very dark one,—below No. 16, in fact,—which will polarize nearly 100.

It is a pitiable spectacle to see a great nation, the largest sugar consumer in the world, confiding the standard of its revenue from this great staple to an irresponsible foreign broker! The makers of sugar the world over will fill the orders received from the importers of this country with a product over or under No. 16, as may be desired. The grade of color will have no constant relation to saccharine strength. It is easy to see that there will be no burning desire among our importers to pay the differential of 12.5 cents per hundred pounds, when, by dumping a little molasses or lime into the kettle during manufacture, the same saccharine grade of sugar can be secured with a dark color, and that amount of duty saved.

It is not claimed that the differential duty is for the benefit of the sugar-growers in this country. Any protection afforded to them is properly given in the direct tariff, as determined by the polariscope. The injection of the Dutch color-standard into the Tariff Bill was either a case of heredity,—it having existed in former bills,—or else it was due to some influence brought to bear upon our legislators. It is not probable that a company consisting mostly of lawyers, sitting in a star-chamber to determine the methods of levying duties, would think of the abuses to which the Dutch Standard could be subjected.

If our people understood the unfair and unscientific discriminations imposed by the Dutch color-standards they would soon find means of abolishing them.

This paper having been written from a scientific point of view, has nothing to do with a differential duty. The latter is solely an economic question. But we have a right to protest against an unfair, partial, and false standard for ascertaining the grade of sugars on which the differential is paid. All high-grade granulated, powdered, and loaf sugars polarize at least 99° ; and if a differential is required for the protection of our refineries, it should be paid only on sugars testing by the polariscope 99° and above. A practical illustration will show how this would work.

The annual importation of raw sugar for refining purposes is now about 3,200,000,000 pounds. The differential duty on this amount, at 12.5 cents per hundred pounds, is \$4,000,000. By ordering raw sugars below No. 16, this sum will be kept out of our revenues every year. A fair refining sugar of 96° test can be made either above or below No. 16, Dutch Standard, as required. We have here the anomalous condition of an annual item of \$4,000,000, which our importers may pay into the Treasury or not, as they see fit.

Cane-sugars above No. 16 are well suited for domestic consumption, especially for preserving fruits and for manufacturing jellies and marmalades. In London, a yellow, crystal cane-sugar is much in demand for table use among the richer classes. When the natural color is not deep enough, it is intensified by adding sulphuric acid or salts of tin to the pan near the end of the boiling. The natural aroma of the cane-products, so agreeable and desirable, is lost in refining. It is a false taste that has led us to prefer a white, hard sugar to the soft, yellow-tinted, unrefined sugar made from cane. These unrefined sugars, so desirable and palatable, all polarize under 99° . They might be brought into more general use, except for the differential duty, which tends to exclude them from our markets.

Raw beet-sugars are not suited to domestic consumption. They are deficient in the agreeable aroma and taste which characterize a raw cane-sugar. They possess, on the contrary, an odor and a taste that are positively disagreeable. Only refined beet-sugar, therefore, can come on our tables or go into our kitchens.

But the polariscope can protect our indigenous beet industry as well as our sugar-cane; and it cannot be manipulated to suit the convenience of the importers, as the Dutch Standard can. It is true that the polariscope does not always show exactly the percentage of saccharine matter in a sample of sugar. If a sample of raw sugar contained no impurity other than water, the reading of the polariscope would be an exact statement of its sugar percentage. But raw sugars contain more than one kind of sweets. Sucrose is common sugar, and constitutes nearly the whole of the saccharine contents of the sample. Raw cane-sugars have, however, a small quantity of invert sugar, consisting of equal parts of dextrose and levulose. At ordinary temperatures, this mixture turns the plane of polarized light in the opposite direction; hence, the reading of the instrument is slightly below the true percentage of sucrose. On the other hand, a raw beet-sugar often contains raffinose,—a sugar which has a higher rotatory power than sucrose and in the same direction. In this case, the reading of the instrument is likely to be too high.

Certain soluble nitrogenous compounds in minute quantities are also found in raw sugars; and these tend to diminish the rotation due to the sucrose. But it is only in very low-grade sugars—residues of the evaporation of molasses—and in molasses itself, that the errors of polariscopic reading reach a disturbing magnitude. In the vast majority of cases, the errors which are found in the polariscopic reading are of little consequence. They can be wholly eliminated by a double polarization,

once before and once after the inversion of the sample with an acid. No valid objection, therefore, can be urged against the fairness of the polariscopic test.

The degree of protection which should be accorded our refiners is a matter that does not come within the scope of this article. But the amount, whatever it may be, should be clearly defined in the statute, and not left open to manipulation. Under the present tariff, I have seen estimates ranging from 12.5 to 60 cents per hundred pounds. It is evident that a law which admits of such differences in calculations is faulty. I doubt if any person in the world, who does not have access to the trade secrets of the refineries, can tell what the degree of protection is. This is a state of affairs that does not commend itself to the average honest, fair-minded citizen.

No one can blame the refiners for making as much out of their business as they can. It would not be possible to conduct business on the principles of committees engaged in affording aid to the poor. It is puerile to declaim against trusts and their methods when they are doing exactly as we would do in like circumstances.

In my previous article, I said that our refiners needed no differential or other protection. They are, without doubt, the most skilful and scientific refiners in the world. They have made sugar wonderfully cheap, and are able to make money in free competition.

I have said that the base-line of the Sugar Tariff is a raw testing not above 75° by the polariscope. It is fair to assume that 100 pounds of this sugar contain 75 pounds of pure sucrose. The basic tariff for a sugar of this grade is, therefore, 126.67 cents per hundred pounds of pure sugar. On the other hand, the duty levied on a pure sugar, including the differential, is 195 cents per hundred pounds. In this fact is found another radical defect in the methods of levying duty. One hundred and thirty-three and one-third pounds of raw sugar under No. 16, testing 75° by the polariscope, contain 100 pounds of pure sugar; and the tax thereon is 126.67 cents. The difference is $195 - 126.67 = 68.33$ cents per one hundred pounds of refined sugar. It is true that raw sugars generally do not test as low as 75° by the polariscope; but the importer will endeavor to bring in sugars of a low grade.

There will be no difficulty whatever in presenting to the Customs hundreds of thousands of tons of raw sugar polarizing as near the base-line as is desirable. The only limit to the amount of moisture would be the melting of the sugar itself. No fraudulent practice could be charged; for, by legitimate methods,—adopting the modern practice of

"boiling in" molasses, and imperfectly drying the resulting very impure sugar in the centrifugals,—it is quite possible to deliver a product approaching the base polarization.

An ideal sugar for the importer, but one not quite possible in practice, would be a sample below No. 16, Dutch Standard, containing 75 per cent of pure sugar and 25 per cent of water. Our refiners are not exactly idealists; but they will doubtless strive to come as near as possible to the mark mentioned.

The maximum protection to the refining interests under the present law, aside from export bounty considerations, would be afforded by the ideal importing sugar described above; and this possible protection is over 68 cents per hundred pounds. I am not able to predict what the actual protection to our refiners will be, because I do not know what grade of sugar the manufacturers will be ordered to make for them. We may rest assured, however, that the grades which are ordered for import will be the most favorable possible. The refiner who would import sugar above No. 16, Dutch Standard, and polarizing 96°, at a duty of 181 cents a hundred pounds, when for 135 cents' duty he could get the same amount of pure sugar under No. 16, polarizing 80°, might pose as a philanthropist; but he would soon be out of business.

It will be interesting to compare the grades of sugar imported under the new tariff with those brought in under the *ad valorem* régime.

This geometrical increase in the rate of duty for an arithmetical increase in the polarization is by far the most seductive and most reprehensible part of the new law. The blemishes of the Dutch Standard become beauty spots in comparison with it.

In the light of this exposition, the following remark of a trade journal assumes an additional interest:—

"The new bill bids fair to revolutionize the whole trade in refined sugars, as conducted at the present time. Never before in our history has the protection to the sugar-refining industry been nearly as small as it is under the new tariff."

With the first sentence of the above quotation, I think all can agree.

It is true that the cost of refining a very low-grade sugar is slightly greater per hundred pounds of pure sugar than for a high-grade. It has also been generally conceded that the cost of refining a raw beet-sugar of a certain polariscopic degree is slightly greater than for a raw cane-sugar of the same test. This is due both to the fact that the polariscopic reading of the beet-sugar is likely to be a little too high, and to the circumstance that the impurities of a raw beet-sugar exert a greater melassigenic effect than an equal-weight of raw cane-sugar impurities.

Modern methods of refining, however, have almost entirely overcome these difficulties; and a raw beet-sugar can easily be made to yield quite as much pure sugar as can be derived from a cane-sugar of equal richness. It may be contended that, by levying a duty on saccharine strength alone, an injustice would be done to the refiners in allowing them nothing for the extra expense of making refined from very low grades of raw sugar. But this objection falls at once, when it is considered that the raw sugars which are employed can be furnished with a high polarization, if the importers so desire. At any rate, a differential of 12.5 cents per hundred pounds will be a full and perfect protection, when coupled with the superior technical skill, overmastering business ability, and almost unlimited markets of our refiners.

I shall close this brief review of the Sugar Tariff by propounding what I believe to be a true scientific sugar schedule,—one affording a just protection to our growers and refiners:—

SUGAR SCHEDULE.

Section 1. All sugars imported into the United States shall pay a duty of 182.5 cents per hundred pounds of pure sugar, as determined by the polariscope.

Section 2. All refined sugars imported into the United States polarizing above 99 degrees shall pay an additional duty of 12.5 cents per hundred pounds.

Section 3. Countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugars as in present law.

HARVEY W. WILEY.

BRITAIN'S EXPLOITATION OF THE NILE VALLEY

AFRICA is now occupying the thoughts of men more than before; and it is becoming clearer each day that rival European Powers are directing an unusual amount of energy toward turning to full account the foothold they already possess on the "Dark Continent."

Only a few weeks ago, England's Under Secretary for War announced that the army be augmented; quoting Lord Rosebery in confirmation of his statement that Great Britain, in the past twelve years, had added 2,600,000 square miles—an area twelve times the size of Germany to her territory, and that, in consequence, the active malevolence of rival Powers had been excited to such a degree as to make an early increase of the army prudent. And, when one recalls how Britain's hunger has been ministered to by every continent, it becomes obvious that the statement of the Under Secretary was not an exaggerated one.

Within the past few months, England has added Nubia—500,000 square miles—to her African possessions; and Lord Salisbury's statement, that England's claim to practically everything worth having on the Niger was valid and would be enforced, rendered Frenchmen almost apoplectic with rage. If this goes unchallenged, England will be preeminent in two more regions,—Sokoto and Bornu,—collectively greater than France itself.

German colonizers are accomplishing important results in Africa with much less public clamor and friction. Italy also had ambitious designs for an African empire, until she came into conflict with Menelik, the shrewd Abyssinian king,—a conflict costing thirty thousand Italian lives and, for a time, imperilling the reign of the Savoy family. Its recent transfer of Kassala to the Anglo-Egyptian forces marked her retirement from the field of African acquisition. Russia takes but little interest in the partition of Africa: but the Czar is devoted to the Abyssinian ruler; and his friendship, supported by that of France, gives immunity to Abyssinia from the covetous aims of other European nations. The greater part of the Congo district has been so completely under Belgian and French control that it, also, is removed from the likelihood of aggression by present-day mapmakers.

The real scramble in Africa, therefore, is between England and France. The latter has vast possessions in Central Africa, as well as on the West Coast; and Madagascar has become a French protectorate. The competition between England and France has for years been very great; and it can be foreseen that the present Niger controversy will serve still further to estrange these nations. Diplomacy will be called upon to employ its subtlest devices, to keep the now hostile forces on the banks of the Niger from resorting to extreme measures.

If a conference between the two governments follows, to decide their equities, then may come an opening for arbitration concerning the Nile,—a circumstance for which France is longing. The unexpected presence of a French expedition at Fashoda, between Khartoum and Wadelai, has reawakened the fears which Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff excited three years ago when he explained how a civilized nation on the Upper Nile might, at pleasure, either flood Egypt or cut off its water-supply. This close relationship between the prosperity of Egypt and the control of the whole Nile from the Victoria Nyanza to the Mediterranean is a powerful argument in the hands of Britain's advocates of a forward policy in Northern Africa.

If the English have any really vital interest in Africa, it is to monopolize the Nile, which means more to their nation than the control of the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambezi combined: for the Nile is as potential commercially as it is politically; and the country lying at its mouth is the strategical keystone to Britain's Indian and Eastern superstructure. Great Britain controls nearly every foot of the Nile Valley not in barbaric hands, and means to have it all. She shows no intention of sharing the river with any other European Power. Her vanguard moving southward is, at the present moment, less than three hundred miles from Khartoum; and, that point reached, England will stop at nothing in her efforts to bring the valley intervening between Khartoum and the Lakes safely within her dominion. To accomplish this end, she is doubtless willing to make important concessions elsewhere, and, if thought necessary, to endure any amount of international wrangling, to defy public opinion, or to resist by force of arms any movement directed at a curtailment of her aspirations. Under no circumstance would England willingly share her control of any portion of the Nile with France.

The statesmen who guided France in 1882 claimed to recognize no need for bombarding Alexandria; insisting that the Arabi rebellion could be successfully dealt with on shore, and that the razing of the

ancient city would be wanton destruction. When the warships of France steamed away from Alexandria, that country unwittingly forfeited her claim to be a factor in the affairs of Egypt and of the Nile. The record of that day in June is a conspicuous page in French history, and dates the beginning of that equivocal claim of England to the right to govern single-handed a country forming no part of the British Empire.

England had invited France to share the responsibilities of the bombardment; but it is not known that France was urged to coöperate in the enterprise, or that anything was said as to a division of the spoils that would naturally fall to the Power or Powers undertaking the re-establishment of the Khedivial authority. At all events, the French fleet took its leave of the country where French sympathies and influence had obtained from the time of Napoleon's visit in 1798, and where the national finances were jointly controlled by France and England. Britain's fleet remained and reduced the best part of Alexandria to dust; making a prisoner of the rebel leader, and, in a brief period, stamping out what had been an indifferently planned uprising of that portion of Egypt's population easily swayed to fanaticism.

No development of British foreign policy in recent years has been so extensively discussed as that connected with the so-called "occupation" of Egypt. Ever since the abandonment by France of the dual control of the finances, British influence has become more and more paramount in the land of the Pharaohs; and the prospect of evacuation, so long promised and so often deferred, appears to be more remote from realization now than at any time since the shelling of Alexandria.

Englishmen deny that there has ever been any serious thought of annexing Egypt. To do so, they confess, would be grossly unjust to the Sultan, and to his vassal, the Khedive, and would lead to diplomatic controversy in which Great Britain would cut a sorry figure. The occupation, they say, was entered upon as a temporary expedient, dictated by necessity; but temporary expedients the world over have the awkward knack of developing into permanent necessities. It is altogether too much, on England's part, to ask the world to believe that her labors for sixteen years to aid the Khedive and his people have been unselfish, or that Egypt will ever be handed back to the Egyptians.

Whatever may be said of the means employed in gaining possession of Egypt, it must be admitted by all impartial observers that England's management of administrative affairs has accomplished substantial good. From any ethical standpoint, however, the subterfuge of the "occupation" is indefensible. As a diplomatic term, "occupation" means a

temporary affair. But to discuss at the present time the legal right of Great Britain to a foothold in Egypt is as superfluous as for a lawyer to argue in court that the state has no right to arrest his client, when the latter is already a prisoner behind the bars.

When Britain's philanthropy sent an army and a host of civil functionaries to Egypt, the Khedive was not only the ruler of that country, but was sovereign of Nubia, the Soudan, Kordofan, and Darfour. Khartoum was the commercial capital of an enormous territory, and the seat of Khedivial authority. Several great Powers, including the United States, had consular representatives there. Khartoum was connected with the world by mail-steamer and a line of telegraph; and I have it on excellent authority that native merchants and caravan traders knew each day in Khartoum the current quotations in Europe for ivory, ostrich feathers, and the choice products indigenous to the region. At times, the Egyptian possessions in the Soudan were fairly profitable, and assisted the slender Cairo exchequer.

The English had been in Egypt less than a year when the disaffection—fomented by the Mahdi—of the tribes inhabiting the Soudan toward Egypt's new administrators, who carried guns and wore red coats, became apparent. Everyone knows the awful story of the successive defeats of the troops led by Hicks Pasha and Baker Pasha, ending in the practical annihilation of Egypt's army by the Mahdi's horde of savages; of the futile efforts of British regiments to break the Mahdi's strength; and of the abandonment of Gordon—the Khedive's governor-general at Khartoum—to his fate.

Like the destruction of Alexandrian property by English cannon, the Soudan fiasco was costly, and plunged the Khedivial government further into debt; the taxpayers having to bear the burden of both affairs. Great Britain finally advised Egypt to "abandon" the Soudan; and, in consequence, there were surrendered provinces covering an area of over a million square miles,—provinces so prosperous a few years earlier that the value of the annual exports to Lower Egypt of even the least important among them, Kordofan, had amounted to \$10,000,000.

Two weighty reasons were urged by England for thus abandoning more than two-thirds of Egypt's territory: (1) That the Egyptian army, augmented by British soldiers, was unable to suppress the Mahdi or successfully to cope with that master of desert generalship, Osman Digna; and (2) that if operations were continued, the Cairo cash-box would be empty, and the coupons of the bonds owned by aliens could not be paid when due.

Many critics, themselves English, insist that not only the life of the gallant Gordon, but also Egypt's valuable provinces, were sacrificed through the shilly-shally methods of the Gladstone government, aided by English administrators in Cairo, who were far more alert to evade the hue and cry of owners of bonds on which an interest coupon was in default than to furnish material assistance to the campaign in the Soudan. It was Mr. Gladstone's government, it will be remembered, that had previously sent ships and soldiers to Egypt to overthrow the Arabi rebellion; maintaining that the country was to be neither annexed nor protected. The "occupation" was to last but a few months. England was merely to give the Egyptians a few lessons in executive management, direct them in founding a stable government, and, her altruistic task completed, retire.

England has now so interwoven the destinies of that country with her own that evacuation could be accomplished only with great confusion to a policy under which Egyptian finances have been placed in an enviable position of solvency. Yet the Khedive has long been kept in a state of irritation over what he considers the tyranny of his self-appointed masters; and France has sought every means of checking Britain's encroachments in a country obtained, as she insists, by trickery.

It cannot be claimed that the moral course of England in Egypt has been an easy one; and the resources of British ingenuity have frequently been taxed to give a really plausible reason why the British government should isolate itself from harmonious relations with France and other Powers, by its persistence in remaining in the Khedive's country. The real reason is rarely put into words by Englishmen. Among the readiest excuses pleaded by them is, that Egypt is "incapable of self-government," that "normal conditions have not yet been restored," and that "Britain can hand Egypt back to the Khedive only when his old provinces are reconquered."

England having conquered the desert provinces, and built railways from Suakim and Wady Halfa to Khartoum,—making the Soudan, in effect, a British colony,—the day may come when she will believe it advantageous to relax her grip on Egypt and withdraw her garrisons from Alexandria and Cairo. But diplomatic bickerings will never compel the British to resign; and no nation, save Russia, is sufficiently strong to enter upon actual warfare to oust them. And it has not been indicated that Russia, either as principal or as the devoted friend of France, will ever care to do so.

Twenty-two months ago, European ministerial councils were press-

ing for a statement of England's intention respecting Egypt, particularly as to when the long-promised evacuation might be expected. This must have been an awkward time for those responsible for Britain's foreign policy. But, presto! A sensational movement had taken place in the brief interim between the asking of the questions and the day on which a formal reply was to be made in the British Parliament. The Egyptian Question had assumed a new phase; for an expeditionary force, officered by Englishmen, was, at that very moment, moving up the Nile from Cairo for the purpose of retaking the Soudan! Under these circumstances, how could England discuss the subject of quitting Egypt?

It was surely a trump card, opportunely played. How little do readers know of the circumstances surrounding the initiation of the so-called Dongola Expedition, starting from the Egyptian capital, in March, 1896! Tourists idling about hotel entrances, and merchants in the native bazaars heard the amazing news from London nearly as soon as did the Khedive and his ministers, although Cook excursion steamers, bearing Egyptian soldiers to engage in a campaign looking to the retaking of the Soudan, were already requisitioned for departure on the morrow for Upper Egypt, and the Expedition was to be conducted in the name of Egypt, and financed by her taxpayers.

The adjustment of ways and means and the providing of stores and munitions had necessarily to be arranged after despatching the troops. The chief concern of the instigators of the campaign was, it will be seen, to get it started, and to have that fact published to the world.

A heated controversy was occasioned by the attempt to secure the money for the enterprise from the Cairo International Debt Commission. Its emergency reserve fund, belonging in reality to the European holders of Egyptian bonds, was drawn upon for \$2,500,000; and this sum had been actually spent at the time the French and Russian members of the Commission—insisting that it required a unanimous vote to make appropriation from that special fund—carried the case to the Mixed Tribunals. The Commissioners of England, Italy, Germany, and Austria had favored the appropriation and released the cash. But the Mixed Court of Appeals decided in favor of the contention of France and Russia; and the money had to be restored to the coffers of the Debt Commission, at the expense of the Egyptian treasury. This was indeed a rebuke to England's arbitrary methods; and France was not altogether unhappy about it.

Thus, the cost of the campaign,—conceived in London and inspired

by motives of political expediency,—falling upon the Egyptian treasury, will, by adding to its financial burdens, retard the progress of the country; and more than one British official in Cairo, believing that national progress and welfare are best expressed in a showing of pounds, shillings, and pence on the right side of the annual balance-sheet, has regretted that the Expedition had been undertaken.

Whatever views the Khedive may have held, he publicly favored the campaign, and sent many members of his private military force to the front with the regular troops. Any project for augmenting territory is attractive to most potentates; and the scheme to extend his nominal rule to Khartoum and beyond was Abbas Pasha's fondest hope,—next, perhaps, to his ambition to be allowed to govern Egypt proper.

If the secret considerations leading to the launching of the Expedition could all be known, it would probably be learned that Slatin Pasha's book, "Fire and Sword in the Soudan," played no unimportant part. This Austrian official of the Egyptian government, who, for twelve years, had been a captive of the Khalifa at Omdurman, related such tales of disaffection among the Soudanese tribes, and was so positive in his assertion of the Khalifa's extreme weakness as compared with the strength of his predecessor, the Mahdi, that his statements must have found interested listeners among members of Lord Salisbury's cabinet. Slatin's presence in London may have furnished the suggestion for the sensational *coup d'état*.

After months of waiting for supplies, and for the rise of the Nile, the troops that had been despatched from Lower Egypt, wholly without preparation, moved southward from Wady Halfa with a regularity of pace almost suggesting scheduled arrangement. Material for the railway that was to keep step with the army's progress along the river had been ordered from Europe; and there had also been constructed in England a fleet of light-draught steamers planned to mount batteries of quick-fire guns with which to shell mud-built villages.

The Khalifa having given the population between Wady Halfa and Dongola practically no government at all, the natives hailed eagerly the approach of the Egyptian army, as it brought with it protection from Dervish raiders and corrupt taskmasters from Omdurman. Villages were occupied by the expeditionary force in regular order, frequently without firing a shot; the people joining the soldiers and going on with them.

Because of this lack of resistance, the fighting capacity of the force

—aggregating 15,000 men—must not be questioned; for it was led by British officers of known talent and courage, and had attracted many young men from English regiments anxious to “see service,” who would naturally be most eager to fight. Gen. Sir Herbert Kitchener had chosen his assistants well; and in Rundle and Hunter had able supporters. Slatin was also an invaluable aid. Kitchener, in my opinion, is the greatest of England's desert fighters. He has had varied experience in Nile campaigning, is familiar with every form of the vernacular of the Soudan, is possessed of youth and vigor, is every inch a soldier, and has the proverbial courage and dash of the Irishman.

Only once or twice on the way to Dongola did the advancing army experience fighting of a serious character; and then the Dervishes were routed in a manner that inspired the Egyptians with the courage of which so many of them stood in need. There was resistance on a few other occasions; but the Dervish bands fought without heart. The city of Dongola itself yielded to the fire of the gunboats and shore forces after an engagement altogether too brief for the young Englishmen “seeking the bubble reputation.” The single British regiment at the front was prepared for work; but it had little opportunity to distinguish itself.

Watched from Cairo, the campaign seemed unique in many ways. One peculiarity was the strict press censorship, and the obvious effort of the censor to make it appear to the outside world that the Expedition was solely British, that the progress up the Nile was little short of triumphal, and that acts of British heroism were of daily occurrence. Another peculiarity was the prominence given in the daily bulletins from the front—eagerly read by all classes in the Egyptian capital—to trivial mishaps to Englishmen. Thus, if a finger of a scion of British aristocracy was injured in an engagement, the news would be telegraphed in detail; the despatch closing, perhaps, with the bald statement that “four Egyptian officers were killed.”

This Dongola enterprise afforded England an opportunity to show European strategists the possibilities of her imperial resources in the way of defence, by bringing several native regiments from India to garrison Suakim and other Red-Sea ports, during the months when the Egyptian soldiers were absent on the Nile. Indeed, if England dared weaken her strength in India, it would not be difficult for her, when expedient, to place a sizable army of Indian troops in the Nile Valley at any point between Kenneh and Khartoum, without regard to her naval position in the Mediterranean.

Following the capture of Dongola, the surprising fact was discovered that the province was almost depopulated; only women, children, and very old men being found. When Dongola was resigned to the Mahdi, eighty thousand acres were under cultivation; but Kitchener's men found only twenty-seven thousand acres on which crops were growing. The date-trees, draught-animals, irrigating-machines, and other things sustaining life there had dwindled in number more than one-half; and it will be yet another year before the collection of taxes can begin. It is, however, a fairly rich country, and in time can be made more than self-supporting.

When Dongola was cleared of Dervishes, the forward movement was permitted to languish. Most of the troops were recalled, and those left were occupied principally in carrying the railway by easy stages southward. It now ends at Abu-Hamid, in the neighborhood of the Fifth Cataract; and further constructive work is proceeding very slowly. Meanwhile, British newspapers are filled with mutterings over the prospect of a delay in moving on Khartoum, and on Omdurman—the new capital on the opposite bank of the river.

That stalwart organ of aristocratic Toryism, the London "Morning Post," recently demanded, in double-leaded indignation, that the march to Khartoum be resumed, and voiced its wrath in these words:—

"Is the Soudan expedition abandoned for another year? Just when the river is free, a railroad made to Abu-Hamid, the road from Suakim to Berber open, and the time of year propitious for making good the British position at Khartoum, a baneful hesitation sets in. The moral influenza, which paralyzes stateamen, is the curse of constitutional government."

This note of alarm has been taken up by other journals favoring prompt action. If, as is rumored, military jealousies and financial scruples in Cairo and London are the real causes of the present dormancy, an effort will be made to have them swept aside in the prevailing fervor of imperialism; for Britain's hand is just now determinedly set upon Africa—north, east, and south. The thoroughness of the imperial coöperation in Cecil Rhodes's schemes in South Africa was shown by the incidents of the Buluwayo Railway opening, and the approving English comment thereon.

This talk in England of "making good the British position at Khartoum" cannot be agreeable reading to the patriotic Egyptian; and he may be pardoned if the suspicion enters his mind that Great Britain is exploiting her own interests on the Upper Nile at the expense and under the banner of Egypt. Critics, also, may be forgiven if they fancy

that they detect in the present position of the campaign a possibility for the Salisbury-Chamberlain government to do again a clever stroke of business—perhaps, when advisable, to play another trump card, and once more silence inquiring European councils, more particularly that of France.

A resumption of activity up the Nile may, in my humble judgment, be looked for only when it best suits England's ingenious policy; for every delay in ordering the start for Khartoum defers discussion of the Egyptian Question. I predict that it will be many months before the Ottoman flag again floats over Khartoum; and I base this prognostication upon my belief that the Expedition, from its inception, has been designed to serve a double purpose—(1) conquest in Central Africa, and (2) to divert the inquisitive attention of Europe from England's position in the Nile delta.

Khartoum and Omdurman are not to be taken without much hard fighting, after Berber is passed. Nevertheless, from the reported demoralized condition of the army of the Khalifa, confidence is expressed in London that Kitchener can crush the Khalifa with a force of perhaps twelve thousand men of all arms. Veterans of former campaigns, however, referring to the known heroism of the Baggara tribe, which forms the Khalifa's army, state that this opinion is open to question. The Khalifa has a hundred thousand of these warriors alone, who—if anywise like the followers of the late Mahdi—may be excited to a state of religious frenzy, rendering them veritable fighting demons. Of this horde of "soldiers" concentrated about the Khalifa, nearly one-half are equipped with modern rifles; and it is said that he has sufficient ammunition and stores of grain to last for years.

The capacity of the desert spearmen is something that must be taken into account. It was chiefly these primitively equipped fighters who annihilated Hicks Pasha's army; and more than once have solid British squares been broken by them. While discussing the campaign with the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, a few months ago, I asked how the Khalifa managed to secure guns and cartridges. His Excellency replied:—

"The Khalifa enjoys facilities for getting what he wants from Europe through the agency of traders at Red-Sea ports; he makes ammunition at Omdurman and elsewhere; and twenty thousand of the rifles now carried by his soldiers were left in the Soudan by the Egyptians who were killed or routed by the Mahdi's people more than thirteen years ago."

I cannot help believing that modern methods of fighting and mod-

ern equipment are destined to triumph over the old, and that the Khalifa will be driven from Omdurman. To say that he is going to be destroyed, however, and, with him, what remains of Mahdism, would be to allow but little for conditions and possibilities unknown to those not familiar with the Soudan of to-day. The Anglo-Egyptian column must go forward better prepared for execution than its ill-starred predecessors. Ten, or even fifteen, thousand men are not enough to do thoroughly the work in prospect. Every mile travelled by the Expedition takes it so much farther into the enemy's country,—a country swarming with a people at once fatalistic and fanatical. Commercial and industrial progress only can exterminate Mahdism; and a military invasion can be simply the forerunner to such development. If dislodged from his stronghold, the Mahdi's successor may find for his retreat the limitless desert; being able to go in any direction, except northward.

Despatches from Egypt in January made it clear that the Anglo-Egyptian Expedition was to be forced into immediate activity. Trustworthy reports from Omdurman told of preparations for a move by the Dervishes northward to Berber, there to check the Expedition's march upon Khartoum. With the imperative need of men in India, and a storm brewing in the Far East, the time was unpropitious for the London authorities to find a few battalions to augment the Egyptian army. But two thousand redcoats were sent up the Nile from Cairo, and a battalion, to garrison the latter place, was transferred from Malta. England's hand was obviously forced by the Khalifa at an awkward moment.

The force now at Kitchener's command may be sufficient to break the Dervish strength at Berber; but, unless victory comes before the end of April, the state of the Nile will put a stop to a move on Khartoum until next winter. A conflict with the Dervishes at or near Berber and a final dash for Khartoum are very different affairs.

Meanwhile, the French seem to be firmly established beyond Khartoum, with ample time to extend their control up and down the river. On this occasion, England has clearly been outgeneralled by France.

Whether the Soudan is to be conquered for the benefit of Egypt, or of England, is purely a matter of conjecture. If for the latter country, it is obviously wise management to let the troops go under the flag bearing the star and crescent of the Turkish Empire; for, if the cry went forth throughout the Mohammedan world, that the Soudan campaign was to be a conflict between cross and crescent, it might be disastrous to Victoria's interests in every part of the East.

There is of course a commercial phase to the attempt to perpetuate English control on the Nile, and this is agricultural extension. It will be appropriate here to quote from a book written thirty-five years ago by Sir Samuel Baker, the English explorer, who proved that the Nile had its origin in the equatorial lakes. After descending the great river from source to mouth, he wrote:—

“The Nile might be so controlled that the enormous volume of water that now rushes uselessly into the Mediterranean might be led through the deserts, to transform them into cotton-fields that would render England independent of America.”

The delta of the Nile is now a great cotton-field; and the cultivation of the fibre has doubled since England took Egypt in hand. As rapidly as irrigation adds area to the delta, the soil thus rescued from the desert is planted with cotton. Last year's crop amounted to 1,100,000 bales of five hundred pounds each; and all this was sold in foreign markets at a price two cents per pound in excess of quotations for good American upland cotton. It is its fibre, an inch and a half long, that gives Egyptian cotton its peculiar value. The price, great as it is, is not the only advantage possessed by the fellah cotton-grower over the planter of our Southern States; for the magical fertility of the Nile soil permits the harvesting of a crop averaging nearly five hundredweight per acre. This is twice as much as that obtained by American planters; and, besides, the Nilote is exempt from certain disastrous elements ever menacing his American rival. The Egyptian has no dread of frost, and no labor question to deal with. If the assistance of the women and children of his family prove insufficient, the needed additional labor may be secured at the rate of fifteen to eighteen cents a day for each man. He could even make a profit in the event—which is not likely—of having to sell his cotton at the same price as the American seller. And his prosperity is assured, so long as the Southern planter accepts the opinion that long-fibre cotton can be grown only on the Nile, and that European manufacturers will always be content to use the American common staple.

Egyptian cotton has become a necessity, not only in Europe, but also in the United States; and it brings to Egypt, for staple and seed, nearly \$55,000,000 per year. This sum is sufficient to pay the interest on her enormous foreign debt, to carry on the government, and—were it not for military operations up the Nile—to leave a surplus in the treasury. The United States is buying a hundred thousand bales of Egyptian cotton annually; and its consumption by New England spindles increases by leaps and bounds.

The provinces of Dongola and Berber restored to productiveness, huge tracts will be opened to the growing of bread-stuffs, and the Nile basin, as in the days of the Pharaohs, will be one of the granaries of the world. This will permit Lower Egypt to be devoted to cotton culture, the area of which may be made to include the Fayoum, and to extend south of Cairo for fifty miles or more.

It is a conservative estimate to say that Egypt, five years hence, will produce a million and a half bales of cotton; and the hypothesis regarding agricultural development in Dongola and neighboring provinces, by which these are to feed the entire country, likewise gives over to sugar growing the Nile Valley from Beni Souef to Assouan. In the past few years, cane culture has developed there with amazing rapidity; added impulse to the movement having been given by the destruction of sugar estates in Cuba. Like Nile cotton, Egyptian sugar is of excellent quality. In 1896 and 1897, it brought to Egypt as much as \$8,000,000 a year; and it may surprise American readers to learn that the United States contributed half this sum.

At many points between Assiout and Assouan, important crushing-works are being erected by native or foreign capital, and supplied with the most perfect machinery obtainable in Europe. Through the sugar crop—made possible by enhanced irrigation—the peasant farmer in Upper Egypt has, in a small way, become a capitalist. Moreover, in a very few years, the cane area will be doubled, if not trebled; and, hereafter, when dealing with the world's production, statisticians must take the Egyptian crop into account.

Thus, Lower Egypt is destined to be devoted to cotton, and Middle and Upper Egypt to sugar; while the provinces south of the First Cataract will produce more than enough cereals to feed Egypt's population. All these matters are feasible and may be quickly accomplished; and they are no doubt included in England's elaborate scheme for exploiting the valley of the Nile.

FREDERIC C. PENFIELD.

THE CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS: HOW CAN IT BE BENEFITED?

THAT the manual laborer is to the fore in the social consciousness, may not be doubted. With the increased freedom and enlarged opportunities of an advancing civilization, his wants have multiplied, his aspirations have developed, and his demands are being projected with acuter insistence into hitherto unknown fields.

As a class, the manual laborer of to-day is much more discontented with his environment than were his progenitors. This does not imply that his condition, either actual or relative, has deteriorated. It is rather a sign of progress from the status of the mere burden-bearer to that of the thinking and responsible social unit. The leaven of education has worked through the mass,—all too imperfectly it may be,—and the ferment is still going on. As the reed, breathed upon by the great god Pan, could become no more “a simple reed by the river,” so it is no longer possible for the laborers of the world, into whose souls has come the conception of larger liberties and wider lives, to accept with dull and passive content the lot of their fathers.

A righteous discontent has ever been the dynamic force making for social uplifting,—the sign manual of progress. The smug Conservative may be a most excellent neighbor; but he is, nearly always, a social reactionary. Cæsar's fancy for men who were sleek and fat and who slept well o' nights was based on the recognition of this fact. It is the men who have been discontented with wrong and oppression who have carried on the great agitations of the world, and have made history. Wilberforce and Howard, Thomas Paine and Samuel Adams, Garrison and Phillips, were all men profoundly discontented with the wrongs inflicted on their fellow-men; and from their discontent came the spark which lit the altar-fire of liberty.

There is no cause for pessimism in the Labor movement of to-day,—the organized force which gives concrete expression to the discontent of the laborer with unjust conditions. It stands for the aspiration of awakened faculties rather than for the blind impulse of class hatred. From

the outpouring of the Israelitish brickmakers to the march of the Hazelton miners, the downtrodden have looked toward the Promised Land. John Ball's scathing indictment of social inequality has lost none of its force: but the born thrall has evolved into the worker for wages; and the freeman's cottage has slowly supplanted the chattel slave's hut. From the unlettered and unthinking serf to the product of the common school and the town-meeting is a far cry; and herein is good cause for hope to those who believe that the days to come will be better than the days that have been.

Assuming, then, that the evolutionary processes of civilization have been steadily operative in improving the condition of the manual laborer, what is his contention? What can be done further to improve his condition? What is the best method through which to secure this improvement? To what element in society shall we look to inaugurate and carry on the agitation for those practical measures which shall still further reduce the handicap under which the less-favored portion of the people labor in the struggle for existence?

Much depends upon the plane of vision from which these queries are to be considered. When viewed through the windows of a Newport marble palace the objective universe takes on a different aspect to that which it assumes when seen from an East-Side tenement-house. The counting-room and the weaving-room generate two distinct philosophies of life. The sympathetic spirit may be moved by the thrilling tale of the sailor's shipwreck, the miner's entombment, or the slow starvation of the sweater's slave; but it is only to those who bear the brunt of these industrial tragedies that there comes a full sense of the horror of the black waves, the poison of the fire-damp, and the howl of the hunger-wolves outside the poor man's door.

That dilettante, speculative spirit, which approaches the study of the Labor problem in somewhat the same manner as an amateur entomologist regards the antennæ of a rare bug under the microscope, fails utterly to grasp the pith of the question at issue. Almost as much at fault is the average kindly philanthropist who slums, and sentimentalizes over the abject wretchedness of the very poor.

He was a veritable Columbus in the world of sociology who made the discovery that there was a good deal of human nature among men. The manual laborer may fairly claim to possess his modicum of human nature. With Shakespeare's usurer, he may exclaim:

"If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?"

In other words, the laborer is a man, claiming a man's share of life; and the questions which most directly affect him can be best considered from the standard of manhood, rather than from that of classhood.

But it is this very breadth of vision that is most difficult of attainment. The accretion of the class sense is rapid. Even the constant attrition going on under democratic institutions does not serve to keep it in check. Plato's saying, that "every city holds two nations, the rich and the poor," has in it all too much of truth. The Optimist, however, sees that the standards of humanity are more and more upheld by the masses, who inhabit that social stratum which lies between the dark despair of the Submerged Tenth and the gilded idleness of the Four Hundred.

Starting, then, with the primary conception that the social problem is a question of the relationship of man to man, the road for further inquiry may be outlined. What, in equity, may our fellow-man demand? If he be a manual laborer, what is there in the conditions that compass him about that works him hardship? What should the state do for him? What should the employer do for him? And, above and beyond all else, what should he do for himself?

The working-man of to-day demands more life,—a longer life, a fuller life, a higher life. In this he claims the sanction of the Fathers of the Republic, who proclaimed it, as a self-evident truth, that this was one of the inalienable rights possessed equally by all men. A certain class of superior minds seem inclined to hold that the aforesaid Fathers, when they incorporated such a proposition into a state document, were sentimental theorists. But the theory has percolated through more than a century of our national life; and it is taken seriously by so many people that it cannot now be lightly set aside.

Definitely phrased, the demand of organized labor is that those who render useful service to society shall not be compelled to shorten their natural term of existence by the conditions under which this service is performed. It demands, moreover, that the recompense for this service shall be sufficient to secure to the worker not only the "assured future," but also the wherewithal to bring "light and leisure" into the life of each manual laborer of average industry and application. The Mallocks and the Schopenhauers have few disciples of their sublimated ennui among wage-earners. The laborer is rather in search of the opportunity to test what life may be made, and what it means, to those who have the wherewithal and leisure to explore its mysterious heights and depths.

The trade-union demand for shorter hours and higher wages is broadly based on this aspiration. The entire volume of factory and sanitary legislation rests for its justification upon this demand. The case which the wage-earner here presents is both ethically and economically strong.

The "chance of life" of the average mechanical laborer under existing conditions is scaled from 10 to 25 per cent less than that of the average member of the so-called independent classes. The mortuary tables of insurance societies—scarcely to be accused of a sentimental bias—tell the story. Where war slays its thousands, the industrial battle-fields count their victims by tens of thousands. The pallid children of the factory leave there a mighty host, perishing from innutrition and lack of vital power to prevent the lodgment of ever-floating germs of disease.¹ The law of heredity perpetuates the frail physique from generation to generation; and the "factory mark," of which Mrs. Brownning sang so pathetically, is in evidence for all who choose to look. It was Channing, I think, who, in a discussion upon the economic aspect of the Slavery Question, said, "The Almighty never created the black man in order that sugar and cotton might be sold for a cent a pound cheaper." May not the trade-union claim, with equal force, that cheapness of production is too dearly purchased at the cost of cheapening human life?

This count of the social indictment is, indeed, a long one. The railway service furnishes its yearly quota in numbers exceeding the casualty of many a historic battle. Statisticians inform us that for every eighty thousand tons of coal mined, one human life is sacrificed. The New York "World" recently computed that an average of five lives had been lost in the construction of each of the gigantic new skeleton buildings which modern business architecture has evolved. Workers in chemicals and in many of the decorative arts, those who are forced to inhale metallic dust or gases, those whose occupation necessitates cramped and unhealthy positions, or tense and nerve-straining application,—these supply but a few of the instances in which the manual laborer is exposed to abnormal and unjust conditions that shorten his natural term of existence.

¹ Some years ago, when appearing before a committee of the New Hampshire legislature, in advocacy of the 56-hour law, I remember hearing a Manchester undertaker testify that if he should tell the full truth, when making official returns as to the "cause of death" of the factory people, among whom his business was mostly carried on, his reports would frequently be filled out with the words, "Died of slow starvation."

Can it be denied that, even from a purely physical standpoint, the trade-union is amply justified in demanding such a reduction of the hours of labor as shall give to these workers and their kin better conditions toward promoting longevity?

But the physical element is, after all, but a part of the basis of the demand for shorter hours. Charles Lamb said: "I have lived fifty years; but, if I take from that period the time I have lived for others' benefit, I am yet but a boy." Life without liberty is not life in the full sense of the word. That man who is forced to give practically all his waking hours to the service of the one who buys his labor, in order that he may secure daily bread, can hardly be called a free man. It is no answer to say that the laborer has control of his labor, and may change his employer when he will. Legally, this is the case; but the economic penalty coerces him to continue under irksome conditions, as truly as the whip of the Southern slave-driver served to coerce the negro. The aggregation of capital in corporations has largely destroyed the mobility of labor, and dwarfed the economic influence of the individual laborer. It is only by associative effort that the laborer can make his voice heard in the counting-room; and it is only by associative effort that he is enabled to secure consideration from an economic standpoint.

The Trade-Union movement the world over dwells with emphasis upon the demand for a reduction of the hours of labor as a prime essential to the betterment of the condition of the laborer. The American Federation of Labor, which has much to do with the shaping of the general policy of the American organizations, has always placed this demand in the list "of first things first." The gigantic struggle, during the past few months, of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in Great Britain for the eight-hour day bears witness to the importance of this issue in the minds of the workers across the sea. There is a reason for the prominence of this plank in the practical programme of the laborer. It is based upon a philosophy which appeals to his judgment and experience. Briefly put, this philosophy is as follows:

The standard of civilization rests upon the standard of wages. No low wage-rate people has ever proved capable of self-government. In the very nature of things, the dollar-a-day man cannot be a "sovereign citizen."

The standard of wages, in a large degree, depends in turn upon the volition of the working-class. With this unawakened or crushed down by environment, the wage-rate is low. The everyday ambition of the average laborer is to live as well as his fellows. If they are content

with black bread and wooden shoes, meagre homes and barren lives, the custom which surrounds him is taken as a matter of course. It is only in exceptional cases that the standard of revolt is raised; for these conditions produce few men who are able to supplement "the bitter murmurs of the poor" with the constructive policy which alone can improve the condition of an entire class.

Thus, the standard of living rests upon the customary wants and desires of the laborer. The merely animal wants and desires may be satisfied under a system of long hours and low wages; but social and intellectual wants and desires demand both leisure and opportunity for their gratification. The general effect of art, science, and literature—to the knowledge of which the common school has opened the door—has developed in a measure the higher faculties of the working-class. In obedience to the law of evolution, these faculties develop still further by use and exercise. The possession of education awakens in the mind of the worker a desire for leisure, to become familiar with the thought of the age in which he lives, and with the history of the ages which have passed. Hence, the Short-Hour movement—and indeed the entire Labor movement—is the logical outcome of the broader education of the masses, and is stimulated by every influence which aids the wider dissemination of knowledge.

There is here an emulative competition for a higher standard of living which must be relied upon to resist the depressing tendency of Lassalle's famous "iron law of wages," under which the compensation for the laborer drifts toward that point where he obtains only sufficient for a bare subsistence for himself, and the power to continue his species on the same level. And it is in this same quality that labor differs from all other commodities in its relation to the law of supply and demand. The commodity known as labor-force has linked to it a sentient consciousness. It is animate; and its possessor may increase the demand by limiting the supply. A million bales of cotton is a fixed quantity; but a million men with a day's labor to sell may adjust the length of that day so that the labor-force to be disposed of shall not create a surplus on the market.

The relation between the economic and the ethical aspect of the Short-Hour movement is intimate. The one coöperates with the other. The intelligent and educated workman is, therefore, the most strenuous in his demand for the short-hour day, both for its ultimate effect upon the wage-rate and because of its direct effect in improving his physical and intellectual opportunities. The more general the diffusion of

knowledge among the working-class, as in Germany, England, and America, the more general is the organization of the trade-union.

In emphasizing the importance of the Short-Hour movement, as a means to the betterment of the condition of the laborer, there is no intention of submitting it as a panacea for all industrial ills. The entire Trade-Union movement is a practical movement. It deals with society as it is, not as it may become under some hypothetical scheme of social regeneration. From Plato's "Republic" to the latest colonization plan of the Social Democracy, the world has not wanted for dreamers—and some of their dreams have come to pass. But since the Israelites passed dry-shod through the Red Sea, few other short cuts to the Promised Land have been opened for public travel. The suspicion is fairly well confirmed that the age of miracles has passed; and, without a miracle, plans for social betterment must take into full account the limitations of human nature, in order to avoid speedy wreckage.

Social empiricists are wont to sneer at the trade-union and its methods as reactionary. But the fact is that, in the domain of actual achievement, the trade-union has accomplished more for the betterment of the wage-earners' condition than all other agencies together. There is no particular secret as to the cause of its success. It has simply moved upon the lines of least resistance; taking into account the material with which it has had to deal, and appealing to the enlightened self-interest of its membership.

Economically speaking, the trade-union is a class organization, but scarcely so in a greater degree than the ordinary business associations of the commercial world. The man who has labor to sell has, in that capacity, a relationship to the rest of the community—especially to the labor-buyer—peculiarly his own. His interest and that of his employer may be reciprocal, as Commissioner of Labor Carroll D. Wright well puts it; but the interests are not identical. He may attend the same lodge, vote the same ticket in politics, and kneel at the same altar, with his employer; but when he brings his labor into the market, his interest demands that he obtain for it the highest possible price up to the limit of the absorption of the "margin of profit"; while, under competition with other employers, the labor-buyer endeavors to obtain it at the lowest possible price. What the laborer is contending for is an equality of bargaining power. The entire trend of development in the industrial world, from status to contract, has been toward this equality. The factory system, with its massing of capital, has injected a new element into the problem; and the countless industrial wars, called

"strikes" and "lockouts," are but phenomena in the process of adjustment now going on.

While the strike has received ample measure of condemnation by some political economists, its utility is now quite generally recognized. The strike is industrial war. It is the court of last appeal. As both armies and courts are sometimes used in the cause of the oppressor, so the strike may be lacking in justice. Of itself, it is neither good nor bad, but depends upon its inspiration for its justification. Workmen may fairly claim, however, that if the civilized and Christian nations of the world find it necessary to maintain great armies and powerful navies in order to maintain peace, it is inconsistent to expect the wage-earner to rely entirely upon the power of moral suasion for the protection of his interests. As the principle of arbitration is the more readily resorted to between nations equally capable of defending their claims by force, if need be, so the labor-seller finds that his claims are the more likely to receive fair consideration, when, back of those claims, there is an agency capable of resorting to industrial war, if the exigencies of the case so demand. The strength of this principle is still further made manifest by the fact that the trade organizations most capable of making a stubborn resistance—those with the largest treasuries and most thorough organization—are least often called upon to resort to strikes.

In the contention between the employer and the employee as to the division of the margin of profits, what may be fairly expected of the former? Merely that he shall deal with the labor-seller as a man, rather than as a "hand," as is too often the case. When both factors in the industrial partnership can be brought to take this view of the matter, a prevailing irritant will be removed from their relationship, and much wasteful friction will be averted. The least hopeful feature of our modern system of industry is the removal of the employer from direct contact with the employee. It is the tyranny of foremen—the overbearing of understrappers—that is responsible for a large proportion of the collisions between labor-buyers and labor-sellers. The splendid work of the Nottingham Boards of Conciliation could never have been accomplished under the *Gradgrind* doctrine, that workmen are only "hands"; for hands do not reason and may not be reasoned with. But when the representatives of capital use both heads and hearts in their dealing with laborers, the presumption is justified that they will find both heads and hearts among those with whom they have to deal.

The further betterment of the condition of the laborer, then, depends in degree upon the sense of personal responsibility and fairness which

employers are willing to exercise toward their employees. The workman who gives years of faithful service to the building up of an industry feels that he deserves something better than to have his modest request greeted with the familiar arbitrary phrase, "This is my business. I intend to run it as best suits me. If you do not like it, go elsewhere." He feels that he has a claim in equity upon his situation which no "cash nexus" can cancel.

But both the employer and the employee are affected by considerations and influences outside their particular relationship as buyers and sellers of labor. The power of the state, working through taxation, or finance, or monopoly, may destroy the enterprise. This same power may intervene to protect the labor-seller's life and limb, to secure the education of his children, to open up new opportunities for his effort, or to hamper his attempt to resist injustice. It is possibly the most perplexing of all problems in social science, to determine just where the sovereignty of the individual ends and that of the state begins, to decide just where the state is justified in interfering in the relationship of its units.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter upon the broad arena of this discussion, nor to speculate as to the outcome of the conflict continually going on between the centralizing and decentralizing forces of society. Science teaches us that the entire universe is regulated by a complex and all-embracing system of checks and balances. Solar systems and the social unit equally come under its sway. Centripetal and centrifugal forces influence Aldebaran in its orbit, and *John Smith*, the ditch-digger, in his daily life.

Environment and natural endowment are the two great factors in the existence of the average man. Epictetus, the slave, may become the philosopher; Burritt, the blacksmith, a savant; Lincoln, the rail-splitter, the president of a republic; but the iron bands of circumstance all too often hold fast the man of average faculty and energy.

It is impossible, however, to resist the conviction that the highest social order is the direct outcome of the greater freedom of the individual from outside direction. In the domain of theology and of politics, this is preëminently demonstrated. It is, consequently, a nice problem, to determine just how far it is wise to rely upon this outside interference in the industrial sphere, even when its ostensible purpose is to better the condition of the laborer. Enlightened opportunism must perhaps confine itself to the search for that happy medium between a flaccid and sentimental altruism, which emasculates its subject by sheltering

him from the consequences of his own conduct, and that *laissez-faire* policy which ever echoes the query of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

The practical programme of trade-unionism recognizes this limitation, and appeals for state interference only where the power of voluntary association has proved to be inoperative. The compulsory education of children, the restriction of the hours of labor for factory minors and women, the abolition of conspiracy laws and of the use of private armed forces against legitimate combinations of laborers, improved safety-appliances upon railroads and where machinery is employed, the inspection of construction and of sanitation,—these are various forms of state interference asked for by the trade-union and sanctioned by broad considerations of public policy.

But much of the inequality of opportunity, of which the laborer complains, has its source in the action of the state itself in granting special privileges to a portion of the community. This is particularly true as to those enterprises which are sometimes called natural monopolies, where, by reason of the advantage possessed by those holding franchises from the state, the application of the principle of free competition is rendered impossible. As a general proposition, the laborer holds that the benefit now derived from these monopolies by a few individuals should revert to the community, and reckons the increase of the administrative machinery caused by state or municipal ownership as a lesser evil than the exploitation which he commonly suffers under private ownership. For these reasons, it will be found that most working-men believe that their conditions would be bettered by public ownership and control of telegraph and telephone services, steam- and street-railways, gas- and electric-lighting, water-supplies, and other functions of a quasi-public character.

It appears probable that it is in the domain of municipal government that the collective spirit may be relied upon to produce the most effective results. The wage-earner is largely a city dweller, and, with his family, is more dependent upon the public service for healthful conditions of life and for opportunities for the exercise of his higher faculties than are those possessed of larger means. The cities of the great civilizations of the past aided the development of the civic spirit by placing masterpieces of art in the everyday environment of the masses. The progressive municipalities of the present are beginning to learn not only of the utility of clean streets, pure water, good sanitation, and ample breathing-spaces, but also that lyceums and libraries and art galleries

have somewhat to do with the making of good citizens, and that the expense incurred in their establishment is the best kind of sinking fund.

But questions of detail and of method constitute, after all, but a comparatively unimportant part of our problem. The great thing is, that the mass of the community shall be capable of self-government. Theologies and governments alike are but the replica of the human minds back of them. Michael Angelo, the architect, may conceive heaven-reaching lines of grace; but to erect the stately edifice there must be suitable material.

So, the question of the industrial welfare of the American laborer merges into the broader question of the triumph or failure of the democratic idea upon which the American Republic has its foundation. Political equality and industrial inequality may not long continue. In the crucible of our republic works the ferment of the ages and the leaven of all the nations.

Kings may prop up their thrones with bayonets; but democracy must rest upon intelligence. So evidently thought the Pilgrim Fathers, when, two hundred and thirty years ago, they established grammar schools in every township by the enactment:

"Whereas, as the maintenance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of societies and republics, be it directed . . ."

"Learning, joined with true knowledge," said the wise Montaigne, "is an especial and graceful ornament and an implement of wonderful use and consequence."

Here, then, is the ideal for which those who seek the betterment of the condition of their fellow-men may well strive,—that true knowledge which has a sense of judgment and proportion, which appeals not to class hatreds and prejudices, but to the desire for equity that animates the most of men. "Correct judgment in regard to surrounding things, events, and consequences," says Spencer, "becomes possible only through the knowledge of the way in which surrounding phenomena depend on each other." Thus, the welfare of a class depends in the ultimate upon the welfare of the entire community. The state is organic. Its constituent parts may not be harmed without detriment to the entire organism.

The greatest danger which confronts our republic is that of the growing antagonism of classes. The poor will never again be the passive sufferers of bygone ages. Their indictment of social injustice is drawn

and presented. "Bitter voices say it," writes Ruskin,—“voices of battle and famine through all the world, which must be heard, whoever keeps silence.” The test is at hand which is to prove whether the sneers of Macaulay and Carlyle against the republic were false or founded in truth. It is easier by far to teach the gospel of rights than that of duty; for the latter demands the well-rounded and full-orbed intellect to grasp its significance.

The Labor problem has its subjective as well as its objective aspect. Important, as it undoubtedly is, that the laborer shall not be hampered, cramped, and stunted physically by the conditions of his daily existence, it is of even greater moment that he shall be given the opportunity to broaden himself intellectually and ethically. Inequality of material possessions among men is certain to continue as long as some are prudent and others foolish, some grasping and others generous; but nature's law of compensation must not be restricted by artificial conditions.

The dead level of the ideal of Bellamy has little to commend it to the average American. Freedom of opportunity is the heritage he seeks to maintain,—that essence of the spirit of democracy, which, in Toynbee's golden words, “is sudden, like the sea, and grows dark with storms and sweeps away many precious things; but, like the sea, it reflects the light of the wide heavens and cleanses the shores of human life.”

FRANK K. FOSTER.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON POSTAL REFORM.

"If the Government would once accustom itself to do business in a business-like way," says Hon. E. F. Loud, Chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, in his article "A Step toward Economy in the Postal Service," in the December FORUM, "the savings all along the line would be enormous."

For instance, if, in the transmission of mails, it owned its cars, and simply paid the railways for haulage and expedition,—as all the great express companies and a vast number of shippers have done for years,—the saving all along all the lines would, assuredly, be enormous.

If, in paying the railways for transportation of mails, no more were rendered for the service than would be paid by the express companies for a like service, the saving, in this single item, would go far toward wiping out the annual deficiency in the Post-Office revenues.

The compensation to ocean mail-steamships being vastly greater in amount than postages accruing from such mails, if that compensation were restricted to fair and reasonable terms, this saving would add measurably to the Post-Office exchequer. One representative example: The Cuban and Mexican mail contract is let to one company. Says a recent Report of the Post-Office authorities:—

"This service entails a heavy loss on the Government. The mileage paid that company in the fiscal year 1896, for 203,580 statute miles travelled, was \$203,580; while the income from the postage thereon was only \$3,590."

If all the matter carried in the mail-bags were made to pay; if the ninety-eight and one-half million pounds of franked and free matter, and thousands of newspapers, now accorded free use of the post in their respective counties (which papers, be it noted, constitute 15 per cent of all second-class matter conveyed in the mails),—if all these "dead-heads" were made to pay, what an accession to postal receipts would result!

These items, and the inference drawn, the Chairman will not dispute. Indeed, in his report accompanying his bill, slain in the House during the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress by the emphatic majority of 182 to 27, he makes this astonishing admission:—

"I desire to say that, after a thorough and careful investigation, it is my fixed and deliberate conviction that, if a private corporation or individual had charge of the Post-Office-Department business, they could and would give the people the same postal facilities as now enjoyed and would make a net profit annually of from thirty to thirty-five million dollars."

The assumed deficit for the year ending June 30, 1897, is \$11,471,000,—an increase over the deficit of 1896 of \$3,284,000. The amount paid for inland service was \$38,248,000; for foreign transport of mails \$1,703,000. The aggregate is nearly \$40,000,000. The increase over 1896 was: Inland, \$1,458,000; foreign, \$193,000.

Authentic data verify the statement that this cost of transportation is excessive,—far beyond the charges made to express companies, corporations, and individuals. Says James L. Cowes, as a summary to his exhaustive examination of this cost of transportation and comparison with charges exacted on other fast-movement matter:—

"The postal deficit is not due to the cent-a-pound rate paid to the Government for postage on paper-covered books and returned newspapers, etc., but to the eight-cents-a-pound tax levied by railway managers for a service that would yield them a handsome profit at half a cent a pound."

The New York "World," in its issue of January 31, 1897, presented an array of figures, of incontestable veracity, exhibiting the excessive, and in numerous instances extortionate, charges imposed on the Government for postal service. The exhibit is, to a degree, startling. From these data it appears that the Government pays about \$5,000 a year for each postal car and its transport. As a car is worth but \$4,500, in twenty years—the average length of life of such a car—the railway receives \$100,000 for the use of one car. The New York Central Railway, we are told,

"receives an annual payment of \$3,088.09 per mile for transporting mail-matter between New York city and Buffalo,—a sum exceeding the amount required to pay interest on the cost of a complete double-track line from New York city to Buffalo. . . . The Pennsylvania Railroad receives annually \$3,801.53 per mile for its service between New York and Philadelphia."

A careful examination of the tables given and of the charges imposed discloses the signal fact, that, if the United States Government owned and controlled all postal cars, and paid the railroads for traction and station storage and stowage,—just as great shippers, like Armour & Company, and all the express companies pay,—the saving would be fully 40 per cent, as compared with the cost per mile indicated by the

sums above particularized, and the deficit that so sickens the souls of a long line of reformers and nostrum-venders would completely disappear. Nay, more, there would be a big surplus with which to further the scheme of free city and rural delivery, and to silence the enemies of cheap reading, who, under the thin mask of postal reform, would seriously add to the cost of all periodical publications.

These citations are submitted both to confirm Mr. Loud's admission, already quoted, and to make a proper and just application of this most significant evidence to the scheme which the Chairman of the House Post-Office Committee so belligerently pressed during the Fifty-fourth Congress, and has again submitted to our lawmakers as his sure cure for this postal disease.

This scheme, in brief, as developed in the *FORUM* article, is to put the brakes hard-on to second-class mail-matter; to exclude from the mails at second-class rates and privileges all the "Library" issues; and to prohibit or exclude all sample copies. These two items Mr. Loud has singled out from several which his bill (No. 4566) contained,—and which his new bill (No. 5359) repeats,—in order to make this point: "Two very simple exclusions from the privilege of second-class matter would save the Government \$13,000,000 a year."

The resuscitated bill, as additional "bracers" to the Treasury, prohibits supplements and extra sheets to all periodical publications,—which will, of course, greatly delight publishers of the big Sunday issues, in our chief cities; proscribes advertising sheets and trade papers, and, indeed, all periodicals whose income is not in the subscription price to the papers (which price may be very small), but in the receipts for advertising; permits no return of unsold periodicals by the news-agents at second-class postal rates; and establishes a censorship in the Post-Office Department amounting to a lawmaking power in determining what shall and what shall not be admitted to the mails,—a most injudicious and wholly unnecessary provision.

All these features, embraced in the measure defeated last session, I recur to in order that the full purport of the proposed "reform" may be apprehended, and its bearing on the laws of 1879 and 1885 clearly understood. Mr. Loud's *FORUM* article betrays but two of several "steps" which the Chairman of the House Committee will take, not only for the purpose, as we now see, of covering the shortage of \$11,500,000, but to make the Post-Office Department more than self-sustaining, and to create that miracle of good management, a considerable surplus,—all this without a railway, or ocean-steamship, or star-route rebate!

What strikes a well-informed reader of the *FORUM* article as singular is not the inconsistency of this proposed raid on second-class matter, in view of the data presented regarding the excesses of expenditure for mail-transportation; for to be consistent is not necessarily requisite in a legislator. Nor is he expected to be considerate of vested rights created by his own legislation, as by the Acts of 1879 and 1885, for example. What the observant person will regard as singular is the assumption of a fallacy as a fact; namely, that the so-termed "Library" serial issues are greatly on the increase both in number and in quantity, and that this increase is made to account for the considerable accession to second-class mail-matter during the last fiscal year,—an unfortunate assumption. Indeed one of the facts in the trade, which all publishers and newsdealers and most readers recognize, is a steady shrinkage in the proportions of the "Library" business. Several of the once far-extending and market-commanding series have either ceased publication, or have fixed their issue-periods wide apart, or have become transients, and so are out of the mails as second-class matter. The actual number of the "Libraries" has multiplied; but it is to revamp old books, or old series that have lost prestige with the trade, that the new "Library" name is assumed. It is true, however, that the sales of many new works in this form are comparatively meagre,—so much so that, in most cases of new volumes by current authors, the books are not thrown into any series, but take their places on the general list.

The considerable yearly increase in the weight and bulk of second-class matter is due chiefly to the rapidly advancing circulation of the weekly and monthly papers, and notably of the monthly magazines and reviews. Then we have a quite remarkable increase in the quantity of letterpress as well as of advertising pages. Also, this further item visibly enters into the problem of the paper weight of the publications,—the heavier paper required for the proper printing of the almost countless illustrations, which now have become a pronounced feature of our popular periodical literature.

When several of the magazines issue, each month, from 250,000 to 500,000 copies, each weighing from ten to fifteen or more ounces; when a certain Philadelphia monthly paper circulates—mostly through the mails—725,000 copies of its December number; when a Boston weekly puts forth, for the year, 600,000 copies each week; when fully a half-hundred other papers have mail-lists calling for from 100,000 to 200,000 copies weekly,—it takes but a novice to determine the source of the steady growth of weight of second-class matter in the mails, and

to see that this growth is a grand confirmation of the wisdom and propriety of the present postal laws.

He must be a bold legislator who seeks, in any way, to curb or restrict this tremendous output of good literature and good art. To prohibit it the freest use of the mails, in its distribution over our vast domain, is simply a crime against civilization.

What is true of the "Library" shrinkage is also true, to a considerable degree, of the sample-copy method of business. Like the "Library," it has been overdone. People are so oversupplied with reading, at nominal cost, that it no longer pays the publisher to rely on his sample-copies for securing subscribers, and the persons to be most affected by the suppression of this mode of reaching readers, or of securing trade as advertisers, will be the advertisers themselves, to whose lists of supplied names the publishers have been wont to mail their papers. Such a suppression or restriction would strike down business gained in this way, and would, therefore, be a most unpopular measure; and assuredly the saving, by its means, to the Post-Office Department would be exceedingly small,—indeed, quite inappreciable.

The figures which Mr. Loud presents are not irrelevant. On the contrary, as figures, they are very potential in making up the balance-sheet of debit and credit in a great department. But, as urged at every hearing before the House and Senate Committees on Postal Affairs; as set forth by almost numberless written and printed and spoken arguments; as exploited in the press; as discussed and scanned by speakers on the House floor, the measure of Mr. Loud, the measure of Mr. Wanamaker, the measure of Mr. Bissell, each and all not only struck at vested rights in vast property-plants, but sought to deal a stunning blow at the literature which had inaugurated a new era in our intellectual advancement. That not one of these measures has become law, evidences the disposition of Congress to do the numerous trades involved in the publishing of periodicals no serious harm; and, as the "Library" literature has done its beneficent work of filling all the land, through the mails, with books at small cost to the people, and is now giving way to even more potent agencies of intellectual expansion,—the weekly and monthly papers, the magazines, and the all-prevalent Saturday and Sunday editions of the great dailies,—the public mind is not fretted over the situation, nor over present or prospective conditions of the Post-Office Department's revenue.

That department, more than all others, is nearest to the people: it is at once their servant, their friend, and their benefactor. The cost

of it all is of infinitely less concern to the citizen than that its efficiency shall expand with the years ; becoming more and more helpful as purveyor to the business, intellectual, and personal needs of every section of our country. No reactionary legislation is tolerable, even under the guise of economy, or in the presence of a deficit.

If such legislation be attempted, as now is probable, Congress must see to it: First, that a full hearing be given to all interests directly affected by such proposed "reforms"; and, second, that no plea for economy shall constrain the repeal of Acts under whose liberal construction and benign operations the happiness, the intelligence, and the well-being of the whole community have been so conserved as to excite the envy and the admiration of every civilized nation.

ORVILLE J. VICTOR.

CORN AND COTTON-SEED: WHY THE PRICE FOR CORN IS LOW.

Of all American products, whether of the soil, mine, or factory, Indian corn is by far the most important. Not only does it employ more acres than any other grain, but nearly as many as wheat, oats, rye, barley, buckwheat, and cotton together. In its culture, harvesting, and feeding, it provides more employment for farm labor than all other agricultural staples; while, in its primary and secondary forms, it furnishes more work for transporters and distributors than all other American products of the soil, excluding those of the forest, orchard, dairy, and garden.

All forms of pork products, one-half the beef, one-third the mutton, all the glucose, nearly all the spirits, much of the butter and cheese, as well as a large proportion of the oleo oil and margarine sent abroad are products of the corn-field. The importance of maize in its manifold contributions to the industries and welfare of the nation is paramount. In its primary form, its value, during the last twenty-seven years, has aggregated no less than \$15,900,000,000, as against a combined value of wheat and cotton aggregating but \$15,950,000,000. This enormous primary value of the corn crop shows but in small measure its potency in both rural and national economy, as compared with that of the other two great soil staples; for wheat and cotton, once harvested, offer little more of rural employment than is afforded in cartage from farm to railway, while of corn less than one-fourth leaves the locality of growth, the great remainder being there converted into beef, pork, lard, butter, cheese, milk, mutton, wool, and poultry, or fed to draught-animals employed in the raising of wheat, cotton, and other crops. Even of the fraction distributed beyond the county of growth a very large proportion goes to other farms—often in the remote East—and is there converted into secondary products or employed in growing other crops. The feeding of maize thus affords quite as much employment as does its culture and harvesting. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, neither the agricultural, political, nor commercial press devotes a tenth of the space to this great product that is given to the growth, marketing, and

distribution of wheat or cotton. Nor have statesmen and economists thought it worth their while either to ascertain, or to place themselves in a condition to explain, why, with an acreage under maize, since 1887, averaging but 12.8 per cent more than in the preceding ten years, with the domestic population 24.6 per cent greater, and exports in primary and secondary forms 43 per cent greater, the price has averaged 16.8 per cent less. It is true, that, in glittering periods, statesmen of a certain kind told us that declines in the value of corn, as in values of all things else, were directly and wholly due to an excess of production and a deficiency of duties on imports; while statesmen of other schools assured us, in terms quite as florid and convincing, that all woes—agricultural as well as industrial—were chargeable to “the crime of '73 and a robber tariff”; equal ignorance of underlying conditions and price-making factors being exhibited in these diverse statements.

While average annual supplies of maize for purely domestic consumption during the ten years ending with 1887 equalled 26.7 bushels for each unit of the population,—representing an average yield from one and one-tenth acres,—yet, since 1887, domestic unit consumption has fallen to an annual average of 23.7 bushels, or the equivalent of an average yield from no more than 0.97 of an acre,—a reduction of 11.2 per cent in the unit's ration. Evidently some potent disturbing cause must have been in operation to reduce domestic consumption to such an extent, especially when, in seven years out of the ten, our people other than those engaged in agriculture were exceptionally prosperous, and the standard of living was probably the highest ever known.

During the same time, exports of maize in primary and secondary forms increased more than 43 per cent, an increase more than three times as great as that of the area employed; while the yield per acre increased but a small fraction of 1 per cent. The yield per acre increased but one-tenth of 1 per cent, as compared with the ten years ending with 1887; while the acreage employed in the ten years ending with 1897 exceeded the aggregate acreage employed in the preceding ten years by no more than 12.8 per cent. Still, despite these facts and the very important related one, that domestic requirements, to keep pace with the increase of population, should have increased about 25 per cent, the exports in all forms increased, as I have said, more than 43 per cent. Acreage and production, as related to domestic population, indicated a far brisker demand and materially smaller supplies in the later period; and such conditions ought to have brought much higher prices, and, but for unprecedented and disturbing influences, would have done so.

Notwithstanding this relative decrease of acreage and supplies, and a remarkable increase of foreign demand in primary and secondary forms, the price has fallen more than one-sixth,—a fact that has given statesmen an opportunity to exploit partisan economic theories, and to show how far the most cherished of such theories may vary from actual and readily ascertainable conditions.

If either the statesmen or the secretaries of agriculture have discovered the one great disturbing factor in the corn market, and the cause of an extraordinary reduction in the demand for domestic consumption, they have not taken the public into their confidence, but have been content to use partisan cries for an explanation. The truth is that the descent of the price-level has been directly due^a and is readily traceable to the utilization of a by-product of the cotton-field.

From 1878 to 1887, inclusive, the area devoted to maize averaged 66,500,000 acres per annum; the yield during the ten years averaging 24.2 bushels an acre; and the aggregate product being equivalent to a unit supply—for all purposes, domestic and foreign—of 30.26 bushels per annum, or an average yield from one and one-quarter acres. During this period, exports in the primary form of grain, and in the secondary forms of beef, pork, mutton, lard, spirits, butter, and cheese, were equivalent to an annual average of 3.56 bushels for each unit of the domestic population; thus leaving 26.7 bushels per annum for purely domestic consumption. Farm values averaged 40.5 cents per bushel.

During the ten years ending with 1897, the acreage under maize averaged 75,100,000 per annum, with yields averaging 24.5 bushels an acre; the annual unit supply for all purposes averaging 27.8 bushels, of which 4.1 bushels went abroad in primary and secondary forms, leaving 23.7 bushels for purely domestic consumption, as against 26.7 bushels in the preceding ten years. The average farm value declined to 33.7 cents per bushel, or 6.8 per cent less than in the previous decade.

About 1883, a canny Celt, having the commercial instinct well developed,—mistakenly believing that lard was swine's fat, and knowing the supply of swine to be defective and the price high,—saw visions of fortune in a "lard corner," which he proceeded to "run" on the Chicago Exchange. In imagination, he was so successful as to consider that he had the great Chicago packers "in a hole"; this satisfactory opinion being based upon a knowledge of the number of swine reaching the packing-centres, and upon the fact that of the live weight of an average porker no greater proportion than 14 per cent could be profitably converted into lard. Hence the Celt was confident that he

knew how much lard his victims—men who had obligated themselves to deliver property they did not own—could turn in on their “short contracts,” all of which were to mature in the “leafy month” of June. But the harvest which the “cornerer” was preparing to gather turned to Dead-Sea fruit, when he found that an unending procession of tierces of lard was travelling from the packeries to his warehouses, and that he was called upon to receive, and pay the contract price for, more lard than he had ever dreamed of. An investigation developed the fact that the packers—who were the principal “shorts”—had discovered that a mixture of fat of swine, beef stearine, and cotton-seed oil made a lard which would pass muster with all but experts, and serve admirably in filling “short sales.”

Astounded by the discovery, and by the possibility of resulting disaster, the “cornerer” sought advice from a friend (?), to whom, in confidence, he disclosed his discovery. This friend—who also proved to be one of the greatest of “shorts”—advised that all lard offered for delivery containing aught but fat of swine be rejected; and, acting upon such advice, the Celt, by rejections, at once informed the banks that they had been “loaning good money on bad lard.” The loans were called with all possible haste; and thus the “corner” and the “cornerer” were both broken, and the advising friend was saved from the unpleasant necessity of settling his “short contracts” by the payment of the difference between the contract price and that current on the last day of a successful corner.

Doubtless more or less cotton-seed oil, as a constituent of lard, had entered commercial channels before the “lard corner” which culminated in June, 1883; but the knowledge of such operations was confined to a very limited number of beneficiaries. The fact of such a use of the oil proved a veritable revelation to nearly everyone then engaged in the provision trade. This knowledge was susceptible, at that time, of very profitable use, as a pound of cotton-seed oil was then worth less than 6 cents at Chicago, while lard had been selling in that market, for more than two years, at an average of more than 11 cents. At the present time, however, cotton-seed oil can be laid down in Chicago for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, and, by an admixture of beef stearine, can be converted into $4\frac{1}{2}$ -cent lard; the profits from this ethical industry having shrunk greatly since the knowledge of the art became public property in 1883.

From 1883, constantly increasing proportions of the lard consumed at home and exported were composed, wholly or in part, of fats other

than that of healthy swine. To such an extent was adulteration practised that, by 1889, from one-third to one-half of all edible fats entering American commercial channels was of this character. So great was the extent of the sophistication, that in "A Review of the Provision Trade," published in March, 1890, by the editor of the one journal specially devoted to the packing interests, the statement was made that "Chicago alone, of the many points then engaged in such business, had," in the season of 1889, "turned out two hundred and twenty-five million pounds of 'compound lard.'" It is not improbable that the packers and "lard refiners" objected to placing consumers in possession of such useless knowledge; for, since March, 1890, this editor has had little or nothing to say about "compound lard," although a smaller proportion of the fat of swine has manifestly entered into commercial supplies; the number of swine having decreased not only relatively, but absolutely. The number reported by the Department of Agriculture in January, 1897, was actually 11,000,000, or 21 per cent, less than the number estimated by the same authority to be in the country at the close of 1889. In the meantime, however, consumers of lard, both at home and abroad, have increased greatly; the increase in the United States having been about 11,000,000, or 18 per cent. Therefore, if official estimates are fairly representative of the swine supply, the proportion of swine's fat entering commercial channels in the lard offered to consumers must have been a steadily decreasing one.

Prior to the "lard corner" of 1883, the heavy, thick-back "lard-hog" brought the highest price of any class of swine, and was in active demand at every packing-point, being daily quoted as such in all price-lists emanating from live-stock markets. Now, however, the "lard-hog" is never heard of or quoted; and "heavy thick-backs" are hard to sell, although they bring a much lower price per pound than the lighter "bacon-hog."

Changes wrought in values of corn and pork products by the constantly increasing use of cotton-seed oil as a substitute for the fat of swine, as well as the very close relationship existing between the values of corn and secondary products of the corn-field, are shown in Table No. 1.

As the price of lard and other pork products has fallen, so in the same ratio has fallen the price of corn. In the earlier ten years included in Table No. 1, the average Chicago price of a pound of lard was 20.25 per cent of the average farm value of a bushel of corn, as determined by the Department of Agriculture; while, in the last ten years, the Chicago

average price of a pound of lard has been 20.17 per cent of the average farm value of a bushel of corn. Evidently there has existed a much closer relationship between the value of corn and the price of lard than the much exploited one between the value of a bushel of wheat and the price of an ounce of silver.

TABLE No. 1.

YEAR.	Farm Values of Corn per Bushel.	Average Chicago Price of Lard per Pound.	YEAR.	Farm Values of Corn per Bushel.	Average Chicago Price of Lard per Pound.
	Cents.	Cents.		Cents.	Cents.
1878.....	31.8	6.6	1888.....	34.1	9.2
1879.....	37.5	6.5	1889.....	28.3	6.6
1880.....	39.6	7.6	1890.....	50.6	5.7
1881.....	63.6	11.1	1891.....	40.6	6.2
1882.....	48.5	11.6	1892.....	39.4	8.5
1883.....	42.4	9.4	1893.....	36.5	9.6
1884.....	35.7	8.2	1894.....	45.7	7.7
1885.....	32.8	6.5	1895.....	25.3	6.2
1886.....	36.6	6.7	1896.....	21.5	4.5
1887.....	44.4	7.6	1897.....	26.5	4.4
Averages..	40.5	8.2	Averages..	33.7	6.8

Probably 98 per cent of the commercial supply of actual lard results from the slaughtering of swine in Western packing establishments; as but little of that entering commercial channels is manufactured east of the Alleghanies. It is true that the Boston packers turn out small quantities, comparatively; but nearly, if not quite, all the Boston product is consumed in New England. The significance of the source, as well as the extent of the supply, of *actual lard* will be evident, when it is understood that unit consumption by the urban population probably exceeds ten pounds per annum. That is, with a population of 45,000,000, exclusive of that of the farm, the commercial supply for purely domestic purposes should be at least 450,000,000 pounds. During the five years ending with October, 1895, Western packers produced lard in quantities as stated in the first column of Table No. 2; while exports for the five fiscal years ending with June, 1895, were as shown in the second column. Consequently, the urban population apparently had to be content, during this five-year period, with a meagre remainder of 107,000,000 pounds plus small quantities produced by Eastern slaughterers, and great quantities of what (only by trade usage) has been denominated "refined lard,"—that is, lard compounded of cotton-seed oil, beef stearine, and "white-grease" from the tanks wherein were ren-

dered swine dying in transit from farm to packing-house. The latter fact was testified to before a committee of the National House of Representatives, when the "Pure Food Bill" was pending in Congress.

TABLE No. 2.

YEAR.	Lard Produced by Western Packers, pounds.	Lard Exported, pounds.
1890-91	484,000,000	498,000,000
1891-92	511,000,000	460,000,000
1892-93	379,000,000	366,000,000
1893-94	467,000,000	448,000,000
1894-95	513,000,000	475,000,000
Totals	2,354,000,000	2,247,000,000

As the difference between the supply and exports of commercial lard was but 107,000,000 pounds,—21,400,000 per annum,—it would seem that each unit of the urban population could command but eight ounces of edible fat of swine per annum for culinary purposes. But, in view of the action of foreign officials in inconsiderately ordering chemical analysis of many thousand tierces of what purported to be American lard, and such analysis showing an entire absence of the fat of the hog, it is very probable that the food adulterators were strictly impartial in distributing their wares; being quite content to levy tribute alike upon citizen and alien, while resorting to very "shady" devices in defeating such members of the National Legislature as proposed, in the "Pure Food Bill," to have the packages containing such wares branded in such a manner that the consumer could not make the mistake of buying fat of swine when he desired to possess himself of the "refined" article.

If, as is probable, the urban population of the United States annually consumes lard, or commercial substitutes therefor, to the extent of 450,000,000 pounds; if on an average we have exported in recent years more than 500,000,000 pounds, as shown by the Customs returns; and if the commercial supply of swine's fat averages some 500,000,000 pounds per annum—then it is obvious that some 450,000,000 pounds per annum result from admixtures impossible without the use of cotton-seed oil, and that, to this extent, cotton-seed oil has destroyed the demand for the secondary products of the corn-field.

If, as appears from Table No. 1, it is true that each pound of lard represents—as it is safe to conclude from the shown relation of farm values of corn and Chicago prices for lard—one-fifth of a bushel of

corn, it is equally safe to assume that the 450,000,000 pounds of substitute for swine's fat, above referred to, destroy or absorb the demand for 90,000,000 bushels of corn annually,—that is, a quantity equal to an average yield from 3,750,000 acres, or the product of quite 3,749,000 more acres than secretaries of agriculture appear to have induced Europeans to buy for the purpose of making corn bread. Had those statesmen been able to take a leaf out of the book of the "lard refiners," and had they shown as much ability in simulating wheaten and rye bread as such "refiners" have done in simulating the fat of swine, they would have achieved a great success; but, thus far, their efforts in this direction have been abortive, and probably will so remain, until a pronounced scarcity of wheat and rye shall enable them to succeed in the very difficult work of changing national dietaries—unless indeed it be done under the guise of "refinements."

The "lard refiners" have enabled us to palm off as swine's fat—much of it upon Europeans—vast quantities of a cheap vegetable oil, and at the same time have afforded needed employment for our representatives at foreign courts in earnest efforts to convince European authorities that they ought not to impose the least obstacle to the importation of a lard so "refined" that a thousand tierces contain neither a single trichina nor yet an ounce of the fat of swine.

Additional proof of the effect of the progressive use of cotton-seed derivatives upon the price of corn is found in the fact that while our population has increased some 20,000,000, or more than one-third, since 1882, there has been in the same period a decrease of 4,000,000, or nearly one-tenth, in the number of swine—if reliance can be placed on estimates made by the Department of Agriculture. That such estimates are correct to the extent that Customs returns of imports and exports are correct is, in the very nature of things, improbable; but it is altogether likely that they are very fair approximations. And that they are quite as reliable as agricultural data collected elsewhere,—if we except Great Britain,—will be conceded by those versed in such matters, notwithstanding that it has become the fashion with many operators on produce exchanges to decry departmental estimates for commercial ends, just as the same parties daily and hourly falsify crop reports for like purposes.

Had swine increased in the same ratio as population, we should have had more than 60,000,000 in January, 1897, instead of the 40,000,000 shown by the Department of Agriculture. Had the number even continued to equal the 52,000,000 of 1892, and had each animal in excess

of 40,000,000 consumed no more than 17 bushels of corn,—each would probably have consumed much more than 20,—we should have had a farm demand annually for 200,000,000 additional bushels, or the product of some 8,000,000 more acres, and there would now be neither a surplus of corn nor low prices for this most important of all American products.

It may be contended that the supply of swine was excessive in 1882; being then in the ratio of 84 to each 100 population units, as against a ratio of 57 to 100 such units in 1897. But if such was the case, this excess of 27 per cent in the unit's supply was reflected neither in the supply of pork products nor in the prices thereof; for, in 1881, 1882, and 1883, prices were the highest known in the last twenty years.

Many have assumed that supplies of swine must be much larger than estimated by the Department of Agriculture, because greater and greater numbers were being slaughtered at Western packing-points. Such persons evidently forget that until recent years vast numbers of swine were slaughtered yearly by butchers in village, town, and city for the local fresh-meat trade; whereas, now, this trade, with insignificant and decreasing exceptions, is everywhere supplied by refrigerated carcasses transported by rail from the great Western establishments. So pronounced has been the change in this direction, even in very recent years, that shipments of live swine East, from Lake and other Western points of accumulation, numbered 900,000 less in 1895 than in 1891, and 850,000 less in 1896 than in 1892.

Moreover, as late as 1888, there existed great numbers of small establishments throughout the "corn belt" engaged in "cutting meats" solely for local consumption; the "cutters" mostly buying the hogs already dressed from the farmer. In like manner, many a villager bought one or two dressed hogs from a neighboring farmer and prepared his year's stock of meats and lard. Such small packeries have disappeared, as have nearly all the smoke-houses in which the farmer finished the "country-cured" hams and bacon so generally sold a few years ago by local dealers throughout the corn region. The farmer selling country-cured meats, the villager packing one or two dressed hogs, and the small packer of the agricultural town have all disappeared as completely as has the "slaughtering butcher" from those and other localities. As a matter of fact, many farmers now sell their swine and buy hams, bacon, and lard, just as they sell their wheat and buy flour, instead of employing the grist-mill, which also has disappeared.

The changes in distribution of pork products from a vast number

of small and medium-sized establishments to a few very large ones explain the increase of numbers slaughtered at live-stock centres, when the whole number slaughtered has diminished materially, and render it altogether likely that the Department's estimates of numbers are quite as high as the facts warrant. They also show how much easier it is to denounce than critically to analyze such estimates, and how much less labor is involved in attributing agricultural depression and declining prices of corn and its secondary products to some occult change in the relations of metals, or to a particular brand of import duties, than in seeking real causes in a manifest "change of ratios" in the animal and vegetable fats used in humble culinary operations.

Perhaps the public men of the present generation are neither more nor less reluctant than were their predecessors to see the truth, if such truth be unavailable for partisan purposes; and to such reluctance we ought doubtless to attribute the tendency, on the one hand, to explain all economic disturbances affecting agriculture *by a change of metallic ratios rather than by a change in the ratio of the different fats entering into national dietaries*; while, on the other hand, we should be equally charitable in our views respecting those leaders who "point with pride" to an increase of import taxes as the evident cause of higher prices for wheat, while they neglect to inform the corn- and swine-growers why they are unable to share in the exceptional prosperity which it is alleged has settled down upon the "wheat belt."

So far as the prices of maize, and of such of its derivatives as pork and lard, are concerned, not a single leader has attempted any explanation of the diminished demand and the fall in prices, except to charge them directly or indirectly to the "other fellow" and his partisan remedy for waning prosperity. Nor has any such leader attempted to explain why it is that, with the swine-consuming world as a whole prospering as never before, the number of swine constituting the world's commercial supply continuously dwindles. And this in spite of the fact that our exports of lard, with much greater domestic requirements, have steadily increased during the years when the swine herds have been declining relatively in numbers. Such increase of lard exports have equalled 57 per cent; while exports of such pork products as are not susceptible of adulteration with cotton-seed oil have diminished 6 per cent, despite the enormous increase of consumers of pork in the importing countries. This increase of lard exports, and concurrent diminution of exports of other pork products, is shown in the following table, which represents five-year periods:—

TABLE No. 8.

Periods.	Meats Exported, pounds.	Lard Exported, pounds.
1876-80	8,249,000,000	1,448,000,000
1881-85	2,728,000,000	1,402,000,000
1886-90	2,600,000,000	1,702,000,000
1891-95	8,060,000,000	2,247,000,000

Swine continued to increase until 1893, although not so rapidly as the population. Since 1893, however, the decline has been not only continuous, but rapid.

Should an investigation of the relations existing between an increasing use of cotton-seed and its derivatives proceed no farther than we have now progressed, the conclusion would be that while the substitution of vegetable for animal fats in culinary operations had displaced a great amount of the secondary products of the corn-field, yet this displacement had not been such as to account for the great decline in unit consumption of corn, nor yet for the material reduction in its value; and, while the vegetable fats had effected other displacements, none of them was of such character as to make a material difference in the demand for corn, or appreciably to affect its value.

Among minor displacements by substitution may be mentioned the filling of cheese with the yellow oil of the cotton-mill. To such an extent was this adulteration carried on, that, for several years, it was next to impossible in many districts to find for sale a pound of cheese that, in the yellow oil dripping from the cut sample, did not afford the most convincing evidence of the adulterator's work. This evidence was more than usually prominent when the summer heats divorced the vegetable constituent from an unnatural alliance with caseine. In this instance, however, with no such great interest as that of the packers standing behind the adulterators, Congress found no difficulty in dealing with the evil, and speedily legislated the vile stuff out of existence.

A fact but little known is that a serious adulteration of butter by the admixture of cotton-seed oil has obtained in recent years; even some of the so-called "creamery" sorts carrying considerable proportions of this cheap fat. It is also used in giving a "natural" butter color to oleo-margarine; thus enabling manufacturers of imitation butter to evade some of the State laws prohibiting "artificial" coloring of their product. As cotton-seed oil, when refined without bleaching, has a fine, rich butter color, special grades of the oil are prepared for

this purpose, and sell for high prices. The prices, however, per unit of weight, are low, as compared with the price secured for the sophisticated table delicacy. That such use of cotton-seed oil is recognized by the trade, is evidenced by frequent quotations of "butter grades" of oil; an instance in point being found in a recent issue of the "Oil, Paint, and Drug Reporter." In reviewing the market for cotton-seed oil, a writer said: "There is, however, rather more inquiry for 'Butter' and 'Delmonico' grades, for which fancy prices are paid."

Having dealt pretty fully with most of the minor means of displacement of maize and its secondary products by the use of cotton-seed oil, we are brought face to face with the major displacement—the substitution in feeding operations of cotton-seed meal for the product of the maize-field. Before considering this phase of the subject, however, it will be best to show the production, value, and distribution of corn in two ten-year periods ending respectively with 1887 and 1897. They are as follows:—

TABLE NO. 4.

Production, Value, and Distribution of Corn.	1878-87.	1888-97.	Ratio of Change, Per cent.
Population Units Supplied one Year....	531,300,000	663,200,000	24.6+
Aggregate Acreage Employed.....	665,500,000	750,600,000	12.8+
Aggregate Product (bushels).....	16,100,000,000	18,400,000,000	13.9+
Aggregate Farm Value.....	\$6,513,000,000	\$6,216,000,000	4.6-
Average Yield per Acre (bushels).....	24.2	24.5	0.1+
Annual Unit Supply (bushels).....	30.3	27.8	8.2-
*Exports per Unit (bushels).....	3.6	4.1	13.9+
Domestic Unit Consumption (bushel)...	26.7	23.7	11.2-
Farm Value per Bushel.....	cents, 40.5	cents, 33.7	16.8-
*Average Annual Exports (bushels)....	190,000,000	272,000,000	43.2+
*Acreage Employed by Exports.....	7,900,000	11,200,000	42.0+
Acreage Unit Quota, All Purposes....	1.25	1.13	9.6-
Acreage Unit Quota, For Home Use...	1.10	0.97	12.0-
*Acreage Unit Quota, For Exports....	0.12	0.13	8.3+

The most significant showing in the above table is, that while domestic unit consumption has decreased 11.2 per cent., exports per unit of domestic population have increased 13.9 per cent; the aggregate increase in exports being 43.2 per cent. But little less significant is the fact, that, while we have grown 2,300,000,000 bushels—13.9 per cent—more corn since 1887 than in the preceding ten years, its value has been \$297,000,000, or 4.6 per cent, less.

* Exports in secondary as well as primary form.

During the six years ending with 1895, an annual average of 8,100,000 bales of cotton was grown on an area averaging a trifle more than 20,000,000 acres. Broadly speaking, each bale represents the production of 1,000 pounds of cotton-seed; the generally accepted ratio being 2 pounds of seed for 1 pound of lint. Seed and lint weighed in the presence of the writer, however, in 1893, gave a ratio of 70 to 30. Still, all the following estimates are based upon a ratio of 2 to 1; so that a crop of 8,100,000 bales will be assumed to have given a seed-product aggregating 4,000,000 tons of 2,000 pounds each. Of the seed produced, something like 80 per cent enters commercial channels. Converted into oil and meal, a ton of seed results in about 300 pounds, or 40 gallons, of the former and 1,700 pounds of the latter. In other words, an average crop of cotton is accompanied by an output of some 120,000,000 gallons, or 900,000,000 pounds, of cotton-seed oil, and about 5,000,000,000 pounds, or 2,500,000 tons, of cotton-seed meal.

Of the 900,000,000 pounds of oil, much goes abroad and returns to our shores as olive oil; while considerable quantities are used in Maine in converting the fry of the smelt into the sardine that delights the epicure. A very large part of the entire product,—probably but little less than one-half,—however, is converted into lard; while small portions are honestly marketed, without an alias, as “cottolene” and “cotto-suet.”

In ordinary usage, 45 pounds of cotton-seed are considered a bushel; about 15 per cent being available oil, and the oil content differing but slightly from the lard content of the ordinary porker as treated in the packing-house. That is, a given weight of cotton-seed and a like weight of live swine will furnish equal quantities of edible fats.

After the “crusher” has extracted the oil, the residue of a bushel of cotton-seed has greater feeding value than a bushel of corn, especially when used for fattening purposes; therefore, the commercially available 3,000,000 tons of cotton-seed furnish feeding-stuff equivalent to 133,000,000 bushels of corn, or an average yield from 5,500,000 acres of maize. Adding to this displacement that of the product of 3,750,000 acres in the form of cotton-seed oil as a substitute for the fat of swine, and the displacement of corn as a result of the utilization of what was so recently treated as a waste product, the aggregate represents some 223,000,000 bushels, or average yields from some 9,250,000 acres yearly.

Everywhere in the South, cotton-seed meal has displaced corn; much of that formerly used being of Northern production; and enormous quantities of cotton-seed meal are shipped, especially in years of

defective corn crops, to a vast number of counties in the corn belt. For example, in 1894, one Kansas cattle-feeder bought and used as fodder one hundred and forty-six car-loads of Texas cotton-seed meal.

Formerly, great numbers of Texan cattle were sold direct from the ranch at very low prices. Now, similar cattle are yearly converted, by the use of cotton-seed meal, into choice beef that competes with the beef of the corn belt.

In 1894, the corn belt harvested the poorest maize crop in twenty years, this remarkably defective harvest following poor crops in both 1892 and 1893. In compensation for a meagre yield, growers were looking for much higher prices; such crops having always secured, theretofore, prices affording a measure of compensation for defective yields. But they were doomed to disappointment; for feeders from Maine to Dakota availed themselves of the cheap cotton-seed meal resulting from an enormous cotton crop. This radical change in the incidence of price-making factors did not, however, prompt either statesmen or ministers of agriculture to inform the corn-grower why their calculations respecting prices for his meagre crop miscarried; unless such information was included in dissertations upon the efficacy of tariffs and free coinage in bringing satisfactory prices.

The conversion of a by-product of the cotton-field into an edible fat—an art discovered in America after thousands of years of continuous practice in millions of Hindoo households—and the most valuable of feeding-stuffs has resulted in absorbing the demand for the product of nearly ten million acres of maize, and has reduced the corn-grower's revenue by probably a fourth, and the swine herds of America by a third.

Had the 18,400,000,000 bushels of maize harvested in the last ten years possessed a value equalling the 40.5 cents a bushel of the preceding ten years, the aggregate value of the ten crops would have been enhanced by \$1,250,000,000, or enough to have paid every dollar of the farm mortgage-debts of the United States, and still have left the corn-growers with about \$160,000,000 to expend for manufactures.

The revenue of each acre under cotton since 1887, if cotton-seed has averaged \$8 per ton to the grower, has been increased by sales of seed about \$1.25; while, by substitutions of cotton-seed oil and cotton-seed meal for the products of the corn-field, the revenue of each acre of corn has been reduced \$1.65. That is, the revenue from 20,000,000 acres has been annually increased by additions aggregating \$25,000,000, while the revenue from 75,000,000 acres of corn has been reduced by annual aggregates of \$123,750,000.

In other words, the nation has profited \$250,000,000 since 1888 by the utilization of the by-products of 20,000,000 acres, and has suffered a loss of \$1,237,500,000 by reducing the value of 75,000,000 other acres,—a clear loss of nearly \$1,000,000,000 by a process in respect of which some of our economists have not yet ceased to felicitate the nation.

Could the corn-growers have combined for such purpose and bought 3,000,000 tons of cotton-seed annually and dumped it into the Atlantic Ocean, the nation would have been nearly \$1,000,000,000 better off, and we should have heard much less of agricultural and industrial depression.

Doctrinaires will designate these conclusions as the rankest of economic heresies; but this will not change the facts, nor increase the price of corn. Fortunately, however, for both the doctrinaires and those who desire to see maize bring a remunerative return to the producer, cotton-seed has apparently spent its price-destroying force, despite the fact that we now have too many millions of acres employed in growing maize, as the world's bread-grain area is largely defective and can be increased in no great measure except by the conversion of part of our maize-lands into wheat-fields; and this we are very likely to find it profitable to do at once. When we shall have effected such conversion, maize will not only be the most important of American products, but probably the most profitable as well—and the market will then be broad enough for both corn and cotton-seed.

C. WOOD DAVIS.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE'S "RECOLLECTIONS" AND SELF-REVELATIONS.

THE name of the author of the famed work, "*De la Démocratie en Amérique*," which first appeared in 1837, is synonymous, in general belief, with that of a thoughtful, judicious, philosophically minded writer. Perhaps, however, it is not going too far to say that his book has been more often mentioned than read. Those who know it will grant that it seems to show a broad spirit of Liberalism, and a respect, though in somewhat academic form, for the sovereignty of the people, which would have fitted its author to play a good part, even if in a very moderating sense, during the great upheaval in 1848. In other words, the impression of the reader of that early work must needs have been that De Tocqueville would prove a minor kind of Lamartine, politically speaking, less the brilliancy of that renowned historian and poet, who, before the Revolution of February, called himself a *Démocrate-Conservateur*, and who in 1848 went a little beyond that party-line.

Great will now be the disappointment of those who seek, in the posthumous "Recollections" before us, for a trace of the spirit which dictated the work by which De Tocqueville began his public career. It is as if we met there a different man altogether. The notes jotted down by him deal only with the revolutionary events from 1848 to 1849, when he resigned the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs, which he had held for only a few months,—June to October of the latter year. But *quantum mutatus ab illo* who had written on Democracy in the United States! What a bitterness of unjust judgment! What a petty cynicism in his description of the foremost personages of the Second Republic! What a reactionary turn of mind from beginning to end—only thinly covered, here and there, with a deceptive varnish of political philosophy, or an occasional truth or half-truth!

In order to show how far away he stood, and personally felt himself, from Lamartine, who, after all, did try, in 1848, to act as a moderating force, whilst earnestly wishing to uphold the Republic, the following amiable portraiture may serve as a specimen. De Tocqueville writes:—

"I doubt whether, whatever line of conduct he had adopted, he could have

retained his power for long. I believe his only remaining chance was, to be gloriously defeated while saving his country. But Lamartine was the last man to sacrifice himself in this way. I do not know that I have ever, in this world of selfishness and ambition in which I have lived, met a mind so void of any thought of the public welfare as his. I have seen a crowd of men disturbing the country in order to raise themselves: that is an every-day perversity; but he is the only one who seemed to me always ready to turn the world upside down in order to divert himself. Neither have I ever known a mind less sincere, nor one who had a more thorough contempt for the truth. When I say he despised it, I am wrong: he did not honor it enough to heed it in any way whatever. When speaking or writing, he spoke the truth or lied, without caring which he did, occupied only with the effect he wished to produce at the moment."

Do Frenchmen in general—never mind to what party they belong—acknowledge the correctness of this picture? Not the fiercest political or personal enemies of Lamartine have ever made such an attack upon him in the days of the most passionate party struggle. Many as were his manifest faults and weaknesses, he has not been thus condemned by the most advanced Red Republican, nor by the most irreconcilable Social Democrat as by this strange Timon, whose real principles we shall presently learn.

Louis Blanc, in his own "*Révélation Historiques*," which have also been published in English, whilst strongly dwelling on Lamartine's defects and occasional hallucinations, gives him credit for a desire to act "honorably and sincerely." Yet Louis Blanc had great personal cause to complain of Lamartine. Madame d'Agoult ("*Daniel Stern*"), in her "*Révolution de 1848*,"—a work written with remarkable knowledge and impartiality,—gives a not less different estimate of the poet, writer, and statesman from that which De Tocqueville so irascibly offers.

But whence these furors of the ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs?

It is well known that Lamartine, at the critical moment when Louis Philippe's government was going down, hesitated for a little while as to whether he should pronounce for the Regency of the Duchess of Orleans—a German princess, who had shown great courage—or declare for the Republic. Ledru-Rollin told me that he himself was the means of bringing over the popular poet-politician to the latter decision. But, when the author of the "*Girondins*" had made his choice, he firmly stuck to the people's cause. One fact, in this respect, is very telling. The false news having been spread, that the Duchess of Orleans had been arrested at Mantes, Lamartine, believing it to be true, at first refused to order her immediate release, though the whole Provisional Government was in favor of that measure as an act of generosity.

Later on, when it was a question as to whether Ledru-Rollin, the

most prominent Republican leader, should be nominated as a member of the newly-formed Executive Commission, which replaced the Provisional Government, Lamartine energetically recommended his election, against which all crypto-reactionists and masked partisans of the fallen dynasties fiercely protested. Again, when it was a question whether Louis Bonaparte, a member of a banished dynasty and a manifest pretender, should be allowed to return to France, Lamartine, together with Ledru-Rollin, spoke strongly, though in vain, against such an act of mistaken generosity, which would only bring danger to the Republic.

As to foreign affairs, Lamartine exerted himself to restrain the propaganda of those who asked for the "tearing-up of the Treaties of 1815," and for the Rhine frontier as the proper boundary of France. Lamartine felt, at any rate, that a war undertaken for such an object would at once throw back the Democratic movement in all Europe and undermine the scarcely established Second Republic.

All this is to be put to the credit of Lamartine, whatever his faults were. Now it is clear that De Tocqueville bore him ill-will on all these points. When describing the many political gyrations through which France had passed since 1789, De Tocqueville says he had already "hoped that under the Restoration" the French Revolution was at last finished, and that he had, alas! entertained the same hope "again after the fall of the Government of the Restoration," but that "here [in 1848] is the French Revolution beginning over again; for it is still the same one." This shows how little sympathy he had with the revival of republican institutions. In fact, he declares openly, in chapter VIII:—"Personally I detested the Mountain [the advanced Republicans of 1848] and was *indifferent to the Republic*." Of course, he adds: "But I adored liberty." In what manner he did so, we shall presently see.

This friend of freedom, who had hoped, even under the restored Bourbon dynasty, that the French Revolution was at last finished, says he had been under the impression that Lamartine would be in favor of the Regency of the Duchess, which he had been the only one to propose so early as 1842. So, on seeing the growing invasion of the Chamber, on February 24, by a crowd of people, many of them armed, he (De Tocqueville) elbowed his way to Lamartine and hurriedly whispered to him:—"We shall be lost. You alone can make yourself heard at this supreme moment. Go to the tribune and speak!" But Lamartine presently undeceived him. "He did not turn toward me, but only stretched out his arm toward the place where the Princess stood, and,

replying to his own thought rather than to mine, said:—"I shall not speak so long as that woman and that child remain where they are."

When the crowd still increased, and the Princess at last withdrew, at the urgent prayer of her friends, Ledru-Rollin proposed the formation of a provisional government; and then Lamartine spoke. After a splendid eulogy—as De Tocqueville himself calls it—of the courage of the Duchess, the poet-statesman, to the indignation of the writer of these "Recollections," proceeded straight in the same direction as Ledru-Rollin. This decided the course of events. And this it is which makes De Tocqueville so bitter against Lamartine.

The advocacy by Lamartine of Ledru-Rollin's claim to a seat in the Executive Commission filled De Tocqueville with "emotions of terror and rage in the highest degree." These are his own words. They cannot astonish us in one who speaks of all the chief personages of the great Revolution simply as "those celebrated blackguards." Yet, to refuse to elect Ledru-Rollin to membership in the new government would, in the then state of public opinion, have been simply a means of precipitating civil war. This is so true that De Tocqueville himself immediately adds to the foregoing remarks, "I confess that the events of June to a certain extent modified the opinion I had formed of his [Lamartine's] manner of proceeding."

A partisan of the Duchess of Orleans, and therefore a grim antagonist of Ledru-Rollin, De Tocqueville also disagreed with Lamartine on foreign affairs. Of this, a curious proof will be given later on. So far from opposing the admission of Louis Bonaparte to France—as Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin had wisely done—De Tocqueville, in 1849, became the minister of the dangerous pretender. In doing so, he records that he entered into close relations with the Legitimists and other dynastic or Ultramontane reactionaries who imagined they could make use of the man of Strasburg and Boulogne for their own ends,—that is to say, gradually disestablish republican institutions through his agency, and thus make way for a new monarchical restoration.

Over and over again, De Tocqueville avows that he is averse to the republican form of government in France. "I did not believe then," he writes, "any more than I do now, that the republican form of government is the best suited for France. . . . I have always considered the republic an unbalanced form of government, which always promised more, but gave less, liberty than the constitutional monarchy." And again:—"Dufaure believed more than I did in the soundness of republican institutions and in their future." He (De Tocqueville) only

defended them for the moment "because I saw nothing ready or fit to set in its place."

These confessions are the more characteristic because the chapters of the "Recollections" in which they occur were written before the infamous *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, when the Republic was murdered by a nocturnal, burglar-like surprise. No doubt, De Tocqueville would have rather liked to see the Republic done away with for the benefit of a monarchy other than that of the pseudo-Napoleonic pretender. Though serving under him for a time, he, on this point, writes:—

"Louis Napoleon alone was ready to take the place of the Republic, because he already held the power in his hands. But what could come of his success, except a bastard monarchy, despised by the enlightened classes, hostile to liberty, governed by intriguers, adventurers, and valets? The Republic was doubtless difficult to maintain; for those who favored it were, for the most part, incapable or unworthy of governing it, while those who were fit to conduct it detested it. But it was rather difficult to pull down."

Not so difficult, though,—as events showed after this was written,—if only the means of the blackest perjury and of midnight assassination were used to an extent reminding one of the night of St. Bartholomew.

In short, De Tocqueville was longing for a more gradual, semi-legal disestablishment of the Republic in favor of the older dynasty. In this sense, he served the pretender whom the ignorant peasant masses, by their votes, had raised to the Presidency in December, 1848. It must not be forgotten that the population of France in those days was by more than two-thirds agricultural: only one-third lived in the towns. In spite of so many changes of government, public instruction had been neglected in an almost incredible manner. There were departments in which from 62 to 70 per cent of the inhabitants were unable to read and write. It would have been the duty of the Second Republic to alter this disgraceful state of things. But those who, like De Tocqueville, served the pretender-President, maintained, in connection with Ultramontane leaders of the De Falloux type, the old scandalous system. With a refreshing candor, De Tocqueville writes in his notes—which were not destined for publication—as follows:—

"As to the Legitimists, my opinion was that they should be allowed to retain great influence in the direction of public instruction. . . . De Falloux [De Tocqueville's fellow-minister] was given a free hand in his own department, and the Council allowed him to bring before the Assembly the Plan of Public Instruction, which

subsequently became law on March 15, 1850. I also advised my colleagues, to the extent of my power, to keep up good relations individually with the principal members of the Legitimist party ; and I followed this line of conduct myself. I soon became and remained, of all the members of the Cabinet, the one who lived in the best understanding with them. I even ended by becoming the sole intermediary between them and ourselves. It is true that my birth and the society in which I had been brought up gave me great facilities for this, which the others did not possess ; for, although the French nobility have ceased to be a class, they have yet remained a sort of freemasonry, of which all the members continue to recognize one another through certain invisible signs, whatever may be the opinions which make them strangers, or even adversaries, to one another."

An aristocratic freemasonry for the upholding of Obscurantism and the furtherance of political reaction ! De Tocqueville then goes on in this way :—

"It so happened, therefore, that after annoying De Falloux more than anyone else had done before entering the Cabinet, I had no sooner joined it than I easily became his friend. For that matter, he was a man worth coaxing. I do not think that during my whole political career I ever met anyone of a rarer nature. . . . He was sincere in this sense that he only considered, as he declared, his cause and not his private interest ; but otherwise [he was] very sly, with a very uncommon and very effective slyness, for he succeeded, for the time being, in mingling truth and falsehood in his own belief, before serving up the mixture to the minds of others. This is the great secret which gives falsehood all the advantages of sincerity, and which permits its exponent to persuade to the error which he considers beneficial those whom he works upon or directs."

What an insight all this gives into De Tocqueville's own character ! He shows himself quite in love with De Falloux's Jesuitism. He only regrets that he was never able, in spite of all his efforts, to bring about even a simple, polite understanding between De Falloux and Dufaure, the latter of whom, as we have heard, had rallied frankly to the Republican cause. De Tocqueville says :—

"It must be admitted that these two men had precisely the opposite qualities and defects. Dufaure, who, in the bottom of his heart, had remained a good west-country bourgeois, hostile to the nobles and the priests, was unable to put up with either De Falloux's principles or his charming, refined manners, however agreeable they might seem to me. I succeeded, however, with great difficulty, in persuading him that he must not interfere with him in his own department."

Here we see the anti-Republican nobleman and the priestling working together on reactionary lines. Of the nature and the results of De Falloux's School Bill we may best judge by a reference to the "Map of Public Instruction," which M. Duruy, the minister of that department in the closing days of the Second Empire, had had constructed

for the purpose of showing how much it was necessary to do to bring France up to the proper standard of popular education.

A few weeks before the declaration of war by Napoleon III in 1870, I met Charles Blanc, the ex-*Directeur des Beaux Arts* under the Government of 1848, at a dinner in the house of his brother, my friend of long standing, Louis Blanc. In presence of a number of Frenchmen, among whom was the distinguished painter, Chenavard, and of the Belgian consul-general, M. Delepierre, Charles Blanc said to me that one day M. Duruy took him into his private cabinet to see the Map of Public Instruction.

Three different colors on it marked the various degrees of popular education in the several departments. To his amazement and horror, Charles Blanc found nearly the whole west and south of France marked black—the most illiterate degree. The centre of France was counter-hatched with stripes partly black, partly white; indicating a slightly better or intermediate state of things. Only the departments situated toward Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium—countries with advanced systems of education, from which there was emigration into the neighboring French districts—were marked white. This gave quite a shock to Charles Blanc. Nevertheless, even he, on the occasion of that dinner, threw out a hint as to a so-called right of France to obtain the Rhine frontier. Both I and M. Delepierre had to reprove him; and he took the friendly correction in good part.

Indeed, in 1870, there were still French departments with from 62 to 70 per cent of illiterates. Yet De Tocqueville, in what he wrote in 1849, asserts that the education of the French people had been constantly increasing! So easily satisfied was he with the bill and the principles of his Ultramontane colleague, De Falloux. It is to the credit of the Third Republic that, in spite of Chauvinist tendencies once more cropping up, and although the alliance with Russian czardom sadly affects the true Democratic spirit, great progress has been made in the popular system of education, the budget for public instruction having been enormously increased in comparison with what it was before.

In his portraiture of Louis Napoleon, De Tocqueville says that, as a private individual, he possessed certain attractive qualities; that intellectually, however, he was a mediocrity, with a fanatical trust in his star; that his passion for vulgar enjoyment and his taste for luxury had increased still more with the facilities offered by his position; that his mind was incoherent, confused, filled with great, but ill-assorted, thoughts; and that a little vein of madness ran through his better sense.

"This dissimulation, which was the deep dissimulation of a man who had spent his life in plots, was assisted in a remarkable way by the immobility of his features and his want of expression : for his eyes were dull and opaque, like the thick glass used to light the cabins of ships, which admits the light, but cannot be seen through. . . . The characteristic and fundamental feature of his mind in political matters was his hatred of and contempt for Assemblies. . . . The rule of the Constitutional Monarchy seemed to him even more insupportable than that of the Republic. Before attaining power, he had had time to strengthen his natural taste for the footmen class, which is always displayed by mediocre princes, by the habits of twenty years of conspiracy spent amid low-class adventurers, men of ruined fortunes or blemished reputations, and young debauchees,—the only persons who, during all this time, would have consented to serve him as go-betweens or accomplices."

Add to this that De Tocqueville looked upon Louis Napoleon as "the greatest and most permanent danger"! By this, the anti-Republican nobleman did not mean a danger to the Democratic Commonwealth, to whose existence he was indifferent, and whose very principle he disliked, but an impediment to a monarchical restoration of the Legitimist or Orleanist character. Yet, he confesses that he had said to the dangerous pretender:—

"I will never serve you in overthrowing the Republic; but *I will gladly strive to assure you a great position in it*; and I believe that all my friends will end by entering into my plan. The constitution can be revised. Article 45, which prohibits reëlection, can be changed. This is an object which we will gladly help you to attain."

Such was the proposal made and the counsel given by De Tocqueville to the man whose heart, according to that minister's own description, was, in Shakespeare's words, "a closet lock and key of villanous secrets," and of whom he says that, commencing with June 13, 1849, he (De Tocqueville) had lived in a state of continuous alarm, fearing every day that the secret advisers of Louis Bonaparte would drive him to "commit some violent usurpation, and that one fine morning the Empire should slip in between his legs." Now, what else could the reëlection of Louis Bonaparte, contrary to Article 45 of the constitution, have resulted in than the strengthening of that conspirator's hold upon the military and administrative forces, so as to render the planned *coup d' état* even more easy for him?

De Tocqueville calls this dangerous and disgraceful proposal a means of "feeding his [Bonaparte's] mind with a hope of some kind, if we wished to keep him quiet," by "placing before his ambition some point of view which might, if not charm, at least restrain him." Nay, De Tocqueville went even farther in downright trickiness. He reports

that, as the chances of a revision of the constitution were doubtful, he hinted to the dangerous plotter that, if he did not aim at being more than the first magistrate of the nation, he

"might possibly be reëlected at the end of his term of office, *in spite of Article 45*, by an almost unanimous vote, since the Monarchical parties *did not see the ruin of their hopes in the limited prolongation of his power*, and the Republican party itself looked upon a government such as his as the best means of accustoming the country to the Republic and giving it a taste for it."

In this way, De Tocqueville made himself an accomplice of an attempt to overthrow the constitution, though by other means than a nocturnal massacre. As to the ridiculous assertion, that the Republican party could be made to enter into such a design, it is so glaringly absurd and untrue that not a word need be said about it. "I told him all this," De Tocqueville writes, "in a tone of sincerity, because I was sincere in saying it." Evidently he had become an adept in the De Falloux mode of procedure.

In presence of such significant avowals and self-revelations, what are we to think, when reading in the Preface to these "Recollections,"—which is signed by his relative, the Comte de Tocqueville,—the following:—

"One thing is certain, that he would never have 'subordinated to the necessity of maintaining his position that of remaining true to himself.' We have thought that the present generation, which so rarely has the opportunity of beholding a man of character, would take pleasure in becoming acquainted with this great and stately figure; in spending some short moments in those lofty regions, in which it may learn a powerful lesson and find an example of public life in its noblest form, ever faithful to its early aspirations, ever filled with two great ideas—the cult of honor and the passion of liberty."

The book, unfortunately, contains ample evidence of the utter incorrectness of this high appreciation. To take up the post of minister of a republic in order virtually to conspire against it with Legitimists, Orleanists, and Ultramontanes, and secretly to endeavor to bring about the reëlection of the Imperialist pretender in violation of the constitution,—this was neither an honorable course, nor one conducive to liberty. Nor does it show that prescience with which the writer of the Preface thinks the late statesman was "so specially gifted."

Another unpleasant trait in these "Recollections" is, that scarcely a single man of eminence escapes being belittled—nay, positively ridiculed—by De Tocqueville. Neither the ex-Orleanist leaders nor the heads of the Republican party are spared the most cutting sarcasm or the worst vituperation. A look at De Tocqueville's portrait, which is

given in the front of the book, will perhaps satisfy the student of physiognomy that there is a strong indication of this shrewish habit in the formation of the mouth and its surrounding parts.

Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, both of whom I knew as friends for many years, are disposed of by De Tocqueville in words which can be read only with indignation by those acquainted with the men. From long and intimate intercourse,—extending, in the two cases, over more than twenty-five and thirty-three years, respectively—I know what were the extent and the limit of the intellectual culture of those two eminent Republican leaders of France; and I can say that they have been shamefully vilified. Ledru-Rollin, whom De Tocqueville tries to dispose of as a mere "heavy, sensuous fellow," was a man much given to meditations in a Theistic direction on the basis of the views of Voltaire, whose large bust adorned his writing-table. Whilst being a strong opponent of all clerical dogmatism and of all hierarchical pretensions, he held on that subject such ardent notions of belief that he could be very bitter against the more advanced Agnostic school. Occasionally we had some controversy with him on that point, as well as in reference to his anti-English ideas on the Irish Question. A great connoisseur of art, Ledru-Rollin discoursed most ably and impressively on pictures, of which he had collected not a few from eminent masters, and on sculpture, in which the French occupy a foremost rank. His forensic eloquence, combined with his deep knowledge of jurisprudence, is historically known. De Tocqueville's description of the famed tribune of the people is, therefore, a mere caricature.

Speaking of the successful self-defence made by Louis Blanc, when wrongly charged with complicity in the attack directed against the National Assembly on May 15, 1848, De Tocqueville says:—

"I never considered him to possess talent except on that one day; for I do not call talent the art of polishing brilliant and hollow phrases, which are like finely chased dishes containing nothing."

This of the author of the "History of Ten Years" and of the "History of the French Revolution"! From such specimens, the character of others may be easily guessed.

Those vilified Republican leaders had risked their lives, their whole careers, in 1848 and 1849, and become exiles, in order to remain true to their convictions. The editor of the "Recollections," the Comte de Tocqueville, himself feels compelled to say, in regard to the so-called mere polisher of "brilliant and hollow phrases":—

"The theories of Louis Blanc and Considérant arouse no feeling of astonishment in these days, when their ideas have become current coin, and when the majority of politicians feel called upon to adopt the badge of some socialism or other, whether we call it Christian, state, or revolutionary socialism."

I will not enter here into this question of political economy; but the statement of the Comte de Tocqueville rather traverses the off-hand judgment of Alexis de Tocqueville.

A more forcible indictment than that which the writer of the "Recollections" makes against the rule of the wealthier middle-class under the government of Louis Philippe, it would be difficult to draw up. He says:—

"Posterity, which sees none but the more dazzling crimes, and which loses sight, in general, of mere vices, will never, perhaps, know to what extent the government of that day, toward its close, assumed the ways of a trading company, which conducts all its transactions with a view to the profits accruing to the shareholders. These vices were due to the natural instincts of the dominant class, to the absoluteness of its power, and also to the character of the time. Possibly also King Louis Philippe contributed to their growth."

After this, one might expect that De Tocqueville, who for seven years had been a member of the House of Deputies, would come out as a man of action against Louis Philippe's government. But this self-righteous and self-constituted Timon did nothing of the kind. It is true that, when the clouds of Revolution had already thickly gathered, he delivered a speech, on January 29, 1848, in the Chamber, addressing words of warning to the members. He said:—"I believe that we are at this moment sleeping on a volcano. I am profoundly convinced of it." He even declared:—"I believe in the need of electoral reform, in the urgency of parliamentary reform"; but he hastened to add:—

"Keep the laws as they are, if you wish. I think you would be wrong to do so; *but keep them. Keep the men, too*, if it gives you any pleasure. I raise no objection, so far as I am concerned. But, in God's name, change the spirit of the government; for, I repeat, that spirit will lead you to the abyss."

This was a lame conclusion indeed. The vicious government, which De Tocqueville had so strongly denounced, reposed on an electorate of perhaps not more than two hundred and fifty thousand men among a male population of ten million. Some reform was urgently needed; and, in all likelihood, a timely concession would have gone far to allay the coming storm. De Tocqueville, however, would take no part in the movement of the so-called Reform Banquets, though Liberal Orleanists, like Odilon Barrot, were in the front of it.

Said De Tocqueville to his friends pretty often,

"If you fail in rousing the people—and I think this will be the most probable result—you will become still more odious than you already are in the eyes of the government and of the middle classes, who, in great part, support it. In this way you will strengthen the administration which you desire to upset; while if, on the contrary, you succeed in rousing the people, you are no more able than I am to foresee whither an agitation of this kind will lead you."

Such is always the useless hesitancy of men who have no courage for sensible action in times of a great crisis. The comic part in De Tocqueville's case is that, whilst in the Chamber he exclaimed they were sleeping on a volcano, and apparently tried to frighten them by the exclamation, "Do you not feel a gale of revolution in the air?" yet in private he told his friends they would most probably fail in rousing the people! What are we to think of the sincerity of such a prophet and adviser? Worse still, he writes in the same chapter:—

"And now that I am face to face with myself, searching in my memory to discover whether I myself was actually so much alarmed as I seemed, the answer is, 'No'; and I readily recognize that the event justified me more promptly and more completely than I foresaw."

Probably that is meant as a justification of his inaction before and during the decisive street-fights in February, 1848. But then, his posthumous excuse is made, or invented, at the expense of the sincerity of his alarming speech of January 29. In this way, we always meet with unpleasant traits in the writer's character.

During the revolutionary scenes in the Chamber, De Tocqueville did nothing, except to whisper to Lamartine, as before mentioned, and then, when the Duchess of Orleans had fled, to run after her. He did not find her, however; and, after returning for a few moments to the Chamber, whence almost all the members had left, he went home.

"I explained in a few words to Madame de Tocqueville what I had seen, and sat down in a corner to think."

That was the whole part he played; yet, he mentions that when he was leaving the Chamber, a column of National Guards came ascending the staircase at a run, with bayonets set, crying: "Long live the Duchess of Orleans and the Regency!" And he asserts:—"Half an hour earlier, this handful of National Guards—as on the ensuing May 15—might have changed the fortunes of France."

Evidently this is not the man entitled to throw stones at others as regards civic courage. Nor does he, who is so cruelly caustic against

almost every individual political leader of whom he speaks, spare his nation at large. To the Academician, Ampère, his colleague, who had held the fallen government in great contempt, and who had witnessed many instances of courage, disinterestedness, and even generosity among the insurgents, De Tocqueville outpoured, as he records, "all the feelings of indignation, grief, and anger that had been accumulating in my heart since the morning." In a quiet room, he stormed at Ampère in this way:—

"You call this the triumph of liberty, when it is its final defeat. I tell you that the people which you so artlessly admire has just succeeded in proving that it is unfit and unworthy to live a life of freedom. Show me what experience has taught it! Where are the new virtues it has gained, the old vices it has laid aside? No, I tell you, it is always the same,—as impatient, as thoughtless, as contemptuous of law and order, as easily led, and as cowardly in the presence of dangers as its fathers were before it. Time has in no way altered it, except to leave it as frivolous in serious matters as it used to be in trifles."

Again, De Tocqueville, in some passages containing, unfortunately, a degree of truth, says:—

"There is no nation which attaches itself less to those who govern it than the French nation, nor which is less able to dispense with government. So soon as it finds itself obliged to walk alone, it undergoes a sort of vertigo, which makes it dread an abyss at every step. . . . When, therefore, people assert that nothing is safe from revolutions, I tell them they are wrong, and that centralization is one of those things. In France there is only one thing we can't set up: that is, a free government; and only one institution we can't destroy: that is, centralization. How could it ever perish? The enemies of government love it; and those who govern cherish it. The latter perceive, it is true, from time to time, that it exposes them to sudden and irremediable disasters; but this does not disgust them with it. The pleasure it procures them of interfering with everyone and holding everything in their hands, atones to them for its dangers. They prefer this agreeable life to a more certain and longer existence, and say: '*Courte et bonne*,' like the routés of the Regency: 'A short life and a merry one.'"

This description looks very well as a satire. But how did De Tocqueville himself act by way of educating the people in the art of local self-government?

When, in 1848, he desired to be elected as a Representative of the People to the Constituent National Assembly,—and he says he desired it very much,—he refused to present himself before any electoral body other than that of the place where he lived. He

"refused to reply to any of those insolent interrogatories by which each small town and each club questioned the candidates regarding their opinions and actions."

These are his own words. In his particular case, he was all for centralization—in his own superior person. "These refusals," he says, "which might have seemed disdainful, appeared in the light of dignity and independence in the face of the new rulers."

Of course, men like Lamartine, Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, and others of that ilk, were as nothing in the eyes of a scion of the aristocracy. Altogether, in reading what De Tocqueville has to say about them and the French people in general, one has sometimes a feeling as if a *ci-devant* spoke, who haughtily looked down upon the masses.

He is, no doubt, right in pointing out that the unconditional introduction of universal suffrage, on the morrow of the proclamation of the Republic, became a danger to the Republic itself. I often discussed this subject at Paris, in 1849, with French Democrats, and afterward with Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, and their fellow-exiles. It always seemed to me that, whilst introducing manhood suffrage, an educational test—a simple knowledge of reading and writing—should have been combined with it, and that, in the then state of France, a comparatively larger number of representatives might have been allowed to the towns, as centres of intellect and industry, until a better school-system had brought up the rural masses to the proper standard. Ledru-Rollin, the father of universal suffrage in France, was not willing to avow that he had made a generous mistake. Louis Blanc confessed to me privately, however, that he shared my opinion, but could not say so in public. Now see how De Tocqueville deals with this subject.

"Following the examples of the past without understanding them, they foolishly imagined that to summon the crowd to take part in political life was sufficient to attach it to its cause; and that to popularize the Republic, it was enough to give the public rights without offering them any profits. They forgot that their predecessors, when they gave every peasant the vote, at the same time did away with tithes, abolished statute labor and the other seignorial privileges, and divided the property of the nobles among the peasants; whereas they were not in a position to do anything of the kind. In establishing universal suffrage, they thought they were summoning the people to the assistance of the Revolution: they were only giving them arms against it. Nevertheless, I am far from believing that it was impossible to arouse revolutionary passions, even in the country districts. In France, every agriculturist owns some portion of the soil, and most of them are more or less involved in debt; it was not, therefore, the landlords that should have been attacked, *but the creditors*; not the abolition promised of the rights of property, *but the abolition of debts*. The demagogues of 1848 did not think of this scheme; they showed themselves much clumsier than their predecessors, but no less dishonest; for they were as violent and unjust in their desires as the others were in their acts."

Is not this the voice of a *ci-devant*?

It need scarcely be said that the Provisional Government of 1848 in no wise promised the abolition of the rights of landed property. But here is De Tocqueville suggesting a Catilinarian procedure against creditors, in order to leave landlords untouched, and declaring the men of the great Revolution—whom he dubs "celebrated blackguards"—to have been dishonest because they founded a free peasantry!

In one of his concluding chapters, De Tocqueville reveals the fact of Louis Napoleon, as President, having already tried to enter into an alliance with one of the great Powers of Germany, with the object of using it "to alter the map of Europe and erase the limits which the Treaties of 1815 had traced for France." The attempt failed. De Tocqueville, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, had had a hand in that attempt; but as it was unsuccessful, he now gives the following account of the confidential mission:—

"He [Louis Napoleon] chose Persigny, and asked me to give him his credentials; and I consented, knowing well that nothing could come of a negotiation of this sort. I believe that Persigny had a twofold mission: it was a question of facilitating the usurpation at home and an extension of territory abroad. He went forth to Berlin and then to Vienna. As I expected, he was very well received, handsomely entertained, and politely bowed out."

To give credentials to a conspirator who wanted to facilitate the usurpation at home by working for an extension of territory abroad, is strange conduct in the minister of a republic. But, as we have seen, De Tocqueville was a secretly working enemy of the Republic. As to his own views of the Treaties of 1815, he omits to state a fact which I may be forgiven for having well in remembrance. It is this:

On June 13, 1849, Ledru-Rollin and a number of other members of the Legislative Assembly attempted to come to the rescue of the Roman Republic, then governed by the Triumvirs Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi, but were attacked by a French army. A mass demonstration against Louis Napoleon's government moved along the boulevards in an orderly procession, with serried ranks, toward the House of Parliament. The adopted parole and cry was: "Long live the Constitution!"—for by the then constitution any attack upon the freedom of another nation was distinctly forbidden. On its way, the procession was cut through by troops under Gen. Changarnier, who fell upon it from a side-street. A state of siege was then proclaimed at Paris, and at Lyons, where a similar movement had taken place. In the course of these events, a few days later, I, as a member of an embassy of the democratic governments of Baden and Rhenish Bavaria, was arrested, in gross vio-

lation of the law, and first imprisoned in the Conciergerie, and afterward in the dungeon of La Force.

The matter having been brought before the Legislative Assembly, De Tocqueville actually justified the lawless act by declaring that the party which had established the new governments of Baden and Rhenish Bavaria was the same which for years "had opposed, with the greatest and bitterest energy, *that tendency of the French people to extend itself toward the Rhine.*" Upon this, the Legislative Assembly passed to the order of the day, and I had to remain in La Force until, after a lapse of more than two months, the judicial order for my release was given.

By that speech of his, De Tocqueville showed that he was at one with Louis Napoleon and M. Fialin (from Persigny) in the desire to filch German territory. I may mention, in passing, that, in describing the manifestation of June 13, he quite underestimates its numbers. I can testify to this from having been personally present. He also erroneously says:—"Changarnier and the President, charging at the head of the cavalry, had cut in two and dispersed the column which was making its way towards the Assembly." I was at the very spot—the Rue de la Paix—where the charge took place; and I still see Gen. Changarnier vividly in my mind's eye, as he rode into the mass, having first quickly looked to the right and then to the left. Louis Napoleon did *not* take part in the charge. I saw him afterward, however, riding along the boulevards when the street had been cleared.

It will not create surprise, after what has been already stated, that De Tocqueville should have been an antagonist of German unity, and that he should have outrageously insulted those who, during the Revolution of Southwestern Germany in 1849, fought for months, in open battles, against the overwhelming Royalist forces under the command of the Prince of Prussia. He states, rightly enough, that when those who had thus supported the German Parliament were at last vanquished, "many prisoners were put to death, all liberty was indefinitely suspended, and even the government [of the Grand Duchy of Baden], which had been restored, was kept in very close tutelage."

A question then arose as to the fate of that remnant of the popular army which had made its retreat into Switzerland. Though threatened by Prussia, Austria, and even Russia, the Swiss, at first, would not expel any of those refugees who had struggled for German national freedom and union. De Tocqueville, however, "first endeavored to make the Swiss listen to reason." When his counsel proved of no avail, he proceeded to stronger measures:—

"I then set to work in another way, which was more successful. This was to advise the foreign governments—who were only too disposed to agree—to refuse for a certain period all amnesty to such of their subjects as had taken refuge in Switzerland, and to deny all of them, whatever their degree of guilt, the right to return to their country. On our side, we closed our frontiers to all those who, after taking refuge in Switzerland, wished to cross France in order to go to England or America, including the inoffensive refugees as well as the ringleaders."

Switzerland being thus burdened with so many exiles, at last yielded to the demands addressed to her. And De Tocqueville prides himself on having started this shameful coercion. No wonder, a statesman and writer of this kind speaks with bated breath of the "lofty position" of the Czar Nicholas, who "followed, with a certain tranquil disdain, not only the follies of the revolutionaries whom he pursued, but also the vices and the faults of the parties and princes whom he assisted." When, a little later, the Czar and the Austrian government threatened the Porte because it had given shelter to the Hungarian exiles, and Turkey sought for help from France, De Tocqueville wrote:—

"A way must be found out of this difficulty. Is *Kossuth's skin* worth a general war? . . . Cannot a way be found by which everybody's honor will be saved? What do they want, after all? Do they only want to have a few *poor devils* handed over to them? That is assuredly not worth so great a quarrel."

In the Hungarian War of Independence there were not a few men of aristocratic descent who fell on the field of battle, or suffered at the gallows for their country's cause, or had to tread, when defeated, the hard paths of exile. Even this fact did not prevent the aristocratic De Tocqueville from speaking of the refugees as "a few poor devils,"—so little sympathy had he with any cause of popular freedom.

In penning his Memoirs, he has truly "given himself away." He says, in the introductory chapter:—

"These 'Recollections' shall be a relaxation of the mind rather than a contribution to literature. I write them for myself alone. They shall be a mirror in which I will amuse myself in contemplating my contemporaries and myself; not a picture painted for the public. My most intimate friends shall not see them; for I wish to retain the liberty of depicting them, as I shall depict myself, without flattery."

He *has* depicted himself. It may be doubted whether the publication of what he said should "remain absolutely secret" has done his reputation any good. The main lesson, however, to be drawn from these revelations is, that a republic which had such faithless servants necessarily became the prey of its most unscrupulous foe.

KARL BLIND.

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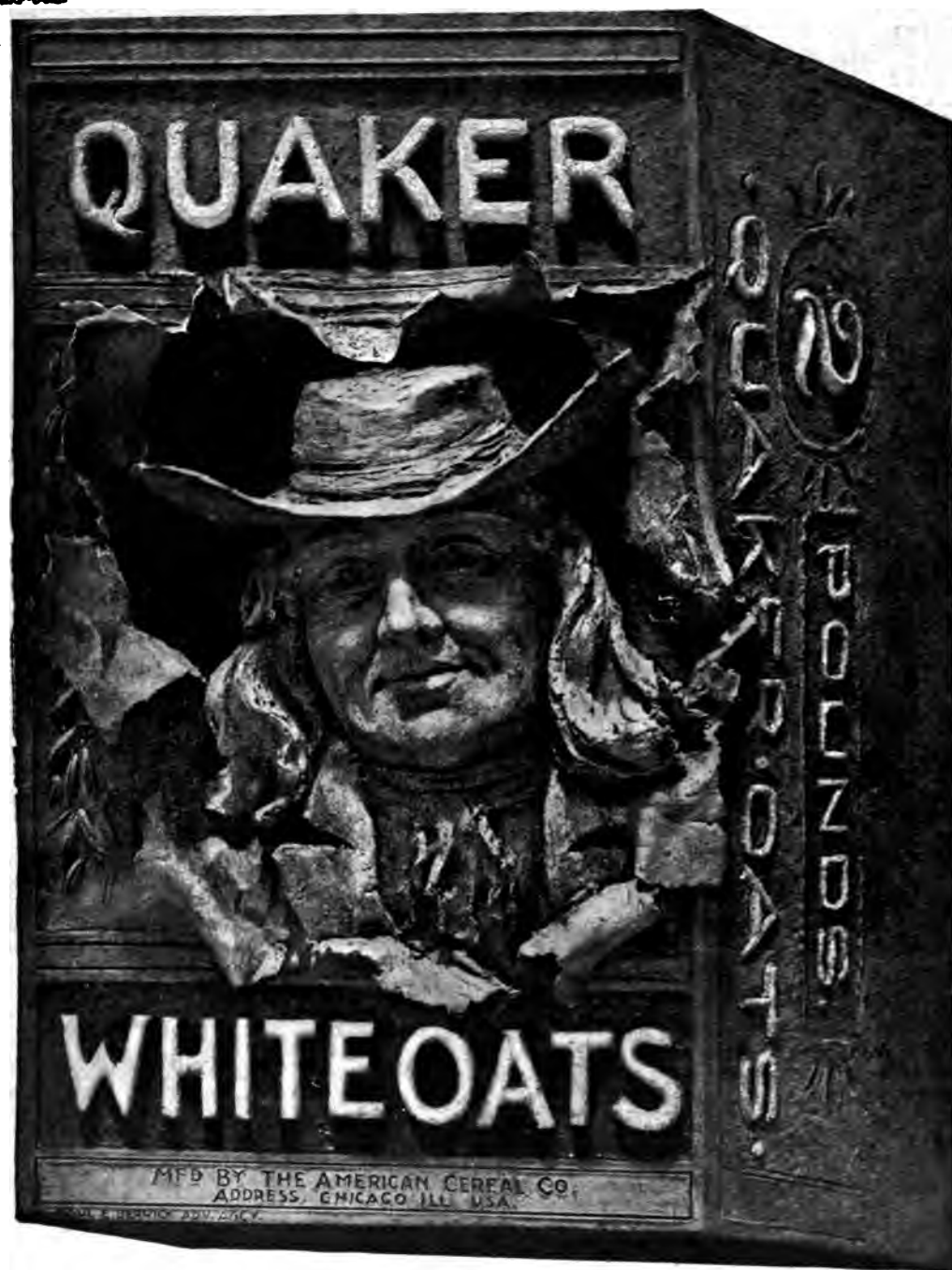
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MR. FRANK K. FOSTER, born in Palmer, Mass., in 1854, learned the printing trade in Hartford, Ct., and settled in Boston in 1876, where, with the exception of three years spent in journalistic work in Haverhill, Mass., he has since resided. Identified with the Typographical Union since 1875, and editor of labor-reform publications since 1883, he has lectured upon social reform topics in several States; has held many positions of honor in labor societies, including that of Secretary of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada in 1883; and was candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts upon the Democratic ticket in 1886. At present, Mr. Foster is editor of "The Liberator," the official journal of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor and of several other trade-unions.

(Continued on page 12.)



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HON. FREDERIC C. PENFIELD, born in Connecticut in 1855, received his preliminary education at the private and public schools of that State. For six years he was a member of the editorial staff of the "Hartford Courant." In 1885 Mr. Penfield received his first appointment in the foreign service of the United States, that of Vice-Consul-General at London; and early in Mr. Cleveland's second Administration he was appointed Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General to Egypt, which office he filled for four years with signal success. Mr. Penfield has written extensively on European politics and economic questions, embodying therein the observations of his long residence abroad and his extensive travels.

MAJOR JOHN WESLEY POWELL was born at Mount Morris, N. Y., in 1834. He spent two years each at Oberlin and Wheaton Colleges, Illinois, studying natural history in the field, and making scientific collections. Was a member of the Second Illinois Artillery during the Civil War, and lost his right arm at Shiloh. In 1865-66 he was professor in the Illinois Wesleyan University and in Illinois Normal University, and in 1867 explored the Grand Canyon of Colorado River. He was made Director of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879, and of the U. S. Geological Survey in the following year. Major Powell has received degrees from Harvard, Heidelberg, and other universities, and has been made an honorary member of many learned societies throughout the world. His numerous and important reports on geography, geology, irrigation, and ethnology resulted in the award to him by the French Academy in 1891 of the famous Cuvier Prize. He has also written many articles on scientific subjects in popular and technical journals, and is the author of a work on the "Canyons of the Colorado" (1893).

MR. ORVILLE J. VICTOR is a native of Ohio. He was associate editor of the "Sandusky Daily Register" from 1852 to 1857, and came to New York in 1858 to conduct the "Cosmopolitan Art Journal." He is the author of numerous works, among them being a "History of the Southern Rebellion," in four volumes. The law of 1879, creating the "Library" literature, was due largely to Mr. Victor's efforts.

DR. HARVEY W. WILEY, born at Kent, Ind., was graduated from Hanover College, Indiana Medical College, and Harvard University; afterward continuing his studies in Germany. For the past fourteen years he has been Chief of the Division of Chemistry of the United States Department of Agriculture; and the experiments carried on by that department in the manufacture of sugar and the development of sugar-producing plants have been conducted under his supervision.

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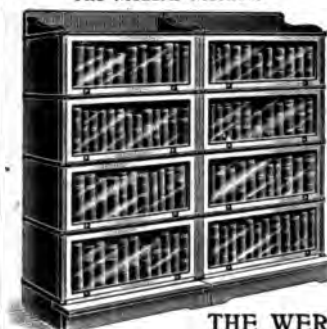


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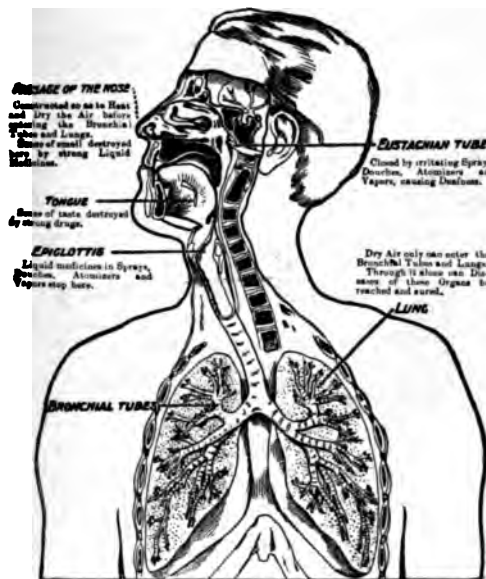
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Surplus	3,365,161.39
Paid Policy-holders in 1896	2,602,014.86
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864	33,098,024.00

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STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1896

According to the standard of the Insurance Department of the State of New York

INCOME.		ASSETS.	
Received for Premiums	\$39,593,414 30	United States Bonds and other Securities .	\$10,125,026 15
From all other Sources	10,109,381 07	First lien Loans on Bond and Mortgage .	71,543,999 50
	\$49,702,695 37	Loans on Stocks and Bonds	11,091,325 00
		Real Estate	22,707,800 65
		Cash in Banks and Trust Companies . . .	12,600,390 00
		Accrued Interest, Net Deferred Premi- ums, etc.	6,535,535 06
			\$34,744,148 45
DISBURSEMENTS.		Reserve for Policies and other Liabilities .	205,050,633 78
To Policy-holders for Claims by Death . .	\$12,595,113 39	Surplus	\$29,733,514 70
To Policy-holders for Endowments, Divi- dends, etc.	12,842,456 11	Insurance and Annuities in force . . .	\$918,698,328 46
For all other Accounts	10,781,005 64		
	\$36,218,575 14		

I have carefully examined the foregoing Statement and find the same to be correct ; liabilities calculated by the Insurance Department.

CHARLES A. PRELLER, Auditor.

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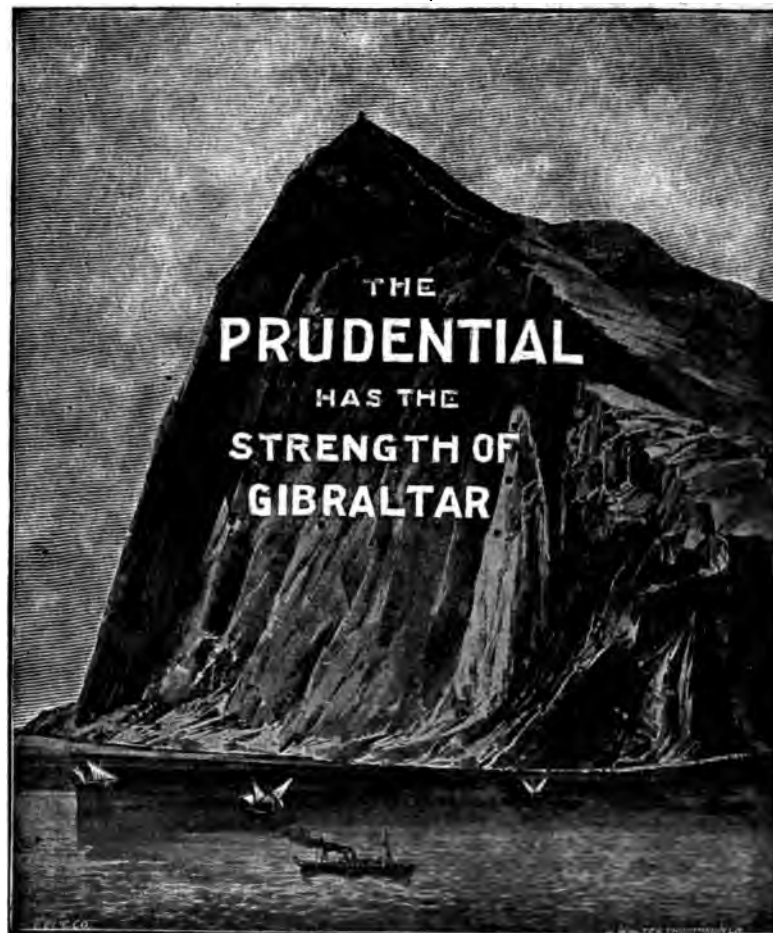
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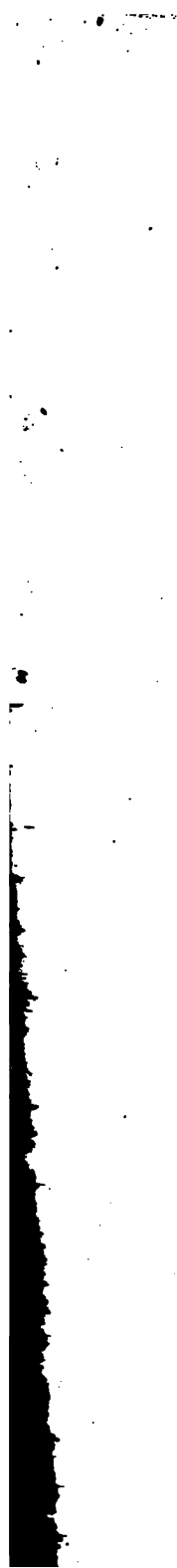
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